

THE
Harleian Miscellany:
OR, A
COLLECTION
OF
SCARCE, CURIOUS, and ENTERTAINING
PAMPHLETS and TRACTS,
As well in Manuscript as in Print,
Found in the Late
EARL of OXFORD's LIBRARY.
INTERSPERSED
With HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, and CRITICAL NOTES.
WITH
A Table of the CONTENTS, and an Alphabetical INDEX.

VOL. I.

The SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. OSBORNE, in *Gray's-Inn*. MDCCLIII.



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VOL. I.

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L O W D O W :

Printed for T. OSBORN, in Great-Street, Manchester.



T O
His most Gracious MAJESTY,
G E O R G E II.
O F
GREAT-BRITAIN, FRANCE, and IRELAND,
K I N G, Defender of the Faith, &c.

This F I R S T V O L U M E
O F T H E
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Is most humbly inscribed, by,

Your MAJESTY'S

Most faithful, and

Most obedient Subject,

Thomas Osborne.

TO
His most Gracious MAJESTY,
GEORGE III.
OF
GREAT-BRITAIN, FRANCE, and IRELAND,
KING, Defender of the Faith, &c.

This First VOLUME
OF THE
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Whether it be lawful to use Conventicles?
Whether a Lay-man may preach?
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THE

INTRODUCTION.



HOUGH the Scheme of the following *Miscellany* is so obvious, that the Title alone is sufficient to explain it; and though several Collections have been formerly attempted upon Plans, as to the Method, very little, but, as to the Capacity and Execution, very different from Ours; we, being possessed of the greatest Variety for such a Work, hope for a more general Reception than those confined Schemes had the Fortune to meet with; and, therefore, think it not wholly unnecessary to explain our Intentions, to display the Treasure of Materials, out of which this *Miscellany* is to be compiled, and to exhibit a general Idea of the Pieces which we intend to insert in it.

T H E R E is, perhaps, no Nation, in which it is so necessary, as in our own to assemble, from Time to Time, the *small* Tracts and *fugitive* Pieces, which are occasionally published: For, besides the general Subjects of Enquiry, which are cultivated by us: in common with every other learned Nation, our Constitution in Church and State naturally gives Birth to a Multitude of Performances, which would either not have been written, or could not have been made publick in any other Place.

T H E *Form* of our *Government*, which gives every Man, that has Leisure, or Curiosity, or Vanity, the Right of enquiring into the Propriety of publick Measures; and, by Consequence, obliges those, who are intrusted with the Administration of *National* Affairs, to give an Account of their Conduct, to almost every Man, who demands it, may be reasonably imagined to have occasioned *innumerable* Pamphlets, which would never have appeared under *arbitrary* Governments, where every Man lulls himself in Indolence under Calamities, of which he cannot promote the Redress, or thinks it prudent to conceal the Uneasiness of which he cannot complain without Danger.

T H E Multiplicity of *Religious Sects* tolerated among us, of which every one has found Opponents and Vindicators, is another Source of unexhaustible Publication, almost peculiar to ourselves; for, *Controversies* cannot be long continued, nor frequently revived; where an *Inquisitor* has a Right to shut up the Disputants in Dungeons, or were Silence can be imposed on either Party, by the Refusal of a *License*.

N O T that it should be inferred from hence, that *Political* or *Religious* Controversies are the *only* Products of the *Liberty* of the *British Press*; the Mind once let loose to Enquiry, and suffered to operate without Restraint, necessarily deviates into peculiar Opinions, and wanders in new Tracks, where she is indeed sometimes lost in a Labyrinth, from which, tho' she cannot return, and scarce knows how to proceed; yet, sometimes, makes useful Discoveries, or finds out nearer Paths to Knowledge.

T H E boundless Liberty, with which every Man may write his own Thoughts, and the Opportunity of conveying new Sentiments to the Publick, without

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without Danger of suffering either Ridicule or Censure, which every Man may enjoy, whose Vanity does not incite him too hastily to own his Performances, naturally invites those, who employ themselves in Speculation, to try how their Notions will be received by a Nation, which exempts Caution from Fear, and Modesty from Shame; and it is no Wonder, that where Reputation may be gained, but needs not be lost, Multitudes are willing to try their Fortune, and thrust their Opinions into the Light, sometimes with unsuccessful Haste, and sometimes with happy Temerity.

IT is observed, that, among the Natives of *England*, is to be found a greater Variety of Humour, than in any other Country; and, doubtless, where every Man has a full Liberty to propagate his Conceptions, Variety of Humour must produce Variety of Writers; and, where the Number of Authors is so great, there cannot but be some worthy of Distinction.

ALL these and many other Causes, too tedious to be enumerated, have contributed to make *Pamphlets* and *small Tracts* a very important Part of an *English* Library; nor are there any Pieces, upon which those, who aspire to the Reputation of *judicious* Collectors of Books, bestow more Attention, or greater Expence; because many Advantages may be expected from the Perusal of these small Productions, which are scarcely to be found in that of larger Works.

IF we regard *History*, it is well known, that most *Political* Treatises have for a long Time appeared in this Form, and that the first Relations of Transactions, while they are yet the Subject of Conversation, divide the Opinions, and employ the Conjectures of Mankind, are delivered by these *petty* Writers, who have Opportunities of collecting the different Sentiments of Disputants, of enquiring the Truth from living Witnesses, and of copying their Representations from the Life; and, therefore, they preserve a Multitude of particular Incidents, which are forgotten in a short Time, or omitted in formal Relations, and which are yet to be considered as Sparks of Truth, which, when united, may afford Light in some of the darkest Scenes of State, as, we doubt not, will be sufficiently proved in the Course of this *Miscellany*; and which it is, therefore, the *Interest* of the Publick to preserve unextinguished.

THE same Observation may be extended to Subjects of yet more Importance. In Controversies that relate to the Truths of Religion, the first Essays of Reformation are generally timorous; and those, who have Opinions to offer, which they expect to be opposed, produce their Sentiments, by Degrees; and for the most Part in *small Tracts*: By Degrees, that they may not shock their Readers with too many Novelties at once; and in *small Tracts*, that they may be easily dispersed, or privately printed; almost every Controversy, therefore, has been, for a Time, carried on in Pamphlets, nor has swelled into larger Volumes, till the first Ardor of the Disputants has subsided, and they have recollected their Notions with Coolness enough to digest them into Order, consolidate them into Systems, and fortify them with Authorities.

FROM *Pamphlets*, consequently, are to be learned the *Progress* of every Debate; the various State, to which the Questions have been changed; the Artifices and Fallacies, which have been used; and the Subterfuges, by which Reason has been eluded: In such Writings may be seen how the Mind has been opened by Degrees, how one Truth has led to another, how Error has been disentangled, and Hints improved to Demonstration. Which Pleasure, and many others are lost by him, that only reads the *larger Writers*, by whom these scattered Sentiments are collected, who will see none of the Changes of Fortune, which every Opinion has passed through, will have no Opportunity of remarking the transient Advantages, which Error, may sometimes obtain, by the Artifices of its Patron, or the successful Rallies, by which Truth regains the Day, after a Repulse; but will be to him, who traces the Dispute through, into particular Gradations, as he that hears of a Victory, to him that sees the Battle.

SINCE the Advantages of preserving these *small Tracts* are so numerous; our Attempt to unite them in Volumes cannot be thought either *useless* or *unseasonable*; for there is *no other* Method of securing them from Accidents; and they have already been so long neglected, that this Design cannot be delayed, without hazarding the Loss of many Pieces, which deserve to be transmitted to another Age.

The INTRODUCTION.

v

THE Practice of publishing Pamphlets, on the most important Subjects, has now prevailed more than *two Centuries* among us; and, therefore, it cannot be doubted, but that, as no large Collections have been yet made, many curious Tracts must have perished; but it is too late to lament that Loss; nor ought we to reflect upon it, with any other View, than that of quickening our Endeavours, for the Preservation of those that yet remain, of which we have now a *greater Number*, than was, perhaps, ever amassed by any *one Person*.

THE first Appearance of Pamphlets among us is generally thought to be at the new Opposition raised against the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*. Those, who were first convinced of the Reasonableness of the *New Learning*, as it was *then* called, propagated their Opinions in small Pieces, which were cheaply printed; and, what was then of great Importance, easily concealed. These Treatises were generally printed in foreign Countries, and are not, therefore, not always very correct. There was not then that Opportunity of Printing in *private*, for, the Number of Printers were small, and the Presses were easily overlooked by the Clergy, who spared no Labour or Vigilance for the Suppression of *Heresy*. There is, however, Reason to suspect, that some Attempts were made to carry on the Propagation of Truth by a *secret Press*; for one of the first Treatises, in Favour of the Reformation, is said, at the End, to be printed at *Greenwich*, by the *Permission of the Lord of Hosts*.

IN the Time of King *Edward the Sixth*, the Presses were employed in Favour of the *Reformed Religion*, and *small Tracts* were dispersed over the Nation, to reconcile them to the new Forms of Worship. In this Reign, likewise, *Political Pamphlets* may be said to have been begun, by the Address of the Rebels of *Devonshire*; all which Means propagating the Sentiments of the People so disturbed the Court, that no sooner was Queen *Mary* resolved to reduce her Subjects to the *Romish Superstition*; but she artfully, by a *Charter** granted to certain Freemen of *London*, in whose Fidelity, no doubt,

* Which begins thus, KNOW YE, that WE considering, and manifestly perceiving, that several *seditions* and *heretical Books or Tracts* — against the Faith and sound Catholic Doctrine of holy Mother, the Church, &c.

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the confided, intirely prohibited all Presses, but what should be licensed by them; which Charter is that by which the Corporation of *Stationers*, in *London*, is at this Time incorporated.

UNDER the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when Liberty again began to flourish, the Practice of writing Pamphlets became more general; Presses were multiplied, and Books more dispersed; and, I believe, it may properly be said, that the *Trade of Writing* began at this Time, and that it has ever since gradually increased in the Number, though, perhaps, not in the Stile of those that followed it.

IN this Reign, was erected the first *secret* Press against the Church as now Established, of which I have found any certain Account. It was employed by the *Puritans*, and conveyed from one Part of the Nation to another, by them, as they found themselves in Danger of Discovery. From this Press issued most of the Pamphlets against *Whitgift*, and his Associates, in the Ecclesiastical Government; and, when it was at last seized at *Manchester*, it was employed upon a Pamphlet, called, *MORE WORK FOR A COOPER*.

IN the peaceable Reign of King *James*, those Minds, which might, perhaps, with less Disturbance, of the World, have been engrossed by War, were employed in Controversy; and Writings of all Kinds were multiplied among us. The Press, however, was not wholly engaged in Polemical Performances, for more innocent Subjects were sometimes treated; and it deserves to be remarked, because it is not generally known, that the Treatises of *Husbandry* and *Agriculture*, which were published about that Time, are so numerous, that it can scarcely be imagined by whom they were written, or to whom they were sold.

THE next Reign is too well known to have been a Time of Confusion, and Disturbance, and Disputes of every Kind; and the Writings, which were produced, bear a natural Proportion to the Number of the Questions that were discussed at that Time; each Party had its Authors, and its Presses, and no Endeavours were omitted to gain Profelytes to every Opinion. I know not whether this may not properly be called, *The Age of Pamphlets*; for,

The INTRODUCTION.

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for, though they, perhaps, may not arise to such Multitudes as Mr. *Rawlinson* imagined, they were, undoubtedly, more numerous than can be conceived by any who have not had an Opportunity of examining them.

AFTER the Restoration, the same differences, in Religious Opinions, are well known to have subsisted, and the same Political Struggles to have been frequently renewed; and, therefore, a great Number of Pens were employed, on different Occasions, till, at length, all other Disputes were absorbed in the *Papish Controversy*.

FROM the Pamphlets which these different Periods of Time produced, it is proposed, that this *Miscellany* shall be compiled; for which it cannot be supposed that Materials will be wanting, and, therefore, the only Difficulty will be in what Manner to dispose them.

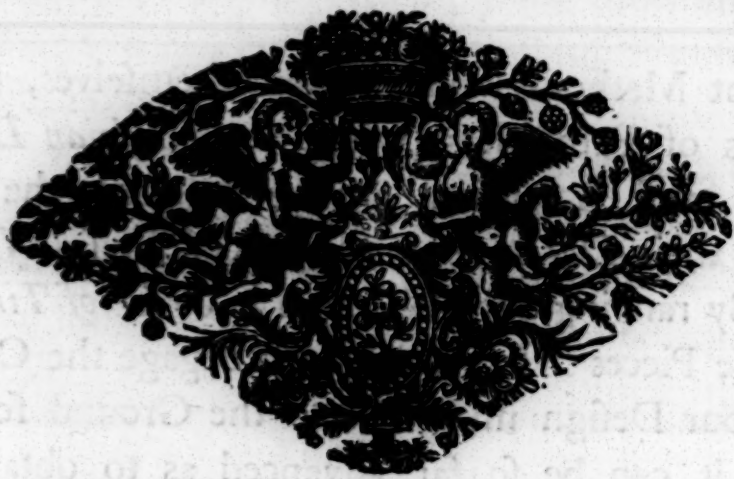
THOSE who have gone before us, in Undertakings of this Kind, have ranged the Pamphlets, which Chance threw into their Hands, without any Regard either to the Subject on which they treated, or the Time in which they were written; a Practice, in no wise, to be imitated by us, who want for no Materials; of which we shall chuse those we think best for the *particular* Circumstances of *Times* and *Things*, and most instructing and entertaining to the Reader.

OF the different Methods which present themselves, upon the first View of the great Heaps of Pamphlets, which the *Harleian Library* exhibits, the two which merit most Attention, are to distribute the Treatises according to their *Subjects* or their *Dates*; but neither of these Ways can be conveniently followed. By ranging our Collection in *Order of Time*, we must necessarily publish those Pieces first, which least engage the Curiosity of the Bulk of Mankind, and our Design must fall to the Ground for Want of Encouragement, before it can be so far advanced as to obtain general Regard: By confining ourselves for any long Time to any *single Subject*, we shall reduce our Readers to one Class, and, as we shall lose all the Grace of Variety, shall disgust all those who read chiefly to be diverted. There is likewise one Objection of equal Force, against both these Methods, that we shall preclude ourselves from the Advantage of any future Discoveries, and
we

and we cannot hope to assemble at once all the Pamphlets which have been written in any Age or on any Subject.

IT may be added, in Vindication of our intended Practice, that it is the same with that of *Photius*, whose Collections are no less Miscellaneous than ours, and who declares, that he leaves it to his Reader, to reduce his Extracts under their proper Heads.

MOST of the Pieces, which shall be offered in this Collection to the Publick, will be introduced by short Prefaces, in which will be given some Account of the Reasons for which they are inserted; Notes will be sometimes adjoined for the Explanation of obscure Passages, or obsolete Expressions; and Care will be taken to mingle Use and Pleasure through the whole Collection. Notwithstanding *every Subject* may not be relished by *every Reader*; yet the Buyer may be assured that each Number will repay his generous Subscription.



REASONS

THE
REASONS

WHICH INDUCED

Her MAJESTY

To Create the RIGHT HONOURABLE

ROBERT HARLEY, Esq;

A PEER of Great-Britain, in the Year 1711.

There can be no Objection against the Prefixing the Reasons for Creating the Right Honourable ROBERT HARLEY, Esq; a Peer of GREAT-BRITAIN, and Earl of OXFORD; especially, as the valuable Collection, intended to be published in this Form, was made by the Greatness of his Knowledge in all Branches of Learning, and at the vast Expence of that noble Family. He, that noble Peer, who always encouraged Learning, and was the Mecenas of learned Men in his Time; whose Patern of Creation extols him, and ennobles him with the Title of the University of OXFORD on that particular Account; and whose chiefest Delight, in his Leisure from the Care he took of the Good of the Nation in General, was to be constantly among his Books; by which Familiarity, he is said to have acquired so particular a Knowledge of them ALL, as to be able, without a Catalogue, to go immediately to the least of them, upon hearing of it named, tho' his Library consisted of more than 100000 different Authors: He, I say, cannot be denied the first Place in this Miscellany, which esteems it an Honour to bear his Name. A Name, that, when alive, gave Life to Learning; and by this Monument of Learning, shall live for ever, in the real Esteem of learned Men.

WHATEVER Favour may be Merited from a Just Prince, by a Man Born of an Illustrious and very Ancient Family, fitted by Nature for Great Things, and by all Sorts of Learning qualified for greater; Constantly Employed in the Study of State Affairs, and with the Greatest Praise, and no Small Danger, exercising Variety of Offices in the Go-

vernment: So much does Our Well beloved and very Faithful Councillor ROBERT HARLEY deserve at Our Hands: He, who in Three Successive Parliaments, was Unanimously chosen Speaker; and, at the same Time that he filled the Chair, was our Principal Secretary of State: In no wise unequal to either Province. Places, so seemingly disagreeing, were easily reconciled by One, who knew
B how

how with equal Weight and address to Moderate and Govern the Minds of Men * : One who could preserve the *Rights* of the *People*, without infringing the *Prerogative* of the *Crown*: And who thoroughly understood how well *Government* could consist with *Liberty*. This Double Task being performed, after some short Respite, he bore the Weight of Our *Exchequer* as *Chancellor*, and thereby prevented the further *Plundering* † the Nation, and also provided for the Settling a New Trade to the *South Seas*, and (by Rescuing Public Credit ‡) so opportunely Relieved the Languishing Condition of the *Treasury*, as to deserve Thanks from the *Parliament*, Blessings from the *Citizens*, and from *Us* (who never separate Our Own Interests from the *Public*) no Small Approbation. Therefore, we Decree to the Man that has so Eminently Deserved of *Us*, and of all our Subjects, those Honours which were long since due to *Him* and his *Family*, being induced thereto by

our own Good Pleasure, and the Suffrage of all *GREAT-BRITAIN*. For we take it as an Admonition, that *He* should not in Vain be Preserved, whom the *States* of our *Realm* have Testified to be obnoxious to the Hatred of Wicked Men, upon Account of his most Faithful Services to *Us*, and whom they have Congratulated upon his Escape from the Rage of a *Flagitious Parricide* ||. We gladly indulge their Wishes, that *He* who comes thus recommended to us by so Honourable a *Vote* of both Houses of *Parliament*, should have his Seat among the *Peers*, to many of whom his Family have been long allied, and that *He* who is Himself *Learned*, and a *Patron* of *Learning*, should happily take his Title from that City, where *Letters* do so Gloriously Flourish.

Now Know ye, &c.

* *His Prudence* kept quiet, and brought to Temper, the Heats and Passions of Parties; and suffered not the two Sides of Whig and Tory to meet together in a Storm; but caused them to ebb gently, and to lose themselves insensibly in the great Ocean of Moderation.

His Conduct rescued the Church from Danger; protected the Dissenters in their Toleration Liberty; preserved the Union from the Infractions of *Jacobites* and the *Pretender*; and quieted the Minds of the People in Matters of Religion, and the *Hanover* Succession. See the *Spectator's Address*, Pages 10, 11.

† *His Wisdom* overthrew a *Management*, that, under the Pretence of Keeping up Credit, concealed the Circumstances of the Nation, till it ran seven Millions in Debt, and knew nothing of the Matter. *Id.* p. 9.

‡ At that Time the *Creditors of the Government* gave 22 per Cent. Discount for Money on the Government's Bills. *Id. ib.*

|| The *Marquis de Guiscard*, who was a *French* Refugee, and, in Consideration of his noble Birth and Misfortunes, was at that Time supported with a Pension of 400 *l. per Ann.* from the *Crown of England*; but held secret Correspondence with the *French* Ministry; which being detected by *Mr. Harley*, this *Guiscard* was seized by the *Queen's* Messengers, in *St. James's Park*, on the 8th of *March* 1711, and brought before the Committee of Cabinet Council at the *Cock-pit*; where, the Fact being clearly proved by *Mr. Harley*, the Villain stooped down, and saying, *J'en veux donc à toy; Ten have at thee*; stabbed the honourable *Mr. Harley*. Redoubling the Stroke, the Penknife broke, which he was not sensible of; but, rushing on towards *Mr. St. John*, overthrew the Clerk's Table that stood between. *Mr. St. John*, seeing *Mr. Harley* fall, cried out, *The Villain has killed Mr. Harley*. Then *Mr. St. John* gave him a Wound, as did the *Duke of Ormond*, and the *Duke of Newcastle*. But, *Mr. Harley* getting up, and walking about, they left the Villain's Execution to them to whom it more properly belonged; hoping that *Mr. Harley* was slightly hurt. But, when *Russer*, the Surgeon, searched the Wound, the Penknife was found struck a-slant, and buried in the Wound. Had it been an Inch lower, it had touched the *Diaphragma*, and then all the World could not have saved his Life: And, if it had pierced a Nail's Breadth deeper, it must have reached his Heart. *Mr. Harley* took the broken Blade out himself, and, having wiped it, called for the Handle, and said, *They belong to me*. And then, being dressed, ordered the Surgeon to take Care of *Monsieur de Guiscard*. See this more at large, in the true Narrative of this Fact, published by *John Morphew*, 1711.

An ESSAY upon the Original and Design of Magistracy :
Or, a modest Vindication of the late Proceedings * in
England.

As to the Author of this excellent Tract, we can say no more, than that he was equally an Hater of Rebellion and Tyranny ; an impartial and judicious Writer ; that he had the public Peace and Prosperity more at Heart, than any private View to serve himself ; and, if it may be allowed to guess, by his Expression in several Places, he seems to have been a North-Britain.

As to the Design of it ; it was to prove the just Rights of the Prince and People ; to expose Tyranny and Rebellion ; to explode the Doctrine of absolute Non-Resistance ; to clear the Prince of Orange, and the English Nation that adhered to him in the Revolution, from all Imputation of Rebellion, &c. to prove that King James the Second was a Tyrant ; and the Necessity of preserving the Succession to the Crown of Great-Britain in the Protestant Line. All which is done with that Conciseness and Perspicuity, and so free from Passion and Faction, that, I presume, will recommend it to every true Lover of our present happy Constitution.

AS the right Knowledge of the Supreme Magistrate is the Basis and Foundation of our Submissions, and the Cause of all the Blessings, which flow from a well-tempered Government ; so the Misapprehensions, and false Notions, that many People, either through Ignorance, or the Prejudice of Education, frame to themselves of his Power, are no less remarkable for their contrary Effects.

We fall into two Extremes equally dangerous, if either we give the People so much Liberty, that the Magistrate cannot go about these great Ends, for which he was designed, but, like a Weather-cock, is turned about at the Pleasure of the Mobile ; or such a boundless Power to the Magistrate, as makes the Property of the Subject altogether precarious, depending upon the Caprice of an insatiable Monarch.

To keep a just Balance, we must consider Magistracy, as it was first instituted by God Almighty, before it was depraved by the Ambition, Pride, and Avarice of those, who were invested in it. So that, in its Original, it may

be defined, a Power delegated from God, for maintaining Order, rewarding the Virtues, and punishing the Crimes of Mankind ; the Application of which Power is left free to any independent People or Nation.

It cannot be doubted, but that God, as Creator of all Things, might, in his own Person, have exercised a Sovereign Power over all his Creatures, which since he was not pleased to do : He thought fit, in his infinite Wisdom, to appoint his Lieutenants here on Earth, to whom he communicates some Rays of his Divine Majesty, both to beget a greater Reverence for their Persons, and procure a chearful Obedience from those that were to be subject ; so that the profound Deference, and blind Submission, which Millions of Men pay to a Mortal ; perhaps, subject to as many Infirmities as the most Part of those he rules over, can be ascribed to nothing else but the firm Persuasion of a Divine Institution, But, that we may the more admire the Goodness of God in ordaining Magistracy, he hath no less proposed Man's Happiness, than his own Glory,

* Concerning King James II. in the Year 1688.

The Original and Design of Magistracy.

that we might find it our Interest, as well as Duty, in Obeying. For tho' Man was born free, and, consequently, by Nature, desirous of Liberty; yet, an unbounded Freedom could have done him very little Service in a natural State, when Innocency was no Protection from the Oppression of the Stronger; but Rapines, Violence, and Murder were the chief Ways of acquiring Right, in this universal *Chaos*, where *homo* was *homini* *Lupus*, nothing was thought unlawful, that Ambition, Malice, or Cruelty, could propose; so that the *Weaker* were driven to a Necessity of uniting their Forces against the *Stronger*. Then began they to erect *Societies*, and make *Laws* for regulating them; the Executing of which *Laws* was committed to one or more Persons, as the *major* Part of the Society thought fit to trust, who had the Name of *Captain*, *General*, or *King*: It was he who led them out to *Battle*, who disposed of *Prizes*, and punished *Malefactors*; his Commands were easily obeyed, because but few; and all just, honest, and profitable. These had not learned the *Arcana Imperii*, or secret Ways to enslave their People; but their eminent Virtue and singular Valour both procured their Dignity, and maintained them in it; and having no *sycophant Flatterers* about them, to abuse their easy Credulity, they had not forgot that the People's Liberty was resigned for no other End, but for obtaining a greater Happiness under their Protection, than what they could have proposed, if every Individual had retained it in his own Person.

There is no other Original of *Magistracy* to be learned from *Sacred* or *Profane History*; for tho' the *Patriarchs* had the Government of their own Families (which, by reason of their long Age, were very numerous) yet that Right was derived from the Law of Nature, and not from any *Civil Obligation*: They had for the most Part no fixed Habitation, but lived as *Strangers* and *Sojourners*, by the Favour of other Princes, and were never modeled into a *Commonwealth*.

When *Dominions* were enlarged, and *Empires* began to be erected, different Forms of Government were established, according to the various Inclinations of the People; when the *Conqueror* gave *Laws* to the *Conquered*, it was called *Despotic*; but when a free People did enter into a Contract, and gave up their Liberty on certain Conditions, it was called a *Limited*

Government, and these Conditions the *Fundamental Laws*.

This *Sovereignty* was either entailed upon a particular Family for considerable Services done to the *Commonwealth*, or it was only to be held during Life, whence Succession and Election.

There is a *Majesty* in every free State, which is nothing else but an independent Power upon Earth, tied to no *Laws*, but these of God; these of Nature and Nations, and the *Fundamental Laws* of a Kingdom.

This *Majesty* is either real, or personal; *real* is that Independency, which every free State hath in Relation to one another; *personal*, that Right, when it is lodged in a particular Person; which, tho' it be inseparable from the *Sovereign Power*, for the greater Splendor, yet it may be violate, when the *real* remains intire, otherwise the Freedom and Independency of a Nation would be extinct, by the Death or Captivity of the Prince.

To *Majesty* or *Sovereign Power* are annexed the *Regalia* or *Regal Right*, which are, more or less, according to the Measure of Liberty given from, or reserved to the People, or their Representatives at the first Constitution: For Instance, a King may have Power to make War and Peace, and yet cannot raise Money; the *Legislative Power* may be also divided, as it is in *England*, betwixt *King* and *Parliament*, and generally in all mixed *Governments*; for that Maxim, that *jura Majestatis sunt indivisa*, does only take Place in an *absolute Monarchy*.

That Power, which the People reserveth from the *Sovereign*, is called *Liberty*, and it is either *Tacite* or *Express*; *Tacite Liberty* is the Exemption of such Things as cannot fall under the Cognizance of the *Supreme Power*, which may be reduced to three. 1st. *Religion*, or the Empire over the Conscience, which belongs only to *God Almighty*. 2^{dly}, The Power of *Life* and *Death*, till we foresault them by the *Divine Law*, or *Municipal Laws* of a Kingdom. 3^{dly}, Our *Goods* and *Heritages*, which cannot be taken from us without a *Judicial Process*, or when the Good of the *Commonwealth*, we live in, requires a Share of them. These three Privileges were ever reserved in the most ample *Resignation of Liberty*; the *First* we cannot give away, because not ours; we have Right to the *Second*, as Men, who are to be governed by Reason; to the *Third*, as Members of a *Society* or *Commonwealth*.

Express

Express Liberty is a *Stipulation*, whereby some Things are by express Paction exim'd from the Power of the Sovereign, by the People or their Representatives; which Reservations are called *Privileges*, and are either thus established by Contract and Agreement at the first Constitution, or are afterwards granted by Princes, when they would either oblige or gratify their People; as was the *Magna Charta* in England, and the *Edict of Nantes* in France: Or when they desire any Favour from them, as was the *Golden-Bull*, wherein the Emperor, Charles the Fourth, granted considerable Immunities to the *Electors*, to engage them to chuse the stupid *Venfiaslus*, his Son, Successor in the Empire.

This Property of the Subject hath ever been the Eye-sore of Monarchs, tho' he has as just a Claim to it, as these have to their Crowns; and whoever goes about to subvert it, dissolves the Constitution, and forfeits his own Title; since the same Laws, that bestowed this, at the same Time secured that; and maintaining the one was made an inseparable Condition of possessing the other. Neither can a Rape, committed on our Liberty, be excused, upon Pretence that Authority is derived from Heaven. For, the Great Sovereign of the Universe, ordained Magistracy for the Preservation, not the Destruction of Mankind; and he never sent down any Person or Family from Heaven, with a Commission to enslave a People or Nation, to whom the Application of the Civil Power was left absolutely free: So that they might bestow it on whom, and after what Manner they pleased; for, tho' God loves Order, yet he never approved of Tyranny and Oppression; and he, who is all Justice and Mercy, can never be supposed to authorise what is contrary to both. So that whosoever acts beyond his Commission, and destroys the Flock, instead of protecting it, is so far from being God's Vicegerent, that he is to be looked on as the common Enemy of Mankind.

The Violation of the Subjects Property is called Tyranny. A Name, which, at first, did only signify the Regal Power; but, when Liberty began to be oppressed, through the Ambition, Wickedness, or evil Management of the Governors, it was made Use of, to denote the Excess of Power.

There are two Sorts of Tyrants, those in Title, and those in Administration of the Government. The first Sort is he, who usurps the Crown without any Title or just Pretence; as did Oliver Cromwel in England: Of the other, one who hath a just Right to the Crown; but, postponing the public Good, acts arbitrarily, and contrary to Law: Such a Tyrant was Philip the Second of Spain.

The Want of a Title, or a bad one, may be supplied by Prescription, or the Subsequent Consent of the People; to which, perhaps, the most Part of Princes must at last recur, unless they would derive their Pedigree from one of the Sons of Noah, and instruct an uninterrupted Succession ever since.

Tyranny is the most miserable Condition a Commonwealth can be in; it dissolves the Union betwixt King and Subject, and exposes both to all the Miseries that attend a Civil War, and to the Hazard of falling under a Foreign Power: Yea, even tho' a Tyrant should be successful in his Attempt, yet is he as far from his Happiness as ever; for, besides the inward Remorses that incessantly gnaw his Conscience, he suspects all Men, fears every Thing, and is most justly hated by all: So that they did not represent a Tyrant ill, who drew him sitting under a Canopy of State, feasting in great Riot, with a naked Sword hanging over his Head.

What Remedy is there then against so great an Evil? Are we tamely to subject our Necks to a Yoke so insupportable to the more refined Sort of Men; Or are we to resist the Supreme Magistrate and reclaim him by Arms when other Means prove ineffectual? The Difficulty is great, and each Opinion hath had its Champions, who writ Volumes in Defence of their Cause.

The horrid Parricide of King Charles I. in the Middle of this Age *, was with great Heat and Zeal defended by Milton †, and impugned by the learned Salmasius, who being a Stranger to our Constitution, and the Transactions of our Country (I speak it with Reverence to so great a Man) did but weakly defend so good a Cause, in endeavouring to prove, that Tyranny was not to be resisted, whereas he should have evinced (as easily he might) That Charles I. was a good Prince and no Tyrant.

* Anno 1648, in the Seventeenth Century.

† The Poet and Author of *Paradise Lost*, &c.

The present Revolution † in England revives the Dispute, and engages me, contrary to my Humour, to impart my Thoughts to the Public, with no other Design than to contribute my mean Endeavours for Vindicating the Nation's Honour from the heavy Imputations of *Treason* and *Rebellion*; and, if I can make out That Resistance in some Case is lawful, I doubt not but I shall be easily able to demonstrate That the present Taking up Arms by the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of *England*, in Defence of their *Religion*, *Laws*, and *Liberties*, is both *just* and *necessary*.

There are *three* Degrees of *Resistance*. The *first* is the Taking up Arms against the *Civil Magistrate*. The *second* is, The Deposing him, and Shaking off our *Allegiance*. The *third* proceeds to the Inflicting of *capital Punishment*. Which last seems inhuman; because God has placed a certain Sacredness in the Person of Princes, so that none can touch the *Lord's Anointed*, and be *guiltless*: And the *Depriving* them of their Crowns is a great enough Punishment; and our Injuries are sufficiently repaired, when we are out of the Hazard of being any more obnoxious to them. The *other Two* may be allowed of, provided the Remedies be applied by *fit Persons*, after a *due Manner*, and with *such Caution*, as a Matter of so great Importance does require.

First, By *fit Persons*, as the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, and other Representatives of the Nation, who, as they are most concerned in the *Laws*, are supposed to understand them, and, consequently, are the best Judges of *Liberty*. And they are Persons of so much Honour that it were a Piece of ill Breeding to suspect them of *Partiality*.

Secondly, The *Tyranny* must be *evident* and *manifest*; some few tyrannical Acts do not constitute *Tyranny*; private Injuries must be suffered, rather than hazard the *public Peace*; there must be a wilful *Subversion of the Laws*, not those of lesser Moment, but such as shake the very Foundations of Government. *David's* Murder and Adultery were very arbitrary and tyrannical, and yet did not make him a Tyrant; for, human Frailty is still to be indulged, seeing, on this Side of Time, Perfection is not to be expected.

Thirdly, This is a violent Remedy, and, consequently, should be the last, it ought to be gone

about with the greatest Deliberation and Circumspection imaginable; when Addresses, Petitions, Supplications, and such gentle Methods prove ineffectual.

Fourthly, The *Commonwealth* must be in such Danger, that the whole Fabric would otherwise be dissolved and overturned.

Lastly, The Effectuating of the Design must be certain, otherwise, we fall into a worse Evil, than what we seek to shun; for, *Confusion* and *Anarchy*, are worse than *Tyranny*; and a wounded Head is better than none at all.

What is objected against this Opinion, from the *Old* and *New Testament*, is very judiciously refuted by the Author of the *Inquiry into the Measures of Submission*.

The *second* Argument is taken from the *Oath of Allegiance*, which Subjects swear to their Prince, whereby they engage *never* to rise in Arms against him. To which, it is answered, That this Oath is accessory to the Contract agreed on betwixt the King and People, and so must follow the Nature of its *Principle*. The Nature of all Contracts is *obligatory* on both Parties; so that, if one of the Parties fail in the performing his Part, the other is loosed from his Obligation. As it is in this Case, the People devolve the Power on the Prince upon certain Conditions, expressly specified; The Accepting of a Crown, on such Terms, binds the Prince to perform the Conditions; if he does not perform them, he, in Effect, renounces his Right, and tacitely consents that it return to those, who bestowed it.

Lawyers say, that Contracts can only oblige *Equals*; and therefore no Paction betwixt King and Subject can be binding. There is no Force in this Argument, if we advert that, when this Stipulation was made, the *Prince* and *Subjects* were *equal*, and were only distinguished after the Power was conferred.

Thirdly, They instance, that this does not bind the Successor. To which, it is answered, That the *Prince* engages for himself and Successors; who, if they would reap the Advantage from their *Predecessors*, must have also the Disadvantage of being tied to the same Rules they were adstricted to. But, for the further Security, none is admitted to the Government, till they take the *Coronation Oath*.

† K. James II's Misrule, Flight, and Abdication of the Crown in 1688.

Fourthly, They upbraid us with the Example of the *Primitive Christians*, who suffered the *Persecution of Heathen Emperors*, with the greatest Moderation and Patience. I do admire, as well as they, the Constancy, Patience, and other Virtues, which these holy Men were endued with; but their Case and ours is quite different: *Paganism*, at that Time, was established by *Law*, and *Christianity* condemned; the Professors whereof suffered, as the *Disturbers of the public Peace*; but blessed be G O D, the *Law is now on our Side*; and our Religion is become a great Part of our Property; and the Peace of our Country does very much depend on the Preservation of it: Besides, if the *Christian Religion* had been propagated by Arms, its Worth had been diminished, and the Reputation of the first Founders of *Christianity* had very much suffered; whereas the Morality and Justice of all its Precepts, the Holiness and Purity of its Doctrine, were of sufficient Efficacy to recommend it; and the Constancy and Resolution, with which the first *Christians* suffered Martyrdom, were strong Motives to convince the *Pagan World* of the Truth of it. But in our *Christian Commonwealth*, where there are no more *Heathens* to convert, as the *Robbing* us of our Religion would be the highest Act of Injustice, so the Parting with it, *tamely*, would argue the greatest Stupidity and Inconcernedness that Men can be capable of.

The only Difficulty that remains, is, Who shall be Judge of the *Prince's* Actions, to know when he is a *Tyrant*, and when not? If it were allowed to the *Prince himself*, he would be too partial: If we should constitute a Right in the *People*, they would be too apt to misconstrue the *Prince's* Actions (which should ever receive the most benign Interpretation that the Subject can admit.) So that, to shun both Inconveniencies, the Controversy must be decided by the *Laws* of the Kingdom. There is just such a Plea betwixt the *Church of Rome*, and the *Protestants*, concerning a *Judge of Controversies*: They contend for the *Pope*, as *Christ's Vicar*; and reject the *Scriptures*, which we believe are the only *Rule of Faith*; and that, in them, all Things, which relate to *Salvation*, are clearly set down, so that those of

the meanest Capacities may easily understand them.

In a *Politic State*, the *Supreme Magistrate* is sworn to rule according to the *Fundamental Laws*, of the Kingdom, which we must suppose are known both to King and People; because they are a *Rule* to direct the Government of the one, and a *Measure* of the Obedience of the other, and were fairly enacted at the *first Constitution*. It is true, indeed, that if a *Law*, made by the Civil Power, contains any Obscurity, the sole Power of interpreting that *Law* belongs to the *Lawgivers*; but we must imagine the *Fundamental Laws* full of Perspicuity, and, except there be a *notorious Violation* of them, Resistance can never be lawful.

What has been said on this General Head, will not answer the Design of this Paper, if it cannot be applied to the *present State* of Affairs in *England*: For it is of no Purpose to prove, That *Tyranny is to be resisted by Arms*; unless we make it appear, That the *English Government* had altogether degenerated into Tyranny; and that the Taking up of Arms, under the auspicious Conduct of his Highness the *Prince of Orange*, was no rash Act, but done after mature Deliberation, and with all the Circumspection, that an Affair of so great Importance did require.

The great and earnest Endeavours, to have the *Bill of Exclusion* passed *, did sufficiently evince, what Fears and Jealousies the Parliament had of the Danger to which their Religion and Liberties would necessarily be exposed under a *Popish Successor*. His Majesty's † Behaviour, since he came to the Crown, has clearly demonstrated, that these Fears were not groundless; for, not being content to introduce the *Popish Religion*, so much contrary to *Law*, he hath endeavoured to alter the whole Frame of the Constitution, and swallow up all our Liberties and Privileges, in an *Arbitrary and Despotick Power* ‡.

First, The first Step was made against the Freedom of *Parliaments* (which makes up a great Part of the Government, by their having a Share of the *Legislative Power* lodged in them) by their issuing out *Quowarranto's* against all the *Burghs* and *Corporations* in *England*. The most Part of them, either through Fear or

* In King Charles the Second's Time, against the Duke of York, a *Papist*, afterwards King James the Second, whose Principles were destructive of our Religion and Ecclesiastical State, and all the *Laws* by which our Church was established. † King James the Second. ‡ See his Commission for erecting an *Ecclesiastick Commission Court*.

Force, did surrender their *Charters* to the King, who placed such Magistrates in them, as he was most assured of, and, by this Means, did altogether invert the Freedom of Election.

Secondly, Nothing could be more contrary to Law, than the erecting of *Seminaries of Priests* and *Jesuits* in all the *Capital Cities of his Dominions*; yea, such Confidence hath he reposed in that Order, that he hath committed the Direction of his Conscience to || one of its Fathers, and was not ashamed to own himself a Son of their Society.

Thirdly, His Pretence to a *Dispensing Power* was no mean *Breach* of his *Coronation Oath*; for, by it, he usurped the whole *Legislative Power*; and would have imposed on the People (in procuring the Votes of the *Twelve Mercenary Judges*) if they had not wisely foreseen the dangerous Consequences, and feared that his *Majesty* would farther oblige his *Roman Catholic Subjects*, by Repealing all the *Laws* that were enacted in Favour of the *Protestant Religion*.

It was by Vertue of this *Dispensing Power*, that the *Ecclesiastic Commission* was established; the *Bishop of London* suspended; the *Fellows of Magdalen College* turned out; And, because the *Bishops of England* would not so far justify his illegal Pretences, as to cause their Clergy to read the *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience* § from their *Pulpits*, they quickly saw all the fair Promises made them vanish, and the *Loyal Church of ENGLAND* was first branded with the infamous Character of *Trumpeters of Rebellion*, and afterwards treated as the worst of *Criminals*; a very bad Recompence for that great Zeal, with which they had ever preached up the impracticable Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*.

Fourthly, In Prosecution of the blessed Design of reducing *Heretics* to the *See of Rome*, all Ways were taken to discourage *Protestants*, who were not only debarred from offices and Employments of any Trust, unless upon such Conditions, as the Court pleased to impose, but were even turned out of those that had been heritable to their Families, and a great Part of the *Militia* was intrusted to *Roman Catholics*, of Purpose to over-awe the *Parliaments* in Case

the next Assembly should have proved stubborn.

Fifthly, Though by many Laws the holding *Correspondence*, any Way, with *Rome*, be declared *High-Treason*, yet hath his *Majesty* had his *Resident* there, and received his *Nuncio* here, to the great Scandal of all good *Protestants*, and true-hearted *Englishmen*: For it is in Effect a Subjecting the Kingdom to a Slavery, from which our Ancestors had most gloriously delivered us. These Things were acted in the Face of the Sun *, and none can deny them without renouncing the most comfortable of all his Senses; yea, the King himself did sufficiently acknowledge them, by his sudden restoring the City Charters, *Magdalen College*, and some other of the grosser Sort of Abuses, upon the first Information he got of the *Prince's* † Declaration.

The King's old Age, and the fair Prospect of a *Protestant Successor*, made us suffer these Things patiently, because we hoped to be very shortly delivered from them; but, to despair us, and cut off all our Hopes, and to punish the *Prince and Princess of Orange*, for refusing to comply with the King's Will, there is a sudden Rumour spread of the *Queen's* being with Child, which, as it did alarm the whole Kingdom, so it made these, who were most concerned, be at some Pains to be assured of the Truth of it; and yet, after their most exact Enquiry, their Doubts were increased.

The Court was not ignorant of all this, and yet would not give themselves the least Trouble to satisfy Them, though they had the greatest Interest in the World to do it.

The Place of the *Queen's* lying in was so uncertain, and the Management of the Birth so mysterious; the sending away the *Princes of Denmark* ‡, the imprisoning the *Bishops* in the *Tower*, gave more than probable Grounds to suspect an *Imposture*; and though these be but Presumptions, and have not the Strength of a full Probation, yet they transfer a Necessity of eliding them by clearer Evidences.

Thus, our Religion, Liberties, and Laws being ready to sink, when gentle Methods had proved ineffectual, when Addresses and Supplications, even from the most loyal Part of the

|| Father Peters a *Jesuit*, and one of his Privy Council. § Calculated to introduce Popery, against all the Laws in Force against that Superstition. * As shall be more particularly shewn in the Course of this Miscellany. † O. Orange. ‡ Afterwards *Queen Anne*, who was married to *Prince George of Denmark*.

Nation, were counted so many Acts of Treason; it was high Time to recur to that Remedy which Nature seems to dictate to every Individual in its own Defence.

That Zeal, with which his *Highness the Prince of Orange*, had ever espoused the *Protestant* Interest against all its Adversaries, made the Nobility and Gentry of *England* unanimously pitch on him as the fittest Person to be their Deliverer; and, both he and his *Princes* being so nearly interested in the Succession, no rational Man can blame him for appearing in Arms and demanding Satisfaction that Way, which hitherto had been refused him. If the Remedy had been delayed, it is more than probable, the greater Part of the Nation had fallen a Sacrifice to *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*.

I shall conclude all with a short Reflection upon his *Majesty's* leaving the Kingdom, and going for *France*, which Action alone hath done him more Hurt, than all the rest together; for, by depriving us of that *Protection*, which we might expect from his Government, he looses his Subjects from that *Allegiance* they swore unto, upon no other Condition, than so long as they should enjoy so great a Benefit: Neither can any, who knows his Majesty's Temper, impute his Flight to Fear or Cowardice, but rather of his being conscious of a certain Guilt, which did banish him from one of the greatest Stations in the World, and robbed him of that Bravery and Resolution, that he is naturally attended with; and which though he had wanted, yet Innocency had supported him, and made him out-brave all the malicious Ca-

lumnies of his Enemies, with such an heroic Constancy of Mind, as seldom or never fails to come off victorious.

The Prince * had also acquainted him in his Declaration, that he had no other Design in coming to *England*, than to refer all the Grievances of the Nation, and his own Pretences, to a *Free Parliament*. Neither the King, nor any Man else, could ever accuse this Prince with the least Breach of Promise: And, though he had been wanting in that Reverence that is due to the Character of an Uncle and Father-in-Law, yet the Prince's own Interest had secured the King from any harsh Treatment; for, if any Thing had been attempted against his Person, the Nation's Eyes had been opened and would have seen clearly, that these specious Pretences of Liberty and Property were but so many Delusions, and such a Treatment certainly had deserved the greatest Resentment.

But if the King must needs go, can he find no Place for Shelter but *France*? Where so much *Protestant* Blood hath been so lately shed †, with the greatest Cruelty and Barbarity that ever was heard; he cannot be ignorant that his Subjects have a natural Aversion for that Nation, and that his close and constant Correspondence with its Monarch gave them just Jealousies to apprehend, that there was more than an ordinary Friendship betwixt them, which was every Day increased, by his copying so near the Methods that had been used in that Nation, for suppressing the *Protestant Religion*, and establishing ‡ *Arbitrary Government*.

* Of *Orange*.

† Against the Faith of solemn Treaties and National Laws.

‡ Of which Jealousies we can have no better Idea than what is strongly conveyed to Posterity, by an ingenious Author, who wrote soon after, in these Words:

" Though I was never much surprised and alarmed with popular or artificial Fears and Jealousies (which will perhaps make a Noise, even in the most promising Seasons, as long as the World endures) yet, when Matter of Fact is notoriously plain and evident; when tyrannical, base, and undermining Principles are seconded with Power, Revenge, and successful Issues; it is, a weak Piece of Bravery merely to defy Danger, and rank Folly and Stupidity not to be nationally concerned.

" The Politics of *France* are now fairly legible in Speeches and Bravadoes, in Actions and Menaces, and many self evident Tokens of a designed Usurpation; and we are not only to expect the same burning Effects from the same damning Cause; but have also too just and apparent Reason to fear, that we shall be graduated up, through all the decent Forms of ingenious Cruelty, and the several Stages of Torture to a more solemn and ceremonious Death, if ever *Popery* lift up its Head in *England*.

" Perhaps, the more dull and half witted Priests may content themselves with a short fiery Trial; with the plain and old-fashioned Way of sacrificing Heretics to the *Roman Idol*; and I have Charity to believe, there are many kind and good-natured Romanists amongst us, who are so much our Friends, as to shrink and tremble even at the Thoughts of such Barbarities as these: But all their good Wishes must prove but vain and plausible Nothings, when the insolent Jesuit has once got the Ascendant, and is roaring up and down with Racks, Wheels, and Damnation in his Mouth, and all the Terrors of the ten Persecutions: And what will a Not Swearing, or, Who would have thought it, signify, when our Gates

ment. And, if the King † have any Hopes to reduce his Subjects by invading them on the Head of a *French Army*, he will find them but ill grounded; for, instead of reconciling them to him, so dangerous and improper a Method would even alienate the Hearts of his best

Friends, and *Britain* would shew itself as forward to fight against *Popery* and *Tyranny*, as it was averse from giving Proofs of its Courage, when it must needs have been fatal to Liberty and the *Protestant Religion*.

“ are set open to that *Royal Thunderer*, who has been so far influenced by his beloved Oracles, and the “ omnipotent Charms of canonical Executioners, as to give a Rest either to the World or himself; “ and whose magnified Conduct bears a near Resemblance to that awful Sort of Majesty, which Mr. D— presents us with, in his notable Description of a *Bull* after this Manner:

*While, Monarch-like, he rang'd the list'd Field,
Some toss'd; some gor'd, some trampling down he kill'd.*

† James II.

V O X R E G I S.

As an APPENDIX to what hath been said, we shall presume to annex Part of King James the First's Speeches to the Parliaments in 1603, and 1609, who was Grandfather to King James the Second: As also his Advice to his Son in his Basilicon Doron; which Appendix is intitled, V O X R E G I S: Or, the Difference betwixt a King Ruling by Law, and a Tyrant by his Own Will; and, at the same Time, declaring his Royal Opinion of the Excellency of the English Laws, Rights, and Privileges, viz.

In his Speech to the Parliament 1603, he expresseth himself in these Words, viz.

“ I Do acknowledge, that the special and
“ greatest Point of Difference that is be-
“ twixt a *rightful King*, and an *usurping*
“ *Tyrant*, is in this: That whereas the
“ proud and ambitious Tyrant doth think
“ his Kingdom and People are only ordained
“ for Satisfaction of his Desires, and unreason-
“ able Appetites, *The righteous and just King*
“ doth, by the contrary, acknowledge himself to
“ be ordained for the procuring of the *Wealth and*
“ *Prosperity of his People*; and that his great
“ and principal worldly Felicity must consist in
“ their Prosperity: If you be rich I cannot be
“ poor; if you be happy, I cannot but be for-
“ tunate; and, I protest, your Welfare shall
“ ever be my greatest Care and Contentment.
“ And, that I am a Servant, it is most true,
“ that, as I am Head and Governor of all the
“ People in my Dominion, who are my natu-
“ ral Subjects, considering them in distinct
“ Ranks, so if we will take in the People as one
“ Body, then as the Head is ordained for the Bo-
“ dy, and not the Body for the Head, so must a
“ righteous King know himself to be ordained for
“ his People, and not his People for him.
“ Wherefore, I will never be ashamed to
“ confess it my principal Honour, to be the great
“ Servant of the Commonwealth; and ever think
“ the Prosperity thereof to be my greatest Feli-
“ city, &c.

In his Speech to the Parliament, March 21, 1609, he expresseth himself as followeth :

IN these, our Times, we are to distinguish betwixt the State of Kings in the first Original, and between the State of settled Kings and Monarchs, that do at this Time govern in Civil Kingdoms : For even as God, during the Time of the Old Testament, spake by Oracles, and wrought by Miracles ; yet, how soon it pleased him to settle a Church (which was bought and redeemed by the Blood of his only Son Christ) then was there a Cession of both : He ever after governing his Church and People within the Limits of his revealed Will. So in the first Original of Kings, whereof some had their Beginning by Conquest, and some by Election of the People, their Wills at that Time served for a Law ; yet, how soon Kingdoms began to be settled in Civility and Policy, then did Kings set down their Minds by Laws, which are properly made by the King only ; but, at the Rogation of the People, the Kings Grant being obtained thereunto ; and so the King came to be *Lex loquens*, a speaking Law, after a Sort, binding himself, by a Double Oath, to the Observation of the Fundamental Laws of his Kingdom : Tacitly, as by being a King, and so bound to protect as well the People, as the Laws of his Kingdom ; and expressly by his Oath at his Coronation : So as every just King, in a settled Kingdom, is bound to observe that Paction made to his People by his Laws, in framing his Government agreeable thereunto, according to that Paction which God made with Noah after the Deluge : Hereafter, Seed-time and Harvest, Summer and Winter, Cold and Heat, Day and Night shall not cease, so long as the Earth remains. And therefore a King, governing in a settled Kingdom, leaves to be a King, and degenerates into a Tyrant, as soon as he leaves off to rule according to his Laws. In which Case, the King's Conscience may speak unto him, as the poor Widow said to Philip of Macedon, Either govern according to your Law, *aut ne Rex sis*, or cease to be King ; and, though no Christian Man ought to allow any Rebellion of People against their

Prince ; yet doth God never leave Kings unpunished, when they transgress these Limits *. For in that same Psalm, where God saith to Kings, *Vos dii estis, Ye are Gods*, he immediately thereafter concludes, *But ye shall die like Men*. The higher we are placed, the greater shall our Fall be ; *Ut casus sic dolor*, as the Fall, so the Grief ; the taller the Trees be, the more in Danger of the Wind ; and the Tempest beats forest upon the highest Mountains. Therefore, all Kings that are no Tyrants, or perjured, will be glad to bind themselves within the Limits of their Laws, and they that persuade them the contrary, are Vipers and Pests, both against them and the Commonwealth. For it is a great Difference betwixt a King's Government in a settled Estate, and what Kings, in their original Power, might do in *Individuo vago* : As for my Part, I thank God, I have ever given good Proof, that I never had Intention to the Contrary : And I am sure to go to my Grave with that Reputation and Comfort, that never King was, in all his Time, more careful to have his Laws duly observed, and himself to govern thereafter, than I.

Just Kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do, if they will not incur the Curse of God. I will not be content that my Power be disputed upon, but I shall ever be willing to make the Reason appear of all my Doings, and rule my Actions according to the Laws.

And, afterwards, speaking of the Common Law of England, which some conceived he contemned, saith to this Purpose : That, as a King, he had least Cause of any Man to dislike the Common Law ; for, no Law can be more favourable and advantageous for a King, and extendeth further his Prerogative, than it doth ; and for a King of England to despise the Common Law, it is to neglect his own Crown. It is true, that no Kingdom in the World but every one of them hath their own Municipal Laws, agreeable to their Customs, as this Kingdom hath the Common Law. Nay, I am so far from disallowing the Com-

* See this verified in the Persons of King Charles the First, and King James the Second, his Son and Grandson.

mon Law, as I protest, that, if it were in my Hand to chuse a new Law for this Kingdom, I would not only prefer it before any other *National* Law, but even before the very *Judicial* Law of *Moses*, for Conveniency to this Kingdom at this Time, though, in another Respect, I must say, both our Law and all other Laws else are very inferior to that *Judicial* Law of God; for no Book nor Law is perfect nor free from Corruption, except only the Book and Law of God. And, therefore, I could wish, that some Corruptions might be *purged* and *cleared* in the Common Law, but always by the *Advice of Parliaments*; for the King with his Parliament, *here* *, are absolute in making or forming of any Sort of Laws.

First, I could wish that it were written in our *Vulgar Language* †; for now it is an old mixed corrupt Language, only understood by Lawyers; whereas every Subject ought to understand the Law under which he lives; for, since it is our *Plea* against the *Papists*, that the Language in God's Service ought not to be in an *unknown Tongue*, according to the Rule in the Law of *Moses*, that the Law should be written in the Fringes of the Priest's Garment, and should be publicly read in the ears of all the people; so, methinks ought our Law to be made as *plain*, as can be to the people, that the Excuse of Ignorance may be taken from them for conforming themselves thereunto.

Next, Our common Law hath not a *settled Text*, being chiefly grounded upon *Old Customs*, which you call *Responsa Prudentum* — I could wish that some more certain were set down in this Case by Parliament; for since the *Reports* themselves are not always so binding, but that divers Times Judges to disclaim them, and recede from the Judgment of their Predecessors; it were good that upon a mature Deliberation the *Exposition* of the Law were set down by Act of Parliament, and such Reports therein confirmed as were thought fit to serve for Law in all Times hereafter, and so the People should not depend upon the *bare Opinions* of Judges, and *uncertain Reports*.

And lastly, there be in the Law contrary Reports and Precedents; and this Corruption doth likewise concern the *Statutes* and *Acts*

of Parliament, in Respect there are divers *cross* and *cussing* Statutes, and some so penned as they may be taken in divers, yea contrary Senses. And, therefore, would I wish both those Statutes and Reports, as well in the Parliament as common Law, to be once materially reviewed and reconciled.

And that not only *Contrarieties* should be scraped out of our Books, but that even such *penal Statutes*, as were made but for the Use of the Time (for Breach whereof no Man can be free) which do not now agree with the Condition of this our Time, might likewise be left out of our Books, which under a tyrannous and avaricious King could not be endured.

And this Reformation might, we think, be made a worthy Work, and well deserves a Parliament to be set of Purpose for it, &c.

And as to the Point of Grievances He tells them, That there are two special Causes of the People's presenting Grievances to their King in Time of Parliament.

First, For that the King cannot at other Times be so well informed of all the Grievances of his People, as in Time of Parliament, which is the Representative Body of the whole Realm. Secondly, The Parliament is the highest Court of Justice, and therefore the fittest Place where divers Natures of Grievances may have their proper Remedy by the Establishment of good and wholesome Laws: Wherein he addresses himself especially to the Lower House, who, as representing the Body of the People, may as it were both *Opportune* & *Inopportune*, in Season and out of Season; I mean either in Parliament as a Body, or out of Parliament as private Men, present your Grievances unto me. —

I am not to find Fault that you inform yourselves of the particular Grievances of the People: Nay I must tell you, ye can neither be just nor faithful to me or to your Countries, that trust and imploy you, if you do not; for true Plants proceed not from the Persons employed, but from the Body represented, which is the People. And it may very well be, that many Directions and Commissions, justly given forth by me, may be abused in the Execution thereof upon the People, and yet I never receive Information, except it come by your Means at such a Time as this is.

* In England.

† This has been lately enacted by the Parliament.

To which we may add what he saith to his Son, in his *Basilikon Doron*, p. 155, 156, of his Works, viz.

‘ **F**OR the Part of Making and Executing
 ‘ of Laws, consider first the true Difference
 ‘ betwixt a lawful King and an usurping
 ‘ Tyrant, and ye shall the more easily
 ‘ understand your Duty herein; for *contraria
 ‘ juxta se posita magis elucescunt*. The one
 ‘ acknowledgeth himself ordained for his People,
 ‘ having received from God a Burden of
 ‘ Government, whereof he must be accountable;
 ‘ the other thinketh his People ordained for
 ‘ him, a Prey to his Passions and inordinate
 ‘ Appetites, as the Fruits of his Magnanimity:
 ‘ And, therefore, as their Ends are directly
 ‘ contrary, so are their whole Actions, as
 ‘ Means whereby they press to attain to their
 ‘ Ends. A good King thinketh the highest
 ‘ Honour to consist in the due Discharge of his
 ‘ Calling, imployeth all by Study and Pains to
 ‘ procure and maintain, by the making and
 ‘ Execution of good Laws, the Welfare and
 ‘ Peace of his People; and, as their natural
 ‘ Father and kindly Master, thinketh his greatest
 ‘ Contentment standeth in their Prosperity,
 ‘ and his greatest Surety in having their Hearts,
 ‘ subjecting his own private Affections and
 ‘ Appetites to the Weal and Standing of his
 ‘ Subjects, ever thinking the Common Interest his
 ‘ chiefest Particular; whereby the Contrary,
 ‘ an usurping Tyrant thinking his greatest
 ‘ Honour and Felicity to consist in attaining
 ‘ *per fas aut nefas*, to his ambitious Pretences,
 ‘ thinketh never himself sure but by the
 ‘ Dissension and Factions among his People,
 ‘ counterfeiting the Saint, while he once
 ‘ in Credit, will then (by inverting all good
 ‘ Laws to serve only his only private Affections)
 ‘ frame the Common Weal ever to advance

‘ his Particular, building his Surety upon
 ‘ his People’s Misery; and in the End (as a
 ‘ Step-Father and an uncouth Hireling) make
 ‘ up his own Hand upon the Ruins of the
 ‘ public; and, according to their Actions, so
 ‘ receive they their Reward.

‘ For a good King, after a happy Reign,
 ‘ dieth in Peace, lamented by his Subjects,
 ‘ admired by his Neighbours, and, leaving a
 ‘ reverence behind him on Earth, obtaineth the
 ‘ Crown of eternal Felicity in Heaven. And
 ‘ although some of them (which falleth out
 ‘ very rarely) may be cut off by the Treason of
 ‘ some unnatural Subjects, yet liveth their
 ‘ Fame after them, and some notable Plague
 ‘ faileth never to overtake the Committers in
 ‘ this Life, besides their Infamy to all Posterities
 ‘ hereafter.

‘ Whereby the Contrary, a Tyrant’s miserable
 ‘ and infamous Life armeth in the End his
 ‘ own Subjects to become by *Burdeaux*; and
 ‘ although that Rebellion be ever unlawful on
 ‘ their Part, yet is the World so wearied of
 ‘ him, that his Fall is little meaned by the rest
 ‘ of his Subjects, and but smiled at by his
 ‘ Neighbours. And, besides the infamous Memory
 ‘ he leaveth behind him here, and the endless
 ‘ Pain he sustaineth hereafter, it oft falleth
 ‘ out, that the Committers not only escape
 ‘ unpunished, but farther, the Fact will remain
 ‘ as allowed by the Law in divers Ages thereafter.

‘ It is easy then for you, my Son, to make
 ‘ Choice of one of these two Sorts of Rulers,
 ‘ by following the Way of Virtue to establish
 ‘ your Standing.’

A Plea

A Plea for Limited Monarchy, as it was established in this Nation, before the late War ; in an humble Address to his Excellency, General *MONK*, by a Zealot for the good old Laws of his Country, before any Faction or Caprice, with Additions.

Optima Libertas, ubi Rex, cum Lege, gubernat.

Printed in the Year MDCLX.

This excellent Tract is said to be written by Sir Roger L'Estrange, and, without the Heat of Party or Faction, conveys to us a desirable Representation of true English Liberty, only to be supported by Monarchy ; and the eminent Danger it fell into by Anarchy, in the Time of the great Rebellion, and may properly be recorded as an efficacious Antidote against Republicans and State-Levellers.

S I R,
Finding, by several Letters, published in your Name, that you profess a more than ordinary Zeal to *popular* Government ; and not knowing any Thing herein, that can so mislead you, but the glorious Pretence of a *Free State* (a Notion, which hath even intoxicated many, otherwise, great and worthy Persons) I held it my Duty, *first*, to acquaint you, how necessary it is to distinguish betwixt the Form and Essence of a Commonwealth ; the Mistake whereof (each for the other) hath proved so fatal in our Times * : *Next*, to examine, whether those that surfeited of our *kingly* Government, and longed for Novelty, have not, indeed (like the Dog in the Fable) lost the Substance of Liberty and Happiness, in Pursuit of the Shadow.

Our fierce Champions of a *Free State* will not, I presume, maintain, that it is subject to no Violations, lest woeful Experience confute, and force them to confess, either that a Commonwealth may degenerate, or, at least, that this never was a Commonwealth : And, as they must renounce their Senses, so they must deny the Faith of Story, which proves, that Republicks have been sometimes invaded with *Usurpa-*

tion, sometimes debauched and embased with *Oligarchy*, mostly, by reason of their Weakness and Divisions, subdued or forced to truckle under their neighbouring Princes ; always tormented with Faction. Neither, indeed, do they themselves offer any Argument but such, as, in Effect, beg the Question, by presupposing great Unity in the Coalition, great Probity in the Intention, and great Purity in the Exercise ; which, doubtless, being admitted, we should so little need to differ about Forms, that, perhaps, we should scarce need any Government at all. The stoutest Assertors of *Monarchy*, must, likewise, acknowledge, that it, being but Earthen-ware (tho' the finest and strongest) is subject to divers Accidents ; for nothing under Heaven is perfect. And, when we constitute Governments, we must not think to build Babels against the Deluge, but imbank against Floods, and inclose the best we can against Trespassors. This being premised, let us consider these two Governments, not *Metaphysically*, in Notions abstracted from their Subjects (a Pastime which our *Platonicks* much delight in) but *morally* and *reasonably*, as concrete and adapted to Times, Places, and Persons, *viz.* our own.

* Alluding to the Days of *Anarchy* in the Grand Rebellion.

I might, perhaps, decide the Question in few Words, by alledging the manifest Inclination of the whole People, now, to *Monarchy*; for, *As no Man can be wronged with his Consent, so neither is any to be obliged against his Will*; and how should a Government, founded upon Inequality and Force, ever subsist without it? Or, a State, which is the meer Adjective of an Army, become a Substantive; Beginnings of this Kind being so ominous? As reasonably might I object Matter of *Title* and foreign Pretence; for the same Estate with a Flaw in the Conveyance, or clogged with Statutes and Judgments, is not surely of like Value, as if it had descended clearly from the Great-Grandfather, and were free both from Claims and Incumbrances; and one that hath little, yet owes nothing, is likelier to thrive than he who owing vast Sums (which he resolves never to pay) dares not walk the Streets for Fear of Serjeants; but my Intent is only to shew, that our former * Government (as it excellently complied with the Laws, Genius, and Interest of this Nation) so it comprehended all the Benefits of a Commonwealth in great Perfection; and this I shall do as briefly as I can.

To shew how it complied with our Laws and Constitutions, let it suffice that (Monarchy, in these Nations, being more antient than Story or Record, more venerable than Tradition itself) our Laws were, as it were, under that Climate, habituated to that Air and Diet, grafted into that Stock; and though they have (God be thanked) forgot their *Norman* †, yet they will hardly learn *Greek* ‡, much less *Utopian* §: That, in the late Protector's § Times, our Lawyers, with one Voice, importuned him, rather to assume the Stile and Power of a *King*, to which they found all our Laws were shaped, than retain that of a *Protector*, unknown to the Law; that nothing hath rendered our Architects of a Commonwealth more obnoxious, than that their infinite Discords, in other Things, generally agreed in the Necessity of subverting all our Fundamentals, in order to their Design; which hath likewise obliged all sober Men and true Patriots (even the chiefest Pillars of the Parliament's Cause, in the late War) to unite themselves with the Royal Interest, as not en-

during to hear of those violent and dangerous Alterations, which they see a Republic must introduce.

For its Compliance with our Genius consider, that as our *English* Nature is not, like the *French*, supple to Oppression, and apt to delight in that Pomp and Magnificence of their Lords, which they know is supported with their Slavery and Hunger; nor like the *Highland Scots*, where the Honour and Interest of the Chief is the Glory of the whole *Clan*; so doth it as little or less agree with the *Dutch* Humour, addicted only to Traffic, Navigation, Handy-crafts, and sordid Thrift; and (in Defiance of Heraldry) every Man fancying his own Scutcheon: Doth not every one amongst us, that hath the Name of a Gentleman, aim his utmost to uphold it; Every one that hath not, to raise one? To this End, do not our very Yeomen commonly leave their Lands to the eldest Son, and to the others nothing but a Flail or Plough? Did not every one, that had any Thing like an Estate, pinch himself in his Condition, to purchase a Knighthood or small Patent? What need further Proof? Our late Experience ** of that Glimpse and Shadow of Monarchy (though in Persons hated and scorned, and upon a most scandalous Account) yet (for mere Resemblance) admitted as tolerable, and, in Respect of a Commonwealth, courted, clearly evinces, how greatful the Substance would be to Englishmen.

For our Interest briefly (we wave tedious and politic Discourses) certain it is, that our Republic (were it like to settle) would alarm all our Neighbours, would make our best Allies, our bitterest Enemies, and (upon several Accounts) probably draw upon us the united Forces of Christendom to crush the *Embryo*. Which (the Nation being so weakened, and divided, as it is) must evidently endanger our total Oppression, or, at least, to bring in the King by Conquest. Besides, by what Title shall we pretend to hold *Scotland* and *Ireland*, since that of Descent is now avoided, and Consent we know there is none; nor, indeed, can any be expected?

I come now to assert, that our former Government ||| eminently included all the Perfection

* i. e. Monarchical. † Brought in by *William the Conqueror*, Duke of *Normandy*. ‡ i. e. The Forms of Government which the *Grecian* Republics submitted to; which were as various as the Humours of the People. § A chimerical Sort of Government, which never had any Existence. § *Oliver Cromwell*. ** Under *Richard Cromwell*. See his Speech and Letter to the Parliament in this Number. ||| By King and Parliament.

of a free State, and was the Kernel, as it were, of a Commonwealth, in the Shell of Monarchy: *First*, I will begin with the essential Parts of a Commonwealth, which are three, *viz.* The Senate proposing, the People resolving, the Magistrate executing: For the Senate or Parliament, if ever there were a free and honourable one, it was here; where the Deputies of the whole Nation, most freely chosen, did, with like Freedom, meet, propound, debate and vote all Matters of common Interest: No Danger escaped their Representing; no Grievance, their Complaint; no public Right, their Claim; or Good, their Demand; in all which, the least Breach of Privilege was Branded as a civil Sacrilege; and though there lay no Appeal to the dispersed Body of the People (a Decision manifestly impracticable in Government, and fitter indeed for Tribunes to move, than Nations to admit) yet (Elections being so popular, and Assemblies frequent) the same End was attained with much more Safety and Convenience. The Prince had, likewise (in Effect) but an executive Power, which he exercised by Ministers and Officers, not only sworn, but severely accountable: For, though both he and the Lords had their Negatives in making Laws, yet (no Tax being impossible, but by Consent of the Commons, nor any Law (without it) of such Validity, that the Ministers of Justice durst enforce it) there was a wise and sweet Necessity for the King, and likewise for the Lords (who were but as a Grain in the Royal Scale) to confirm all such Bills, as were convenient for the People, and not greatly hurtful to the Prince; and so this Bug-bear Negative was resolved into a mere Target, to shelter and preserve the Government from being altered, at the Will of the Commons, if, at any Time, they should prove factious: Which (being in Reason manifest) hath been also confirmed by great Experience: Our Kings having, rarely, obstructed any Bill, which they might safely grant; but, on the other Side, passed many high Acts of meer Grace, circumscribing their Prerogative, and clipping its Wings; nay, I could wish they had not pierced its Bowels. This was that triple Cord, which, one would think, could not be broken; nor, indeed, was it broken, but cut asunder*: This was our Gold, seven Times refined; for every Bill, being thrice

read, debated, and agreed, in either House, was, at last, brought to the King, for his Royal Assent, the Mint of our Laws: A Trial so exact, that, surely, no Drops could escape it; since all Interests must thereto concur (as truly it was but fit they should, in the Establishment of that, which must bind them all). This was that Temperament, which poised our Humours, and, at once, endued us with Health, Vigour, and Beauty: No Vote was precipitated, no Act was huddled up; as by sad Events, we have since seen, that, Power being ingrossed by † one of the Estates, purged and modeled to the Interests of a Faction; a Consequence natural to such Premises: (As in a Balance consisting but of one Scale) nothing hath been weighed, our Laws have been Mandrakes of a Night's Growth, and our Times as fickle as the Weather, or Multitude.

The King, indeed, had the Power of *making War*, but he had not the Means; and then, it signified no more, than given him Leave to fly, if he could get Wings; or to go beyond Sea, so he went without Shipping: He had a Sword, but he alone could never draw it; for the Trained bands ‡ were a Weapon, which he (decently) wore, but the Nation, only, could use: He chose his Ministers (as who doth not his Servants?) But alas, he was accountable for them, to the *Triennial* Parliament, which none but the soundest Integrity could abide. He could hinder the Stroke of Justice with his Pardon (though still, the Jaws not being muzzled, it would bite terribly) but certainly, it was great Wisdom, rather, to give Way; since (with his own Scandal) he could afford Offenders but a lame and scurvy Protection; and since the Power of relieving his Wants rested in the Commons, to balance his Will, and oblige him to a Correspondence with Parliaments.

That his Person should be most *sacred*, it was but needful; to avoid Circulation of Account; reasonable, since it carries with it the Consent of Nations; just, that he should not be the meer Butt of Faction and Malice, in worse Condition, than the basest of Vassals; honourable, that the Nakedness of Government might not be daily uncovered; wise, in the Constitution, not, at once, to trust and provoke, by forcing him to shift for his own Indemnity, no Danger to the Public seeming

* When King *Charles the First's* Head was cut off.

† The Rump Parliament.

‡ The Army.

so extreme, as the Outlawry of a Prince ; no Task, by daily Experience, so difficult, as the arraignment of any Power, whether Regal or Popular ; and since we make golden Bridges, for flying Enemies, much more may we afford them to relenting Sovereigns ; (upon which Account, in our neighbour Kingdom of *France*, even Princes of the Blood are not subjected to capital Punishments ;) finally, very safe, in the Consequent, for (being, by the Danger, threatening his corrupt Ministers, in all Probability, stripped of Agents) his personal Impunity might well signify somewhat to himself, but nothing to the People.

A *Revenue* he had, for the Support of his State and Family, ample ; for the ordinary Protection of his People, sufficient ; but for any Undertaking, defective ; and for public Oppression, so inconsiderable, that when Prerogative was most rampant, our greatest Princes (and some, doubtless, we have had, the most renowned Warriors of their Ages) could never prudently aspire to make themselves sole Legislators, nor presumed to maintain *Red-coats* in Times of Peace. If any Object (as some, concerned, are ready enough) That kingly Power could, here, no longer subsist, for Want of Revenue ; it is easily answered, That a King of *France*, indeed, could not, and God forbid he should ; but a King of *England* might, and (for aught I see) still may (the Sale of Crown-Lands, which exceeded not the Value of 100000 *l. per Annum*, being, methinks, no Matter of utter Ruin, but rather of easy Compensation). For the public Revenue was proportioned to the Maintenance of Courts, not Camps and Fleets : A Gentleman of reasonable Estate may live well on his Rents ; but then, it is not convenient, he should keep Wenches, or Hangers-on, nor build, nor study Chimi-stry *. In fine, the Revenue was very competent for ordinary Disbursements ; as for extraordinary, if he resorted to Parliaments, the wiser he, the safer and happier we.

I Desire all our Projectors of Commonwealths, to contrive greater Freedom for their Citizens, than is provided by *Magna Charta*, and the *Petition of Right* ; or shew us, that it is not much easier to violate, than to mend them : For, thereby our Lives, Liberties, and Estates were, under Monarchy secured, and established, I think, as well as any Thing, on

this Side Heaven : It were no Solecism to say, the Subject had his Prerogative, as well as the King ; and, sure I am, he was in as good (if not better) Condition to maintain it, the Dependence being less on his Side : Liberty was no less sacred than Majesty ; *Noli me tangere* was likewise its Motto ; and, in Case of any, the least infringement (as Escapes in Government may happen even in the most perfect) it was resented, as if the Nation had received a Box on the Ear : If it be, as they say, the Glory of a free State, to exalt ; the Scandal of Tyranny, to embase our Spirits ; doubtless, this was our only Commonwealth : For, ever since †, methinks, we have learned quietly to take the Bastonade.

I wish we now could, or could ever hope, under our Commonwealth, whatever Promises may be made us, so perfectly to distinguish the Legislative from the Ministerial Authority, as once we did ; when the House of Commons had not the Power of a *Court-Leet*, to give an Oath, nor of a Justice of the Peace, to make a *Mittimus* : Which Distinction, doubtless, is the most Vital Part of Freedom, and far more considerable to poor Subjects, than the pretended Rotation ; as on the contrary the Confusion of them is an Accomplishment of Servitude ; for which the best Republicks, I fear, have more to answer, than any limited Prince can have. Certain it is, that as our King, in his personal Capacity, made no Laws, so neither did he, by himself, execute or interpret any. No Judge took Notice of his single Command, to justify any Trespas ; no, not so much, as the Breaking of an Hedge ; his Power limited by his Justice, he was (equally with the meanest of his Subjects) concerned in that honest Maxim, *We may do just so much and no more, than we have Right to do*. And it was most properly said, *He could do no Wrong* ; because, if it were wrong, he did it not, he could not do it ; it was void in the Act, punishable in his Agent. His Officers, as they were alike liable, so, perhaps, they were more obnoxious to Indictments and Suits, than any other, by how much their Trespas seemed to be of a higher Nature, and gave greater Alarm : His private Will could not countermand his public ; his Privy-seal, ever buckled to the great Seal, as being the Nation's, more than his ; his Order superseded no Process, and his Displeasure threat-

* Alluding to the bewitching Study of finding out the Philosophers Stone, which employed so many Brains, and drained so many Pockets in those Days.

† The Usurpation of the Rump Parliament.

ened no Man with an Hour's Imprisonment, after the Return of *Habeas Corpus*. An Under-Sheriff was more terrible, a Constable more saucy, a Bailiff more troublesome, than he: And yet, by his gentle Authority, this Scabard of Prerogative, as some, in Derision, have called it, which, if it would, could scarce oppress an Orphan; Tumult was curbed, Faction moderated, Usurpation forestalled, Intervals prevented, Perpetuities obviated, Equity administered, Clemency exalted, and the People made only nice and wanton with their Happiness, as appears by their, now so impatient, Calling for that Manna ||, which they so (causelessly) loathed.

To conclude, what shall I add? The Act, enjoining the Keepers of the Great Seal, under Pain of High-Treason, to summon a Triennial Parliament, of course, by Virtue of the Act, without further Warrant; the Act, forbidding the Privy-Council, under like Penalty, to intermeddle with *Meum & Tuum*; the Laws, abo-

lishing the *Star-Chamber*, *High-commission*, &c. branding all past, and bridling all future Enormities; the Statutes, limiting the King's Claims, and relieving his Tenants from Exaction of Forfeitures; besides many other principal Immunities, wherewith (by the special Favour of God, and Bounty of our Princes) we were blessed, far beyond any of our Neighbours; above all our Assurance, that we might readily have obtained such farther Addition and Perfection of Liberty (if, yet, any such, there were) as would consist with Modesty, or Liberty itself, to ask: Do they not, aloud, proclaim, that we were, *then the Mirror of Governments, Envy of Monarchies, and Shame of Commonwealths*; who could not but blush, to see themselves so eclipsed and silenced, in all their Pretences to Freedom? Do they not more than justify my Assertion, *That with all the Ornaments of the noblest Kingdom, we had, likewise, all the Enjoyments of the freest State?*

|| *Monarchy*, to be re-established in the Person of King *Charles the Second*.

A LETTER written by the Emperor to the late King *James*, setting forth the true Occasion of his Fall, and the Treachery and Cruelty of the *French*.

As the foregoing Tract gives us the great Advantages of Monarchical Government, when justly limited, and content with the just Bounds prescribed to it by the Laws of the Land; so this Letter written by the Emperor of Germany to King James the Second, after his Abdication, setting forth the Causes of his Majesty's Desertion by his Subjects, is a proper Caveat to such Princes, always to preserve their Subjects in their just Rights, both in Church and State, as the best Means to deserve their Affection, and to secure the Throne to themselves, and their Posterity.

LEOPOLD, &c.

WE have received your Majesty's Letters, dated from *St. Germain*, the Sixth of *February* last, by the Earl of *Carlingford*, your Envoy in our Court: By them We have understood the Condition your Majesty is reduced to; and that you, being deserted after the Landing of the Prince of *Orange*, by your Army, and even by your Domestic Servants, and by

those you most confided in, and almost by all your Subjects, you have been forced, by a sudden Flight, to provide for your own Safety, and to seek Shelter and Protection in *France*: Lastly, that you desire Assistance from us, for the recovering your Kingdoms. We do assure your Majesty, that, as soon as We heard of this severe Turn of Affairs, We were moved at it, not only with the common Sense of Humanity, but with much deeper Impressions, suitable

' suitable to the sincere Affection which we
 ' have always born to you. And we were hear-
 ' tily sorry, that, at last, that was come to
 ' pass, which (though we hoped for better
 ' Things) yet our own sad Thoughts had sug-
 ' gested to us would ensue. If your Majesty had
 ' rather given Credit to the friendly Remonstran-
 ' ces that were made You, by Our late En-
 ' voy, the Count de Kaunitz, in Our Name,
 ' than the deceitful Insinuations of the *French*,
 ' whose chief Aim was, by fomenting conti-
 ' nual Divisions between You and Your Peo-
 ' ple, to gain thereby an Opportunity to in-
 ' sult the more securely over the rest of Chri-
 ' stendom: And if your Majesty had put a
 ' Stop, by Your Force and Authority, to their
 ' many Infractions of the Peace, of which, by
 ' the Treaty of *Nimegen*, you are made the
 ' Guarantee, and to that End entered into
 ' Consultations with Us, and such Others, as
 ' have the like just Sentiments in this Matter;
 ' We are verily persuaded, that, by this Means,
 ' you should have, in a great Measure, quieted
 ' the Minds of Your People, which were so
 ' much already exasperated through their Aver-
 ' sion to our Religion *, and the public Peace
 ' had been preserved, as well in your King-
 ' doms, as here, in the *Roman Empire*. But
 ' now we refer it even to Your Majesty, to
 ' judge what Condition We can be in to af-
 ' ford you any Assistance, We being not only
 ' engaged in a War with the *Turks*, but find-
 ' ing Ourselves at the same Time unjustly and
 ' barbarously attacked by the *French*, contrary
 ' to, and against the Faith of Treaties, they
 ' then reckoning themselves secure of *England* †.
 ' And this ought not to be concealed; that the
 ' greatest Injuries, which have been done to Our
 ' Religion ‡, have flowed from no Other,
 ' than the *French* themselves; who not only
 ' esteem it lawful for them, to make perfidious
 ' Leagues with || the sworn Enemies of the Ho-
 ' ly Cross |||, tending to the Destruction both
 ' of Us, and the whole Christian World, in
 ' order to the Checking our Endeavours, which

' were undertaken for the Glory of God, and
 ' to stop those Successes, which it hath pleased
 ' Almighty God to give us hitherto; but fur-
 ' ther, have heaped one Treachery on another,
 ' even within the Empire itself §. The Cities
 ' of the Empire, which were surrendered upon
 ' Articles, signed by the *Dauphin* himself, have
 ' been exhausted by excessive Impositions; and
 ' after their being exhausted, have been plun-
 ' dered; and after Plundering, have been burn-
 ' ed and razed. The Palaces of Princes,
 ' which in all Times, and even the most de-
 ' structive Wars, have been preserved, are now
 ' burnt down to the Ground. The Churches
 ' are robbed, and such, as submitted themselves
 ' to them, are, in a most barbarous Manner,
 ' carried away as Slaves. In short, it is be-
 ' come a Diversion to them, to commit all
 ' Manner of Insolences and Cruelties in many
 ' Places, but chiefly in Catholic Countries, ex-
 ' ceeding the Cruelties of the *Turks* themselves:
 ' Which, having imposed an absolute Necessi-
 ' ty upon us to secure Ourselves, and the *Holy*
 ' *Roman Empire*, by the best Means We can
 ' think on, and that no less against them, than
 ' against the *Turks*; We promise Ourselves,
 ' from Your Justice, ready assent to this, that
 ' it ought not to be imputed to Us, if We
 ' endeavour to procure, by a just War, that
 ' Security to ourselves, which We could not
 ' hitherto obtain by so many Treaties; and that,
 ' in order to the Obtaining thereof, We take
 ' Measures for our mutual Defence and Preser-
 ' vation, with all those who are equally con-
 ' cerned in the same Design with Us. It re-
 ' mains, that We beg of God, that He would
 ' direct all Things to His Glory, and that He
 ' would grant Your Majesty true and solid
 ' Comforts under this your great Calamity;
 ' We embrace You with the tender Affections
 ' of a Brother.

At Vienna, the 9th of
 April, 1689.

* Which made Use of so many unjust and cruel Means to gain its Establishment. † Under a Prince,
 that, to accomplish the Slavery of his Subjects, was making himself *Tributary* and *Vassal* of *France*.
 ‡ Popery. || The *Turks*. ||| *Viz.* All Christians. § How justly does this represent the present
 and late Actions of the *French* in *Germany*.

The Speech of his Highness the Lord Protector, made to both Houses of Parliament at their first Meeting, on *Thursday*, the 27th of *January*, 1658.

The two following Tracts, which are the genuine Speech and Letter of Richard the Son of Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, as they are very scarce, and the former serving to give us a perfect Idea of that new Protector; the Desire he had to continue his Father's Usurpation; the Contrivance of gaining the Affections of the People, by acknowledging the Excellency of a mixt Government, composed of a Parliament and Chief Magistrate, as you will find in his Speech, which, abstract from the Cant of his Education and the fulsome Encomiums of his deceased Father, is a good one; I here endeavour to preserve it as well as his Letter to the Parliament, when he found it resolved to restore the Royal Family to the Throne of its Ancestors; which shews how far he was degenerated from the vigorous Resolutions of his Father, and how soon the greatest Tyrants are reduced to a State of Submission, when God pleases to release his People from their Bondage.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Believe there are scarce any of you here, who expected some Months since to have seen this great Assembly at this Time, in this Place, in Peace; considering the great and unexpected Change, which it hath pleased the all-disposing Hand of God to make in the Midst of us: I can assure you, that if Things had been according to our own Fears, and the Hopes of our Enemies, it had not been thus with us: And, therefore, it will become both you and me, in the first Place, as to reverence and adore the great God, Possessor of Heaven and Earth, in whose Hands our Breath is, and whose are all our Ways, because of his Judgments; so to acknowledge him in his Goodness to these Lands, in that he hath not added Sorrow to Sorrow, and made the Period of his late Highness * his Life, and that of the Nation's Peace, to have been in one Day.

Peace was one of the Blessings of my Father's Government; a Mercy after so long a Civil

War, and in the Midst of so great Division which that War bred; is not usually afforded by God unto a People in so great a Measure.

The Cause of God, and these Nations, which he was engaged in, met in all the Parts of it, as you well know, with many Enemies and great Opposition; the Archers, privily and openly, sorely grieved him, and shot at him, yet his Bow abode in Strength, and the Arms of his Hands were made strong by the Hands of the mighty God of *Jacob*.

As to himself, he died full of Days, spent in great and sore Travail; yet his Eyes were not waxed dim, neither was his natural Strength abated, as it was said of *Moses*, He was serviceable even to the last.

As to these Nations, He left them in great Honour Abroad, and in full Peace at Home: All *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, dwelling safely, every Man under his Vine, and under his Fig-tree, even from *Dan* to *Beersheba* †.

* *Oliver Cromwell.*

† This Panegyric must be remembered to be made by his Son; for, though it is confessed, that *Oliver* was a *great Man*, in the common Acceptation of the Word, I intend to present the Public with a short Political Discourse, shewing that his Administration laid the Foundation of the Decay of Trade in this Nation.

He is gone to Rest, and we are entered into his Labours *; and if the Lord hath still a Blessing for these Lands (as I trust he hath) as our Peace hath been lengthened out to this Day, so shall we go on to reap the Fruit, and gather the Harvest of what his late Highness has sown, and laid the Foundation of.

For my own Part, being by the Providence of God, and the Disposition of the Law, my Father's Successor, and bearing that Place in the Government that I do, I thought it for the public Good to call a *Parliament* of the Three Nations, now united, and conjoined together into one Commonwealth, under one Government.

It is agreeable not only to my *Trust*, but to my *Principles*, to govern these Nations by the Advice of my *two Houses of Parliament*; I find it asserted in the humble Petition and Advice (which is the Cornerstone of this Building, and that which I shall adhere to) *That Parliaments are the great Council of the Chief Magistrate, in whose advice both he and these Nations may be most safe and happy.* I can assure you I have that Esteem of them: And as I have made it the first Act of my Government to call you together, so I shall further let you see the Value I have of you, by the Answers that I shall return to the Advice that shall be given me by you, for the Good of these Nations.

You are come up from your several Countries, as the Heads of your Tribes, and with Hearts (I persuade myself) to consult together their Good: I can say I meet you with the same Desires, having nothing in my Design, but the Maintenance of the Peace, Laws, Liberties, both Civil and Christian, of these Nations; which I shall always make the Measure and Rule of my Government, and be ready to spend my Life for †.

We have summoned you up at this Time to let you know the State of our Affairs, and to have your Advice in them; and, I believe, a Parliament was never summoned upon a more important Occasion.

It is true, as I have told you, We are, through the Goodness of God, at this Time in Peace; but it is not thus with us, because we have no Enemies: There are enough, both

within us and without us, who would soon put an End to our Peace ‡, were it in their Powers, or should it, at any Time, come into their Powers.

It will be becoming your Wisdoms to consider of the securing of our Peace against those who, we all know, are, and ever will be our implacable Enemies ||; what the Means of doing this are, I shall refer unto you.

This I can assure you, That the Armies of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, are true and faithful to the Peace and good Interest of these Nations, and it will be found so, and that they are a consisting Body, and useful for any good Ends; and, if they were not the best Army in the World, you would have heard of Inconveniencies, by Reason of the great Arrear of Pay, which is now due unto them, whereby some of them are reduced to great Necessities: But you shall have a particular Account of their Arrears, and I doubt not but Consideration will be had thereupon, in some speedy and effectual Way. And, this being Matter of Money, I recommend it particularly to the *House of Commons*.

You have, you know, a War with *Spain*, carried on by the Advice of Parliament; he is an old Enemy, and a potent one, and therefore it will be necessary, both for the Honour and Safety of these Nations, that That War be vigorously prosecuted.

Furthermore, the Constitution of Affairs in all our neighbouring Countries, and round about us (as well Friends as Enemies) are very considerable, and calls upon us to be upon our Guard both at Land and Sea, and to be in a Posture able to maintain and conserve our own State and Interest.

Great and powerful Fleets are preparing to be set forth into these Seas, and considerable Armies of several Nations, and Kings are now disputing for the Mastery of the *Sound*, with the adjacent Islands and Countries; among which is the *Roman* § Emperor, with other Popish States; I need not tell you of what Consequence these Things are to this State.

We have already interposed in these Affairs, in such Manner as we found it necessary for the Interest of *England*; and Matters are yet in such a Condition in those Parts, that this

* The Protectorship.

† See his following Letter to the Parliament.
Royalists, who would re-instate the Royal Family on the Throne.
then renewed in the Person of *Richard*.

§ Or German.

‡ Meaning the

|| Because of the Usurpation.

State may, with the Assistance of God, provide that their Differences may not prejudice us.

The other Things that are to be said I shall refer to my Lord-Keeper *Fiennes*, and close up what I have to say with only adding two or three Particulars to what I have already said.

And, *first*, I recommend to your Care the People of God in these Nations, with their Concernments. The more they are divided among themselves, the greater Prudence should be used to cement them.

Secondly, The good and necessary Work of Reformation, both in Manners and in the Administration of Justice, that Profaneness may be discountenanced and suppressed, and that Righteousness and Justice may be executed in the Land.

Thirdly, I recommend unto you the *Protestant Cause Abroad*, which seems, at this Time, to be in some Danger, having great and powerful Enemies, and very few Friends; and I hope and believe, that the old *English Zeal* to that Cause is still among us.

Lastly, My Lords, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons, That you will in all your Debates maintain and conserve Love and Unity among yourselves, that therein you may be the Pattern of the Nation, who have sent you up in Peace, and with their Prayers, that the Spirit of Wisdom and Peace may be among you; and this shall also be my Prayer for you; and to this let all add our utmost endeavours for the making this an *happy Parliament* *.

* As it proved by *restoring* Monarchical Government.

His late Highness's Letter to the Parliament of *England*; shewing his Willingness to submit to this present Government *: Attested under his own Hand, and read in the House on *Wednesday* the 25th of *May*, 1659.

I Have perused the Resolve and Declaration which you were pleased to deliver to me the other Night; and for your Information, touching what is mentioned in the said Resolve, I have caused a true State of my Debts to be transcribed, and annexed to this Paper, which will shew what they are, and how they were contracted.

As to that Part of the Resolve whereby the Committee are to inform themselves how far I do acquiesce in the Government of this Commonwealth, as it is declared by this Parliament; I trust my past Carriage, hitherto, hath manifested my Acquiescence in the Will and Disposition of God, and that I love and value the Commonwealth much above my one Concernments; and I desire, that by this a Measure of my future Deportment may be taken, which,

thro' the Assistance of God, shall be such as shall bear the same Witness, having, I hope, in some Degree, learned rather to reverence and submit to the Hand of God, than to be unquiet under it. And (as to the late Providences that have fallen out among us) however in respect of the particular Engagements that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a Change in the Government of these Nations; yet, through the Goodness of God, I can freely acquiesce in its being made, and do hold myself obliged, as (with other Men) I expect *Protection* from the present Government, so to demean myself, with all Peaceableness under it, and to procure to the uttermost of my Power, that all, in whom I have any Interest, do the same.

RICHARD CROMWELL.

Intended Monarchial Government under King *Charles II*, then to be recalled by the States of the Nation.

The Plots of Jesuits, (*viz.* Of *Adam Contzen*, a *Moguntine*, *Thomas Campanella*, a *Spaniard*, and *Robert Parsons*, an *English-man*, &c.) how to bring *England* to the *Roman Religion*, without Tumult.

The Jesuitical Politicks, which are taken out of the above mentioned Authors, were published by Michael Spark, Bookseller, in the Year 1653, when there was not that public Prospect of Popery, as there is now in this Nation; and, therefore, it is, I presume, far from being unseasonable to be reprinted together with the Protestant's Doom in Popish Times, when the whole Nation is alarmed with the Apprehensions of a Popish Invasion, and the constant Endeavours of the French and Spaniards, to deprive us of our Religion and Liberty, by attempting to set a Popish Governor over a Protestant People. And how far these Politicks were copied by King James II. and his Counsel, I refer my Reader to the History of those Times.

The first of these Tracts, which immediately follows, contains the Directions of Robert Parsons the Jesuit, that noted Traytor to Queen Elizabeth; and employed by the Enemies of our Church and Nation, to foment Division, to illegitimise and de-throne, as far as in his Power, her sacred Majesty, and to reduce the English State, under the Papal Jurisdiction: As also the subtle intreaguings Means of the Jesuit Adam Contzen, and Thomas Campanella, a Dominical Friar, to engage the Popish States to concur in the Attempt to reinstate Popery in this Land.

The other Tract, is a most scarce, and ingenious Piece, and, as it is supported in every Sentence by the best Authorities, properly referred to, I need not enter any further into its Commendation; only I must do that Justice to the Memory of the Right Reverend Dr. Bull, to acquaint the Reader, that it was wrote by his learned and zealous Pen, to deter Protestants from admitting, or so much as desiring a Popish King to rule over them.

Contzen's Plot, to cheat a Church of the Religion established therein, and to bring in Popery, without Noise or Tumult; taken out of the second Book of his Politicks, Chap. 18, 19. Page 103, 104, &c.

IT is difficult to find out Truth, but it is more hard to persuade him that erreth: Yet, it is the duty of a Prince, even in this to bestir himself earnestly, that wicked Opinions be taken away.

The first Means. What Musicians observe, in

tuning their Instruments, gently setting up the Strings, by little, and little; and, what incuring Diseases, Physicians Practise, abating noxious Humours, by Degrees and Pauses, the same must be done in a Commonwealth, labouring under the Malady of Errors. Although, I approve

prove not *lingring* bootless Proceedings, since they often beget a desisting from the Design. Whatever Means can be used, my Counsel is, that they be attempted; but in a soft, and sure Pace, for Fear of a Precipice. Here mild Commands, and Admonitions do very much further the Work.

The second this. It is no hard Matter, for any Prince in *Europe*, to call back Mens Minds to the ancient Rites of their Predecessors, if he list. A Matter heretofore held impossible to be effected; but, how Men begin again to love the *old Religion*: Nor can they be so held in, by their *Ministers*, but that many do every Year turn to the Catholic Unity; what they once most greedily desired, they now cast aside with Disdain. This *Levity* of the *Vulgar* to admire new Things, and condemn old, is fatal. Many Provinces in *Germany* have endured many Religions; now retain none, being intent on the *Will* of their *Governors*. One Cause of this is, as I said but now, *Levity and Ignorance of the Truth*. Another, *the impossibility of holding People long ignorant of the Lewdness of Heresies*; and that they find *Hereticks* to shift their Opinions every Year. It is as if you set a Company of blind Men to run a Race; sooner will *all* miss then *one* get to the Mark.

Thirdly, Arch-hereticks are to be banished the Commonwealth; at once, if it may safely be done; if not, then by *Degrees*. Boisterous Winds being sent packing, the Sea will become calm; and Error, which wanteth a Protector, will soon be ruined.

In Alterations, I have observed these twelve Things following, for the most Part out of the *History of the Change of Religion in the Palatinate, the Acts of Marpurg, and the Edict of Brandenburg*. 1. They concealed their Purpose of altering Religion, and rooting out *Lutheranism*; not so that the wiser Sort could not perceive it, but that the common People might not see it, and raise Tumults. 2. By the Art of the *Zuinglians* some were suborned, who should crave the Exercise of the Reformed Religion, and that with many *sugured bumble* Words; That the Prince might not be thought, to be of his own Accord, inclined to odious Novelty, but only graciously indulgent to *Liberty of Conscience*, and to love and cherish that. Facility in a Prince is commonly extolled; even, when he yieldeth to those Things, which are fitter to be denied. 3. One Church or so (*and not above*) was petitioned for: That this Suit, might not seem harsh, to the

Multitude, who in the mean Time, were to have many more, and were not very solicitous of any. 4. Notwithstanding, the Jealousy of the *Lutherans* did here oppose itself, seeing that with the Church, the Maintenance would be withdrawn; therefore, they think of a Conference and Pacification. They assemble in the Court, the Matter is debated before the Prince's Council; a Notary and Witnesses are denied them. [But this Course, is by no Means to be approved, for each Part ought to have Liberty. Otherwise, if Men be borne down with the Power of the stronger Side, the Victors shall ever be esteemed to have had the worst Cause. This was the Case of *Arminians* in *Holland*: Whereas, they who had the Advantage of the Prince's Favour, if they had indeed believed the Goodness of their Cause, ought to have entred the Lists, upon equal Terms.] 5. An Edict was published, that none should cast Aspersions upon another; but, by all Means cherish Peace and Concord. This proved an effectual Engine to further the Mutation: For hereby, none durst contradict the *Calvinists*, no, not so much as name them; and the Prince was not traduced as a *Patron of Heresies*, but applauded as a *Lover of Peace*. 6. A Disputation was appointed in the University. 7. All this While, there was no open Shew of making *Zuinglianism*, Heir to *Lutheranism*; but, only this, that Peace might be settled: For nothing was desired, but that the *Lutherans* (retaining all their Dignities and Revenues) would vouchsafe to sit in Consistory with the rest, and consult as Brethren; which when they refused, they were accused as proud and disobedient to Authority, and seemed to deserve a Dismission. Hitherto Things were thus carried, that Trial might be made what the People would bear: For if any Tumult had arose, a fair Excuse might have been made for all Things hitherto. 8. When the People of *Heidelberg* petitioned for the Continuance of their *Lutheran* Preachers, the Matter was passed over in Silence, without Answer; and Care taken, that those Men who were petitioned for, should be traduced, as too furious and heady. And the People were fed so long with *Hope*, till at length they laid aside all Care of *Lutheranism* and *Hope* together. 9. When all Things now seemed ripe, the *Lutherans* were commanded to depart from their *Parochial* Charge, and all the Churches, bestowed upon the *Calvinists*: Nor durst they complain, for if they did, they were banished. But now betaking themselves to domestic Care, they only sued

fued for a *Pension*, *Immunity from Taxes*, and the like: The *Calvinists*, in the mean While, laughing, to see a Matter of such Height and Consequence, brought so low as to make such humble and abject Petitions. 10. Whereas the young Scholars of the University were *Lutherans*, upon them also they practised with divers Arts. Stipendiaries, (such as were maintained at the *Electors*'s Charge) were put to their Choice; whether they would be *Calvinists*, or be expelled. And thus an exceeding great Alteration came on a sudden, without any Tumult; for the Country Preachers followed the Motion of the superior Wheels. 11. When the *Lutherans* (*Professors* in the University, and *Country Preachers*) refused to yield up their Dignities, the Prince told them, He wondered at them, seeing he had never taken them into his Protection, nor given them any new Possession of their Places. (For, in that Country, all Places and Offices become void, upon the Death of the Prince, and the Power of bestowing them is in the Successor.) 12. In *Hassia*, they went on very slowly, and by little and little. Nor was *Calvinism* offered them at once, but onely a small Part of it. And the People come on much more willingly, if at the same Time they be whistled another Way, as to *Arminianism*, or some other Sect, which may seem more odious. Lastly, Both Sides fell on Writing; but that Party, which was most favoured at Court, quickly prevailed. And the Wickedness of the *Lutherans* (which upon all Occasions was made known) did much advance the Cause of their Adversaries.

The fourth Means, which I have seen put in Execution heretofore, and still kept on Foot, is this: viz. That such, as are adverse to the *Roman Catholic* Religion, be put by their Honours, Dignities, and public Offices. Nor is this unequal, That he, who hindereth the Welfare of the Commonwealth, should be kept from the Honours and Commodities of it. Men guilty of great Crimes are thrust from their Dignities; why then should Blasphemers and Contemners of Truth be admitted thereto?

A fifth Means. Let those particular Tenents, which here ill among the Vulgar, and at first Sight seem absurd, be culled out, and Load laid upon them.

A Sixth. Make Profit of the Quarrels of erring Men.

A Seventh. Let all secret Conventicles and public Meetings be strictly forbidden.

Eighthly. By the Severity of Laws and Punishments, compel the Obstinate to Duty; but let the Rigour of Laws be slowly drawn out, unless where there is Danger of a Contagion. Let those which be most dangerous be taken away, the rest by the Authority of the Prince will soon be brought into Order. Within these few late Years, a hundred Thousand have been converted to the *Roman Religion* in *France*; in *Germany* more. Not one of the *German Princes*, that hath assayed to draw his Subjects on to the *Catholic Religion*, hath ever met with any Power, resisting his Decrees in that Behalf, made and executed. Only the *Netherlanders* broke out into Rebellion: But the Cause thereof was not Religion alone, nor was that pretended; but their *Privileges* and *Liberty*. The Dominion of a foreign Nation over them (a Thing abhorred by ingenuous Men) and the Exaction of Tenth's stirred up that People to Sedition.

It is I confess the Opinion of some Politicians, That Men are not to be compelled. But those which so advise are in an Error, and give Counsel not against the Safety of Religion only, but even of the Commonwealth. For, by a wholesome Law, Men may be over-ruled, that they shall not do Evil. And a good Law will soon reduce those, who, being of tender Years, are either not at all, or very little tainted with Heresy. And so, if a compulsory Reformation should not do Good upon old Men, it may make the younger Catholic. And I know many Children have been a Means of converting their Parents. There are many Examples of this in *Bavaria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and the *Low Countries*.

Ninthly, Care is to be taken for Integrity of Manners, and Purity of Life. For the filthy Lives of *Roman* Clergy-men have made, augmented, and still do uphold Heresies. And oftentimes, in my Disputes with Heretics, I have observed, that after very weak Arguments they fall to accusing the ill Lives of our Clergy-men, and speak of Things which can neither be denied nor defended. If the Bishops be not able to amend this, God will send an Avenger, who will take away the wicked Men and their Wickedness both together. Thus have the *Turks* got Possession of *Asia*, *Aegypt*, *Greece*, &c. And Religion will be rooted out of *Europe*, unless the Manners of Men be answerable to the Sanctity of their Doctrine.

Other Helps there be, which Wisdom may suggest, according to the Variety of Time and Place.

Place. The *Chineses* are taken with the Mathematics; the *Japonians* with Ethicks; the *Americans* with Ceremonies and Musick: All Ways are to be tried.

And first, Musick. *Paulus Samosatenus* turned certain Ecclesiastical Hymns into obscene and enticing Rimes. Thus the *Arians* and *Pelagians* destroyed the Faith and Discipline of the Church. Why then should not an Orthodox Prince make Use of that for Curing, which Imposters have found out to be a Means of destroying?

Secondly, Before the Banes of *Matrimony* be publickly asked, Let both the *Man* and *Woman* be ordered, and compelled to yield an Account of their Faith. Upon this Occasion they may be instructed in the true [*Roman*] Religion: And so while they promise to continue in the Church, and ever to hold fast the antient Faith, they are by Degrees fastened to the Truth, and cannot but love it.

Thirdly, To this of Marriage, other Things are to be adjoined. Let no Ceremonies, but those of the Catholick Church, approach the Font. Let none have the Honour to be *God-fathers*, unless they have given good Testimony of their Sincerity in the Faith. Let no Man have the Honour of Christian Burial, unless he hath been a Partaker of the Sacraments of the Church.

Fourthly, If it fall out, that wandering Souls must be leisurely reclaimed, and by Art; and that the Propagators of perverse Opinions cannot be put from the Places they once enjoyed; then, let an Orthodox Magistrate so bring it about, that the Instituting, Presenting, Confirming, and Examining of such Men be com-

mitted to him. For so he may chase away every one that is apt to do Mischief. Some wrangling *Fellows* that regard not Controversies between *Roman* Catholicks and *Protestants*, and study only to enrich themselves, or to comply with the Prince, he may (safely, now and then) set over those Churches. So shall he be able to abate the Rage of Heresy, and yet not be troubled to remove the Unlearned: For, by that Means, Error will grow into Contempt. And, because unskilful Men are wont to err often, all Constancy in Errors will be taken away by this Means.

Fifthly, Likewise, let him nourish the Differences of Preachers which are in Error: And let him so work, that they may often confer and wrangle. For by this Means, when all shall understand that there is nothing settled and certain among them, they will join in Truth.

Sixthly, Many other Means there be, which prudent Care will dictate to a Prince of its own Accord. All those Things, which draw Love and honourable Esteem to the Prince, are of Use, to fetch over the People easily to embrace his Opinion in Matters of Religion. Of this Sort are, his Easing them of Taxes, Excise, speedy Supplies to any Part of the Country spoiled by Fire, Provision of Victuals, and other Necessaries. Hereby it will come to pass, that whatever they esteem distasteful to the Prince, they will hold in Detestation. If a Prince make Use of these Means, he may in a short Time root out the *Protestant* Religion, although in the Beginning it seem too strong for his Laws or Him.

CAMPANELLA's Plot.

Campanella in his Book *de Monarchia Hispanica* (printed in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth) shewing the King of Spain how to bring England under his own Subjection, and to the Roman Religion, hath these Words, c. 22. *Infliget Primores Comitiorum aut Parliamenti ut Angliam in formam Reipublicæ reducant*; that is, Let the King of Spain instigate the Leading Men of the (*English*) Parliament, to bring England to the Form of a Commonwealth*. And, *Omnino id agat ut Anglorum vires infringat, ad quod efficiendum Naves Hol-*

landiæ & Frisiæ sufficerent; si nimirum Classi Anglicæ opponerentur; ut infra palam fiet, &c. that is, By all Means let him make it his Business to break the Strength of England. To effect which, the Ships of *Holland* and *Frisia* will be enough, if they be set against the *English*.

His twenty-fifth Chapter beginneth thus, *Quamvis Anglus, &c.* Although the *English* doth of all Nations seem least to affect an Universal Monarchy, yet they do much hinder Spain's attaining it: Queen Elizabeth hath given us

* The same Advice that Cardinal *de Richelieu* gave the King of France, a little before his Death.

Examples; for she hath cherished corrupted Humours, and helped *Protestants* with Advice and Supplies in the *Low Countries* against the Catholick King; and in *France* against the most Christian Prince: For she is Queen of an Island which aboundeth with Ships and Soldiers, and maketh a Prey of all that *Spain* hath in the North; and they ramble even to *America*, where, though they cannot erect a new Kingdom, yet they do the *Spaniard* very much Harm; for *Drake*, the *Englishman*, hath gone round the World more than once, though *Magalanes* did it before him. And it may come to pass, that all the Kingdom of *Baccalaos* * (which is nearer the *English*, and more commodious to them, by reason of the Temperature of the Air) may some Time or other be put into their Possession: Certain it is, and evident enough, that, if the King of *Spain* could conquer but *England* and the *Low Countries*, he would quickly become the Monarch of all *Europe*, and of the greatest Part of the New-found World.

Campanella goes on, advising the *Spaniard* to erect some new Schools or Colleges in *Flanders*, and to usher a new Religion into *England*; first, with a new *Philosophy* (himself hath furnished us with one) *Anglorum Religio facile restringui non potest, nisi aperiantur Scholæ in Flandria; interventuque illarum spargantur semina Schismatum in scientiis naturalibus, Stoicis videlicet, Peripateticis, & Telestianis, i. e.* The Religion of the *English* cannot be easily brought to nothing, unless Schools be opened in *Flanders*; and, by Help of them, the Seeds of Schisms in Natural Sciences, and *Stoick*, *Peripatetic*, and *Telestian* Philosophy, be scattered abroad †.

The last Page of this twenty-fifth Chapter is as followeth: *Cum Insula hæc reducetur in formam Reipublicæ, quæ perpetuas inimicitias cum Scotia gerat, actionesque suas non nisi lente perficiet, &c.* When this Island shall become a Republick, it will be at perpetual Enmity with *Scotland*, and

move very slowly, and so do the less Harm to *Spain*; whereupon, the King of *Spain*, as soon as the Throne is empty, may step in, pretending to help the *English*: But let him be sure to keep Correspondency with some *English* Noblemen, who have Power over the adjacent Islands; and let every one of them have full and absolute Dominion in his several Place, as we read it was in the Days of old. Then let him tamper with the Nobility of *Ireland*, that, when the Queen is dead, that Nation may be formed either into a *Commonwealth*, or at (least) into a Kingdom distinct by itself; then let him promise Supplies to each of those Noblemen a-part; and so much the more, because in that Kingdom, or Island, *Catholicks* (especially *Monks of the Order of St. Francis*) are very much beloved. Now the *Irish* agree better with the *Spaniards* than with the *English*, either because their Manners or Climates are alike, or because their Countries are near one another. And there are in *Ireland* many vagabond Persons who cannot indure to be in Subjection, and yet they are good *Catholicks*, and able to do the King of *Spain* excellent Service in the Matter which we now speak of.

These and the like Things may easily be prepared, that, when Queen *Elizabeth* is dead, they may be put in Execution; for every one knoweth what bloody Civil Wars, what Alterations and Changes have been oftentimes in *England*. So that what I have propounded will not seem strange or impossible.

To conclude: *The same Campanella, in his eighth Chapter of the same Book, lays down this Rule or Maxim, That the Way to keep up, or increase the King of Spain's Monarchy, is, To keep his own Subjects in Peace, and his Neighbours in Contention.*

Tho. Campanella having thus given the King of *Spain* Directions how to get and keep the *English* Nation;

* *Newfound-land.*

† There is more to the same Purpose in the tenth Chapter, which he beginneth thus: *Omnes Magnates Monarchiam, &c.* All Great Men, when they have gone about to set up a Monarchy, have altered the Sciences, and sometimes Religion itself, that they might be admired. In the same Chapter his seventh Direction is, *To shut up all Schools wherein the Greek and Hebrew are taught, because they are (says he) the Causes of Heresies, and so destroy Government.*

PARSONS's Plot.

Robert Parsons goes a Step further, and will help him to a Title to the Crown of England: For, in the Year 1593, he published a Book under the Name of R. Doleman, intituled, *A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England, divided into two Parts*. The first Part was for chastising of Kings, and proceeding against them, &c. And was lately reprinted by Robert Ibbitson* in Smithfield, and called, *Several Speeches made at a Conference*.

The second Part was to prove, that the Infanta of Spain was the legal Heir to the Crown of England, the Penning whereof did much in-dear him to the King of Spain, the Pope and Cardinals, as Roman Priests relate.

Not to repeat any thing of Parsons's Memorial; wherein he adviseth † to destroy the Common Laws of England, &c. and to have no Preachers but Itinerary: I shall only transcribe a few Lines, which you may read in an ordinary Book, intituled, *A Reply to Father Parsons's*

Libel, written by William Clark a Roman Priest, where ‡ are these Words: 'Such as have read [Parsons's Memorial for Reformation] being Priests and Men of Credit, unto some of whom Father Parsons himself shewed the said Book (as secretly as now it is kept) do report, That his Directions are, that the Municipal Laws of our Country [England] shall be so altered, that the Civil Laws must bear the Sway.' And a little after, 'For our Clergy also they say, That all Men should be put to Pensions in the Beginning; and the Colleges both in Oxford and Cambridge, in the same Sort, deprived of their Lands and Revenues, and become Pensioners—All Religious Orders (except only one, i. e. Jesuits) he excludeth out of England (as they affirm) for the first Seven Years and more; that Master-Jesuits, in the mean Time, may have the Sway of all, and enter into the Houses, Livings, and Possessions of other religious Orders, &c.'

* Concerning this Book (being condemned in Parliament, Ann. 35 Eliz. when it was enacted, That whoever should have it in his House should be guilty of High-Treason, and the Printer was hanged, drawn, and quartered) see a Book intituled, *His Majesty's Message for Peace*, p. 125. Printed by R. Rayston, 1648. Or see Mr. Prynne's Speech in the House of Commons, Dec. 4, 1648. p. 109. where Mr. Prynne affirmeth, That he himself, and others, complained of this Book, but that nothing was done to vindicate the House from this gross Imputation; and it may be looked upon as one great Means of corrupting the Nation, seducing it from its Allegiance to the Crown, and bringing the King's Head to the Block.

† The same that Gundamore wished a Roman Catholick to expect, and then (and not till then) a Toleration of the Roman Religion.

‡ Page 72.

The Protestants Doom in Popish Times.

A Prince putting himself, and his Dominions, under the Authority of the Pope, and admitting (as he must unavoidably) the Laws and Decrees of the Romish Church, all his Protestant Subjects being, by the Judgment and Sentence of that Church, Hereticks, do forthwith lie under the Penalty which those Laws and Constitutions will have inflicted upon Hereticks; Heresy being the highest Degree of High-Treason; called, therefore, by them *Læsæ Crimen Majestatis Divinae*: So the English Protestant must be a Traytor, and the worst of Traytors, and exposed to the Penalties of High-Treason.

The LAWS and DECREES of the Romish Church against Hereticks.

Heresy is denounced infamous, and the Heretick must be dealt with as such; which are many Penalties in one.

First, Whereby they are deprived of all Nobility, Jurisdiction, and Dignity, and debarred from all Offices, and public Councils, Parliaments as others; being made incapable of choos- ing, and being chosen: So that it reacheth all Sorts of Clergy, Laity, Noble and Ignoble; which is extended to their Children also: For, they say, *The Issue of Traytors, Civil and Spi- ritual,*

ritual, lose their Nobility. And all; that owe any Duty to such infamous Persons, are discharged and exempted therefrom; as Subjects from their Prince, Servants from their Masters, Children from their Parents; whom they also may lawfully kill.

Whereby we may see a little, to what Condition the Admission of a Papal Authority would reduce us, expelling both Nature and Humanity, and making the dearest Relatives unnatural and barbarous to one another: It would leave no Protestant either Dignity or Authority, either Safety or Liberty; Nobles are sentenced to Peasants, and Peasants to Slaves.

Secondly, Another Penalty, to which Hereticks are condemned by their Laws, is Confiscation of Goods and Estate; and this they incur *Ipso jure*, & *ipso facto*; that is, immediately, as soon as they shew themselves Hereticks, before any legal Sentence have passed: For which there is an express Decree in the Canon-Law, *Bona Hæreticorum ipso jure discernemus Confiscata*; We decree the Goods of Hereticks to be confiscated by Sentence of Law. The Effect of this Confiscation, wherein they all agree, makes the Severity of the Law apparent; viz. First, All the Profits made of the Estate, from the first Day of their Guilt, is to be refunded. Secondly, All Alienations by Gift, Sale, or otherwise, before Sentence, are null and void; and all Contracts, for that Purpose, rescinded. Thirdly, Children, Heirs of Hereticks, are deprived of their Portions; yea, though they be Papists.

Whereby it appears, that, as soon as the Papacy is admitted, all Title and Property is lost and extinct among us: And, therefore, we must not think that Pope acted extravagantly, who declared, *That all his Majesty's Territories were his own, as forfeited to the Holy See for the Heresy of Prince and People*. Not only Abbeys are in Danger, whoever possess them, but all Estates are forfeited to his Exchequer, and legally confiscated: All his own, which Protestants, in these three Nations, have, or ever had; if he can but meet with a Prince so wise, as to help him to catch it; whose Process follows them beyond their Grave, and ruins their Children, and Children's Children after them. And, when they have stripped the Heretick of his All, they provide that no other shall relieve him, viz. *That none shall receive him into their Houses, nor afford him any Help, nor shew him any Favour, nor give him any Counsel*. We are here, in England, zealous for Property; and

all the Reason in the World we should so be: But must bid *Adieu* to this, when we once come under the Pope's Authority; for, as soon as this is admitted, *all the Protestants in these Nations are Beggars by Law*, viz. by the Laws of that Church; which will then of Necessity be ours, divesting us of all Property and Title to whatever we count our own.

Thirdly, Another Penalty, which their Law inflicts on Hereticks, is Death, which is the Sentence of the Canon-Law; and which is so absolute, that no Secular Judge can remit; and which is the Judgment of all the Doctors, *Ita docent omnes Doctores*: And from which Penalties, neither Emperors nor Kings themselves are to be freed or exempt. And the Death they inflict is *Burning alive*: No Death more tolerable, or of less exquisite Torture, will satisfy the Mercy of that Church. The Canon saith thus: *Decernimus ut vivi in conspectu hominum comburantur*; We decree, That they shall be burnt alive, in the Sight of the World. So our last Popish Successor, Queen Mary, practised upon near three-hundred Persons, without Regard either to Age, Sex or Quality. The Scripture, they urge for it, is *John xv. 6. If any one abide not in me, Men gather them, and cast them into the Fire, and they are burnt*.

So that, as soon as the Papal Authority is admitted among us, all the Protestants in these Nations are dead Men in Law; being under a Law, that hath sentenced us to be burnt alive; and under a Power that hath declared it necessary, that no one of us escape with Life.

Fourthly, Where legal Penalties cannot take Place, by Reason of opposite Strength, they hold War necessary, and lawful, to chastise Hereticks: For which we might give you divers Authorities; but let Cardinal Allen, our Country-man, suffice; who asserts, it is not only lawful, but necessary: His Words are these; *It is clear, saith he, what People or Persons soever be declared to be opposite to God's Church, with what Obligation soever, either of Kindred, Friendship, Loyalty, or Subjection, I be bound unto them; I may, or rather must, take up Arms against them: And then must we take them for Hereticks, when our lawful Popes adjudge them so to be. And which (saith Cardinal Pool) is a War more holy, than that against the Turks*.

Fifthly, To destroy them, by Massacres, is sometimes held more adviseable, than to run the Hazard of War; and which, they say, is both lawful

lawful and meritorious, for the rooting out a pestilent *Heresy*, and the promoting the *Romish* Interest. This set a-foot the *Irish Massacre*, that inhuman, bloody Butchery, not so much from the Savageness and Cruelty of their Natures, as the Doctrines and Principles which directed, and encouraged it: As also that of *Paris*; than which nothing was more grateful and acceptable to their *Popes*, as their Bulls make manifest, and the Picturing it in the *Pope's* Chamber; and for which, as a most glorious Action, Triumphs were made, and publick Thanksgivings were returned to God. So in *Savoy*, and elsewhere, both in former and later Times. And this was that which the late *Conspirators* aimed at so fully, intending a *Massacre*. Those that escaped a *Massacre*, saith *Dugdale* *, must be cut off by the Army. And *Coleman* tells the *Internuncio*, in his Letter †, That their Design prospered so well, that he doubted not, in a little Time, their Business would be managed, to the utter Ruin of the Protestant Party; The Effecting of whereof was so desirable and meritorious, that if he had a Sea of Blood; and an hundred Lives, he would lose them all, to carry on the Design. And if, to effect this, it were necessary to destroy an hundred Heretical Kings, he would do it. *Singleton*, the Priest, affirmed ‡, That he would make no more to stab forty Parliament-men, than to eat his Dinner. *Gerard* and *Kelley*, to encourage *Prance* to kill *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, told him, 'It was no Murder, nor Sin; and that to kill twenty of them was nothing in that Case; which was both a charitable and meritorious Act.' And *Grant*, one of the massacring Gun-powder Traytors, said, upon his Execution, to one that urged him to repent of that wicked Enterprize, 'That he was so far from counting it a Sin, that on the contrary, he was confident, That that noble Design had so much of Merit in it, as would be abundantly enough to make Satisfaction for all the Sins of his whole Life.' *Sir Everard Digby*, speaking to the same Purpose also. The Provincial, *Garnet*, did teach the Conspirators the same Catholick Doctrine, viz. That the King, Nobility, Clergy, and whole Community of the Realm of England, (*Papists* excepted) were Hereticks; and, That all Hereticks were accursed and excommunicated; and, That no Heretick could be a

' King; but that it was lawful and meritorious to kill him, and all other Hereticks, within this Realm of England, for the Advancement and Inlargement of the Authority and Jurisdiction of the *Pope*, and for the Restoring of the *Romish* Religion. This was that *Garnet*, whom the *Papists* here honoured as a *Pope*, and kissed his Feet, and revered his Judgment as an Oracle; and, since his Death, have given him the Honour of Saintship and Martyrdom. *Dugdale* deposed ||, That, after they had dispatched the King, a Massacre was to follow.

But surely, it may be supposed, that the Temper of such a Prince, or his Interest, would oblige him to forbid or restrain such violent Executions in England: I, but what if his Temper be to comply with such Courses? Or if his Temper be better? What if it be over-ruled? What if he be persuaded as all other Catholics are, that he must in Conscience proceed thus? What if he cannot do otherwise, without Hazard of his Crown and Life? For he is not to hold the Reins of Government alone, he will not be allowed to be much more than the *Pope's* Possillion; and must look to be dismounted, if he act not according to Order. The Law § tells us, That it is not in the Power of any Civil Magistrate, to remit the Penalty, or abate the Rigour of the Law. Nay, if the Prince should plight his Faith by Oath, that he would not suffer their bloody Laws to be executed upon his dissenting Subjects, this would signify nothing; for they would soon tell him, 'That Contracts made against the Canon-Law are invalid, though confirmed by Oath; And, That he is not bound to stand to his Promise, though he had sworn to it: And, That Faith is no more to be kept with Hereticks, than the Council of *Constance* would have it.' So that Protestants are to be burnt, as *John Huss* and *Jerom* of *Prague* were by that Council, though the Emperor had given them his safe Conduct in that solemn Manner, which could secure them only (as they said) from the Civil, but not Church Process, which was the greatest. For it is their general Rule, That Faith is either not to be given, or not to be kept with Hereticks. Therefore, saith *Simanca*, 'That Faith engaged to Hereticks, though confirmed by Oath, is in no Wise to be performed; for, saith he, If Faith is not to be kept with Ty-

* Five Jesuits Trial, Page 28. † *Colman's* Letter to the *Pope's* Nuncio. ‡ See *Prance's* Narrative, p. 4. || See the Trial of the five Jesuits, p. 25. § Viz. The Law of the *Romish* Church, which begins, *Caput Officium*.

'rants and Pirates, and others who kill the Body, much less with Hereticks who kill the Souls; And that the Oath, in Favour of them, is but *Vinculum Iniquitatis*, a Bond of Iniquity. Though Popish Princes the better to promote their Interests, and to insnare their Protestant Subjects, to get Advantage upon them, to their Ruin, have made large Promises, and plighted their Faiths to them, when they did not intend to keep it; as the Emperor to *John Huss* and *Jerom*; *Charles* the Ninth of *France* to his Protestant Subjects before the Massacre; the Duke of *Savoy* to his Protestant Subjects, before their designed Ruin; and *Queen Mary*, before her Burning of them. But if there were neither Law nor Conscience to hinder, yet in Point of Interest he must not shew Favour to Hereticks, without apparent Hazard, both of Crown and Life, for he forfeits both if he doth. The Pope every Year doth not only curse Hereticks, but every Favourer of them, from which none but himself can absolve. *Becanus* very elegantly tells us, 'If a Prince be a dull Cur, and fly not upon Hereticks, he is to be beaten out, and a keener Dog must be got in his Stead.' *Henry the Third*, and *Henry the Fourth**, were both assassinated upon this Account, and because they were suspected to favour Hereticks. And are we not told by the Discoverers of the Popish Plot †, That, after they had dispatched the King, they would depose his Brother also, that was to succeed him, if he did not answer their Expectations, for rooting out the Protestant Religion.

But may not Parliaments secure us by Laws and Provisions, restraining the Power which endangers us? Not possible, if once they secure and settle the Throne for Popery: For,

First, They can avoid Parliaments as long as they please, and a Government, that is more arbitrary and violent, is more agreeable to their Designs and Principles: It being apparent, that the English Papists have lost the Spirit of their Ancestors, who so well asserted the English Liberties, being so generally now fixed for the Pope's Universal Monarchy, sacrificing all to that *Roman Moloch*; being much more his Subjects than the King's; and, though Natives by Birth, yet are Foreigners as to Government, Principle, Interest, Affection, and Design; and therefore no Friends to Parliaments, as our Experience hath told us.

But, Secondly, If their Necessity should re-

quire a Parliament, there is no Question but they may get such a one as will serve their Turns. For so have every of our former Princes in all the Changes of Religion, that have been amongst us: As *Henry VIII*, when he was both for and against Popery; *Edward VI*, when he was wholly Protestant; *Queen Mary*, when she was for Burning alive; and *Queen Elizabeth*, when she ran so counter to her Sister. And the Reason is clear, that he, who has the Making of publick Officers and the Keys of Preferment and Profit, influenceth and swayeth Elections and Votes as he pleaseth. And, by how much the Throne comes to be fixed in Popery, the Protestants must expect to be excluded from both Houses, as they have excluded the Papists: For, as Hereticks and Traytors, they, as ignominious Persons, &c. you have heard forfeit all Right, either to chuse or be chosen in any publick Councils; and then all Laws, which have been made for the Protestants, and against the Popish Religion, will be null and void, as being enacted by an incompetent Authority, as being the Acts of Hereticks, Kings, Lords, and Commons, who had forfeited all their Rights and Privileges.

But, Thirdly, Suppose our Laws were valid, as enacted by competent Authority, and such good and wholesome Provisions, as were those Statutes made by our Popish Ancestors, in those Statutes of Provisions in *Edward the First's* and *Edward the Third's* Time; and that of *Præmunire* in *Richard the Second's* and *Henry the Fourth's*, for Relief against Papal Incroachments and Oppressions; yet being against the Laws and Canons of Holy Church, the sovereign Authority, they will be all superseded; for so they determine, 'That when the Canon and the Civil Laws clash, one requiring what the other allows not, the Church-Law must have the Observance, and that of the State neglected: And Constitutions, say they, made against the Canons and Decrees of the Roman Bishops are of no Moment: Their best Authors are positive in it.' And our own Experience and Histories testify the Truth thereof; for how were those good Laws before-mentioned defeated by the Pope's Authority, so that there was no effectual Execution thereof till *Henry the Eighth's* Time, as *Dr. Burnet* tells us? And how have the good Laws, to suppress and prevent Popery, been very much obstructed in their Execution, by Popish Influence †?

* Kings of France. † See *Oat's* Nar. p. 4, &c. often influenced by his Popish Brother.

‡ In the Reign of King *Charles II*, who was too

The Present CASE of *ENGLAND*, and the Protestant Interest.

SINCE the present Condition of the Kingdom *, and the whole Protestant Interest by the Conjunction of *France* and *Spain* Abroad, and a more horrid Combination of several at Home, must needs affect with the most melancholy Reflexions all true *English* Hearts, all such as have any real Love or Zeal for their Religion, or their native Country: I cannot think it amiss to present a short and impartial View to such as have not considered the same.

In the Beginning of the last † Age, the Protestant Interest, in *Europe*, was more than a Match for the *Roman-Catholick*; the Kingdom of *Bohemia* was almost all Protestant; near half the Subjects of *Hungaria*, of *Austria*, and *Moravia*, were Protestant (and did many Times defend themselves, by Force, against the Emperor himself, when oppressed by him for the Sake of their Religion.) That, in *Germany*, the Houses of *Newburgh* were Protestant, the *Palatinates* for the most Part of them Protestant, of the strictest Sort; the *Saxons* intirely Protestant, and, being hearty, unanimous, and seated in the Midst of *Germany*, were a Bulwark and Defence to the Protestants of many other lesser States, as often as they were oppressed for their Religion, by their own or their neighbouring Princes: That many of the Subjects of *Bavaria*, *Bamburgh*, *Cologne*, *Wurtzburgh*, and *Worms* were Protestants. Besides these, that the Protestants of *France* were so powerful, as to maintain eight or nine Civil Wars in Defence of their Religion, and always came off with Advantage. The *Vaudois* in *Italy* were all of them Protestant, and great Numbers of the Inhabitants of the *Spanish* Low-Countries ‡ were of the Reformed Religion. Besides *England* and *Holland*, and the Northern Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and the Dutchy of *Brandenburgh*, were intirely Protestant. But

now, instead of this, Is not the Protestant Power destroyed almost over *Europe*? The whole Kingdom of *Bohemia* intirely Popish? Are not the Protestants of *Poland*, *Austria*, *Moravia*, utterly destroyed? Is not their Destruction now carrying on, and almost finished in *Hungary*? In *Germany* the *Newburghers* of Protestants are become fierce Enemies of the Protestant Religion. The Protestants of *Bavaria*, *Bamburgh*, *Cologne*, *Wurtzburgh*, and *Worms* are all destroyed. In *France*, the *Spanish* Low Countries, *Savoy*, and *Vaudois*, after long and mighty Struggles, the Religion is utterly extinguished. Against the poor *Palatines* the Persecution is now carrying on with its usual Barbarity, and their Neighbours, the *Saxons*, are so far from being able to help them, that they are under the fearful Apprehension of suffering the like from their own Prince || (lately turned *Roman Catholick* to obtain the Kingdom of *Poland*) so soon as his Wars with *Sweden*, and other Troubles, created him by his *Polish* and *Lithuanian* Subjects, will give him Leave. Besides this, two Northern Princes have given great Cause to suspect their Conversion to the *Romish* Religion: That *Sweden*, by its Separation from the rest of *Europe* by the *Baltick*, is unable to give Assistance to the Protestants in any Part of *Europe*, without the Consent of the *German* Princes bordering on the *Baltick*, which will never be granted by Papists in Favour of the Protestants.

Thus the Protestant Religion, which had spread itself over almost all *Europe*, which had gained the intire Possessions of some Countries, the greater Part of others, and mighty Interest in most, has, through the restless Malice and Endeavours of its Enemies, been subverted and destroyed in Country after Country, till it is at last reduced to a little Corner of what it once § possessed (*England* and *Holland*). And do we

* In the Year 1690.

† Or Sixteenth.

‡ Now divided between *France* and the

House of *Austria*.

|| Father to the present Elector of *Saxony* and King of *Poland*.

§ In the

Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*,

think our Enemies will not accomplish (what they have thus prosperously carried on so far) our utter Destruction? Is it not high Time then to think ourselves in Danger, to look about us to enquire what it is hath thus weakened us, brought us so near our Ruin, what Measures will certainly accomplish it, and what we must take for the Prevention of it.

The *Romish* Methods of converting the *Protestants* have been in all Countries the same, viz. Confiscation of their Estates, Goals and Imprisonments, Fire and Sword, Dragooning and Massacring, and inflicting the most inhuman Torments, that Rage and Fury could invent upon such, whose Resolution and Zeal for their Religion could not be moved by the former Means*.

If this be the true Case of *England*, and the *Protestant Religion*, then what is wanting to give the finishing Stroke to our Destruction; but only an Ability in the King of *France*, to break the Powers of *England* and *Holland*? And when we consider, how, in the Year 1672, the King of *France* marched his Army through the Midst of *Flanders*, fell directly upon *Holland*, then unprovided, entered their strongest Towns like open Villages; some without Defence, or almost Denial, most of them without any Blows at all, and all of them with very few, and made himself Master of three Parts of *Holland* in two Months Time; for which Sir *William Temple*, King *Charles* the Second's Ambassador (then in *Holland*) tells us the Reason was, 'That the Dutch, then not suspecting such a Thing, had no Field Army, sufficient to encounter their Enemies, or succour any Town; that walled Towns will not defend the Men within, unless the Hearts of the Men will defend their Walls; that no Garrison will make any resolute Defence, without the Prospect or Hopes at least of Relief.' It is true, that the *French King*, having then all *Flanders* on his Back, garrisoned with *Spanish* Troops (then his implacable Enemies) a powerful Army of the *German Princes* marching upon him down the *Rhine*; *Spain* and *England* (alarmed by his Successes) preparing to attack him on all Quarters, was glad to vomit up all again, and return Home with as much Precipitancy as he had invaded them, lest the Provisions and Retreat of his Army through *Flanders* should be cut off. But now the Case is otherwise, he has possessed himself of *Flanders*,

extended his Dominion to the very Frontiers of *Holland*; *Spain* is all united to him; some *German Princes* (then his Enemies) are now become his Friends; others entered into Conditions of Neutrality with him: And should he now, by a fatal Battle (which God of his infinite Mercy forbid) break the *Dutch* Army, which they have, with infinite Charge and matchless Vigour, gathered up from *Denmark*, *Brandenburgh*, and other remote Countries of *Germany*, might he not enter the Heart of their Country? And whence then can their strong Cities and Towns depend upon Relief? May he not, as formerly, possess himself of their whole Country in less than one Campaign? It was the Opinion of that great Statesman, Sir *William Temple*, 'That *Holland* would make a stout Resistance in any Quarrel remote from their own Doors; but that which enables them (their Wealth) to carry on a foreign War with Vigour, would in a War at Home render them defenceless; rich and populous Towns are not fit for Sieges, or were ever known to make any long and resolute Defence.' If this be our Case, if the whole Power of the *Protestant Religion* rests now in a Manner, in *England* and *Holland*; if the Destruction of *England*, as well as of our holy Religion, must inevitably follow the Loss of *Holland*: If *Holland* by one unfortunate Battle might happen to be lost in one Campaign or less, are we not in a most sad and deplorable Condition? And, if some Men are without their Fears, have we not the greater Reason to fear for ourselves, our Religion, and our Country? What should we judge of those who tell us, it is too early yet for *England* to declare? The Enemy has raised his Armies, furnished his Magazines; and it is too early for us to think of raising a Man. The Enemy is before our Outworks, and it is too soon for us to prepare ourselves to be on our Guard: Will not those Men tell us, when *Holland* is lost, it will then be too late? To what Purpose (will they say) now do you think of raising Forces? Is not the *French King* Master of *Holland*? Possessed of all their Ports? Where will you land them? To what Use will you put them? Does not such Language as this plainly shew the Intention of the Authors? Is it not plainly to deliver us blindfold, bound Hand and Foot, into the Enemies Hand? Is not their Design now so visible as not to be disguised? Do not some of the Party

* See this particularly described on Page 28, &c.

begin to throw off the Mask, and tell us, It will not be well with us till our *old Master* * returns, till the Government returns to its natural Channel †. And are not those that were the very Tools and Instruments of *Popery* and arbitrary Power in former Reigns, and that owe their Lives to Acts of Indemnity in this, industriously represented by some as the Patriots of their Country; and by a strange Kind of Paradox those that have been always hearty for the Church, and were for defending of it when others were for pulling it down; that were hearty for the King's ‡ Accession to the Throne, and to his Person and Government ever since, are re-

presented as Betrayers of us, as having sold us to *France*: Would it not be a Piece of rare refined Policy, if *France* could hang up her greatest Enemies, under the Notions of her dearest Friends, and give Encouragement to her ancient Friends under the Notion of being her Enemies?

Let us, therefore, while it is yet in our Power (as we tender our Religion and our Country) use our utmost Endeavours, by all legal Ways to assist his Majesty and his Government, against all *his* or *our* Enemies both at *Home* and *Abroad*.

* *Viz.* King *James*.

† Is not this the Language of the disaffected to a Protestant Succession to this Day? who are always plotting to disturb the Quiet of that happy Government under which we all enjoy our *Liberty*, *Property* and *Religion*; and combine with the *Enemies* of our *Church* and *State* to reduce them to *Popery* and *Slavery*, by Force of Arms; which has been no less than *Five* Times threatened or attempted by *France*, since the Publication of this Pamphlet in the Year 1690.

‡ King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

The Pre-eminence and Pedigree of Parliament: By James Howell, Esq; Printed at London, in 1677.

I Am a free-born Subject of the Realm of *England*; whereby I claim, as my native Inheritance, an undoubted Right, Propriety, and Portion in the Laws of the Land; and this distinguisheth me from a *Slave*. I claim also an Interest and common Right in the High National Court of *Parliament*, and in the Power, the Privileges, and Jurisdiction thereof, which I put in equal Balance with the *Laws*, in regard it is the *Fountain whence they spring*; and this I hold also to be a principal Part of my Birth-right: Which great Council I honour, respect, value, and love, in as high a Degree as can be; as being the *Bulwark of our Liberties, the main Boundary and Bank which keeps us from Slavery, from the Inundations of tyrannical Rule, and unbounded Will-government*. And I hold myself obliged, in a Tie of indispensable Obedience, to conform and submit myself to whatsoever shall be transacted, concluded, and constituted, by its Authority, in *Church* or *State*; whether it be by making, enlarging, altering, diminishing, disannulling, repealing, or reviving of any Law, Statute, Act,

or Ordinance whatsoever, either touching Matters Ecclesiastical, Civil, Common, Capital, Criminal, Martial, Maritime, Municipal, or any other; of all which, the transcendent and uncontrollable Jurisdiction of that Court is capable to take Cognizance.

Amongst the three Things which the *Athenian* Captain thanked the Gods for, one was, That he was born a *Grecian*, and not a *Barbarian*. For such was the Vanity of the *Greeks*, and after them, of the *Romans*, in the Flourish of their Monarchy, to arrogate all Civility to themselves, and to term all the World besides, *Barbarians*: So I may say, to have Cause to rejoice, that I was born a Vassal to the Crown of *England*; that I was born under so well moulded and tempered a Government, which endows the Subject with such Liberties and Infranchisements, that bear up his natural Courage, and keep him still in Heart; such Liberties, that fence and secure him eternally from the Grips and Talons of *Tyranny*: And all this may be imputed to the Authority and Wisdom of this High Court of *Parliament*, wherein there is such

such a rare Co-ordination of Power (though the Sovereignty remain still entire, and untransferable in the Person of the Prince) there is, I say, such a wholesome Mixture betwixt *Monarchy*, *Optimacy*, and *Democracy*; betwixt Prince, Peers, and Commonalty, during the Time of Consultation, that of so many distinct Parts, by a rare Co-operation and Unanimity, they make but one *Body Politick* (like that Sheaf of Arrows in the Emblem) one entire concentric Piece; and the Results of their Deliberations, but as so many harmonious Diapasons arising from different Strings. And what greater Immunity and Happiness can there be to a People, than to be liable to no Laws, but what they make themselves? To be subject to no Contribution, Assessment, or any pecuniary Levy whatsoever, but what they vote, and voluntarily yield unto themselves? For, in this compacted *Politick Body*, there be all Degrees of People represented; both the Mechanick, Tradesman, Merchant, and Yeoman, have their inclusive Vote, as well as the Gentry, in the Persons of their Trustees, their Knights and Burgesses, in passing of all Things. Nor is this Sovereign Superintendent Council an Epitome of this Kingdom only; but it may be said to have a Representation of the whole Universe; as I heard a fluent well-worded *Knight* deliver in the last Parliament, who compared the beautiful Composure of that High Court, to the great Work of God, the World itself: The King is as the Sun, the Nobles as the fixed Stars, the Itinerant Judges, and other Officers (that go upon Messages betwixt both Houses) to the Planets; the Clergy to the Element of Fire; the Commons, to the solid *Body* of the Earth, and the rest of the Elements. And to pursue this Comparison a little farther; as the heavenly Bodies, when three of them meet in *Conjunction*, do use to produce some admirable Effects in the elementary World: So when these *three-States* convene and assemble in one solemn great *Junta*, some notable and extraordinary Things are brought forth, tending to the Welfare of the whole Kingdom, our *Microcosm*.

He, that is never so little versed in the Annals of this Isle, will find, that it hath been her Fate to be four Times *conquered*. I exclude the *Scot*; for the Situation of his Country, and the Qua-

lity of the Clime, hath been such an Advantage and Security to him, that neither the *Roman Eagles* would fly thither for fear of freezing their Wings, nor any other Nation attempt the Work.

These so many Conquests must needs bring with them many Tumblings and Tossings, many Disturbances and Changes in Government; yet, I have observed, that, notwithstanding these Tumblings, it retained still the Form of a *Monarchy*, and something there was always, that had Analogy with the great Assembly, the *Parliament*.

The first Conquest, I find, was made by *Claudius Cæsar*; at which Time (as some well observe) the *Roman Ensigns*, and the *Standard of Christ*, came in together. It is well known what Laws the *Roman* had; he had his *Comitia*, which bore a Resemblance with our Convention in *Parliament*; the Place of their Meeting was called *Prætorium**, and the Laws which they enacted, *Plebiscita*†.

The *Saxon* Conquest succeeded next, which were the *English*, there being no Name in *Welsh* or *Irish* for an *Englishman*, but *Saxon*, to this Day. They governed by *Parliament*, tho' it were under other Names, as *Michel Sinoth*, *Michel Gemote*, and *Witenage Mote*.

There are Records above a thousand Years old, of these *Parliaments*, in the Reigns of King *Ina*, *Offa*, *Ethelbert*, and the rest of the seven Kings, during the *Heptarchy*. The *British* Kings also, who retained a great while some Part of the Isle unconquered, governed and made Laws by a Kind of *Parliamentary* Way; witness the famous Laws of Prince *Howel*, called *Howel Dha* (the good Prince *Howel*) whereof there are yet extant some *Welsh* Records. *Parliaments* were also used after the *Heptarchy*, by King *Kenulphus*, *Alfred*, and others; witness that renowned *Parliament* held at *Grately*, by King *Athelston*.

The third Conquest was by the *Danes*, and they governed also by such general Assemblies (as they do to this Day) witness that great and so much celebrated *Parliament*, held by that mighty Monarch *Canutus*, who was King of *England*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, and other Regions, 150 Years before the compiling of *Magna Charta*; and this the Learned in the Laws do hold to be one of the specialeft, and most authen-

* The Senate or Parliament House.
 † i. e. The voluntary Acts or Laws made by the Representatives of the People.

† i. e. The voluntary Acts or Laws made by the Represen-

tick Pieces of Antiquity we have extant. *Edward the Confessor* made all his Laws thus, (and he was a great *Legislator*) which the *Norman Conqueror* did ratify and establish, and digested them into one intire methodical System, which, being violated by *Rufus* * (who came to such a disastrous End, as to be shot to Death in Lieu of a *Buck*, for his Sacrileges) were restored by *Henry the First*, and so they continued in Force till King *John*, whose Reign is renowned for first confirming *Magna Charta*, the Foundation of our Liberties ever since: Which may be compared to divers *Outlandish Grafts set upon our English Stock*; or to a *Posy of sundry fragrant Flowers*; for, the choicest of the *British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, and Norman Laws*, being culled and picked out, and gathered, as it were, into one Bundle; out of them the foresaid *Grand Charter* was extracted: And the Establishment of this great Charter was the Work of a *Parliament*.

Nor are the Laws of *this Island* only, and the Freedom of the Subject, conserved by *Parliament*; but all the best policed Countries of *Europe* have the like. The *Germans* have their *Diets*, the *Danes* and *Swedes* their *Riccks Dachs*; the *Spaniard* calls his *Parliament, Las Cortes*; and the *French* have (or should have, at least) their *Assembly of three States*, though it be grown now in a Manner obsolete, because the Authority thereof was (by Accident) devolved to the King. And very remarkable it is, how this happened; for when the *English* had taken such large Footing in most Parts of *France*, having advanced as far as *Orleans*, and driven their then King *Charles the Seventh* to *Bourges* in *Berry*, the *Assembly of the three States*, in these Pressures, being not able to meet after the usual Manner, in full *Parliament*; because the Country was unpassable, the Enemy having made such firm Invasions up and down through the very Bowels of the Kingdom; that Power, which formerly was inherent in the *Parliamentary Assembly*, of making Laws, of assessing the Subject with Taxes, subsidiary Levies, and other Impositions, was transmitted to the King, during the War; which, continuing many Years, that intrusted Power, by Length of Time, grew, as it were, habitual in him, and could never after be re-assumed, and taken from him; so that, ever since, his *Edicts* countervail *Acts of Parliament*: And that which made the Bu-

ness more feasible was, that the Burthen fell most upon the Commonalty (the Clergy and Nobility not feeling the Weight of it) who were willing to see the *Peasant* pulled down a little; because, not many Years before, in that notable Rebellion, called, *La Jaquerie de Beauvoisin*, which was suppressed by *Charles the Wise*; the common People put themselves boldly in Arms against the Nobility and Gentry, to lessen their Power. Add hereunto, as an Advantage to the Work, that the next succeeding King, *Lewis the Eleventh*, was a close, cunning Prince, and could well tell how to play his Game, and draw Water to his own Mill; for, amongst all the rest, he was said to be the first that put the Kings of *France, hors de page*, out of their Minority, or from being *Pages* † any more, tho', thereby, he brought the poor *Peasants* to be worse than *Lacques*.

With the Fall, or, at least, the Discountenance of that usual *Parliamentary Assembly* of the *three States*, the Liberty of the *French Nation* utterly fell; the poor *Roturier* and *Vineyard-man*, with the rest of the *Yeomanry*, being reduced ever since to such an abject *asinine* Condition, that they serve but as *Sponges* for the King to squeeze when he list. Nevertheless, as that King hath an Advantage hereby one Way, to monarchise more absolutely, and never to want Money, but to ballast his Purse when he will: So there is another mighty Inconvenience ariseth to him and his whole Kingdom another Way; for this illegal Peeling of the poor *Peasant* hath so dejected him, and cowed his native Courage so much, by the Sense of Poverty (which brings along with it a *Narrowness of Soul*) that he is little useful for the War: Which puts the *French King* to make other Nations mercenary to him, to fill up his *Infantry*; insomuch, that the Kingdom of *France* may be not unfitly compared to a Body that hath all its Blood drawn up into the Arms, Breast, and Back, and scarce any left from the Girdle downwards, to cherish and bear up the lower Parts, and keep them from starving.

All this seriously considered, there cannot be a more proper and pregnant Example, than this of our next Neighbours, to prove how infinitely necessary the *Parliament* is, to assert, to prop up, and preserve the public Liberty, and national Rights of the People, with the Incolumity and Welfare of a Country.

* *William the Second*, Son and Successor to the Conqueror. † Minors.

Nor doth the *Subject* only reap Benefit thus by *Parliament*, but the *Prince* (if it be well considered) hath equal Advantage thereby; it rendereth him a King of *free* and *able* Men, which is far more glorious than to be a King of *Slaves*, *Beggars*, and *Bankrupts*; Men, that by their Freedom, and Competency of Wealth, are kept still in Heart to do him Service against any foreign Force. And it is a true Maxim in all States, that it is less Danger and Dishonour for the Prince to be poor, than his People: Rich Subjects can make their King rich, when they please; if he gain their Hearts, he will quickly get their Purfes. *Parliament* increaseth Love and good Intelligence betwixt him and his People; it acquaints him with the Reality of Things, and with the true State and Diseases of his Kingdom; it brings him to the Knowledge of his better Sort of Subjects, and of their Abilities, which he may employ accordingly upon all Occasions; it provides for his Royal Issue, pays his Debts, finds Means to fill his Coffers: And it is no ill Observation, The *Parliamentary-monies* (the great Aid) have prospered best with the Kings of *England*; it exceedingly raiseth his Repute Abroad, and enableth him to keep his *Foes in Fear*, his *Subjects in Awe*, his *Neighbours and Confederates in Security*; the three main Things which go to aggrandise a Prince, and render him glorious. In Sum, it is the *Parliament* that supports and bears up the Honour of his Crown, and settles his Throne in Safety, which is the chief End of all their Consultations: For whosoever is entrusted to be a Member of this High Court, carrieth with him a double Capacity; he sits there as a *Patriot*, and as a *Subject*: As he is the one, the Country is his Object, his Duty being to vindicate the Publick Liberty, to make wholesome Laws, to put his Hand to the Pump, and stop the Leaks of the great Vessel of the State; to pry into, and punish Corruption and Oppression; to improve and advance Trade; to have the Grievances of the Place he serves for redressed, and cast about how to find something that may tend to the Advantage of it.

But he must not forget, that he sits there also as a *Subject*, and according to that Capacity, he must apply himself to do his *Sovereign's* Business, to provide not only for his *publick*, but his *personal* Wants; to bear up the Lustre and Glory of his *Court*; to consider what Occasions of extraordinary Expences he may have, by Increase of *Royal Issue*, or Maintenance of any of them Abroad; to enable him to vindicate any Affront or Indignity, that might be offered to his Person, Crown, or Dignity, by any *Foreign State* or *Kingdom*; to consult what may enlarge his *Honour*, *Contentment*, and *Pleasure*. And as the *French Tacitus* (*Comines*) hath it, The *English Nation* was used to be more forward and zealous in this Particular than any other; according to that ancient eloquent Speech of a great *Lawyer*, *Domus Regis vigilia defendit omnium, otium illius labor omnium, delicie illius industria omnium, vacatio illius occupatio omnium, salus illius periculum omnium, honor illius obiectum omnium*. i. e. Every one should stand Centinel, to defend the King's Houses; his *Safety* should be the *Danger* of all, his *Pleasures* the *Industry* of all, his *Ease* should be the *Labour* of all, his *Honour* the *Object* of all.

Out of these Premises this Conclusion may be easily deduced, that, *The principal Fountain, whence the King derives his Happiness and Safety, is his Parliament*: It is that great Conduit-Pipe which conveys unto him his People's Bounty and Gratitude; the truest Looking glass wherein he discerns their Loves; now the *Subjects Love* hath been always accounted the prime *Cittadel* of a *Prince*. In his *Parliament* he appears as the Sun in the Meridian, in the Altitude of his Glory, in his *highest State Royal*, as the Law tells us.

Therefore whosoever is averse or disaffected to this Sovereign Law-making Court, cannot have his Heart well planted within him: He can be neither good *Subject*, nor good *Patriot*; and therefore unworthy to breathe *English Air*, or have any benefit, Advantage, or Protection from the Laws.

The

The Mischiefs and Unreasonableness of Endeavouring to deprive his Majesty of the Affections of his Subjects, by misrepresenting him and his Ministers.

Cum hominum animi vanis timoribus & suspicionibus implentur, calumniæ & maledicta in Principes sine ullo veri falsive discrimine avidè accipiuntur, avidè communicantur.

Fam. Strada de bello Belg.

This Loyal Tract, containing the true Sense of every good Subject, was originally published to deter the Subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, from fomenting that Discontent against Kingly Government, which brought these Nations into that horrid Rebellion, that began in the Year 1641, and deserves to be recorded, so long as Monarchy sways these Kingdoms; and always necessary to be read, so long as that best of Governments is struck at by designing Men; or ignorantly traversed in the Conversation of the causelessly discontented Subject. I have only taken the Liberty to strike out some Expressions that were temporary, in order to render it the more general and useful at all Times.

IT is the common Unhappiness of all States, that some Persons every where are proud of being thought wise at *suspecting*, and of an extraordinary Reach in *foreseeing* Evils, which, perhaps, never come to pass. The Vanity of appearing more acute and sagacious than their Neighbours does so possess them, that they make it their Business and Employment, to *discover* or to *invent* approaching Mischiefs. And if we look into those Histories which give us an Account of the grand Transactions and Revolutions of Kingdoms; which do not barely tell Things as Tales, and say, only such and such Things happened, but do search into the real Causes of, and acquaint us what occasioned them: We shall find, that *this Humour* has frequently been of greatest Consequence, and that none have contributed more to the Unhappiness and Destruction of a Nation, than the *over-politick* and notable Men; who by Shew of Concern for the Public, and great Insight into Intrigues and Cabals, have laboured to bring the Government into Suspicion, and to alienate the Hearts of the People from their Prince. But we need not appeal to foreign Occurrences, or elder Times. The Miseries, which these three Kingdoms for several Years groaned under, do sufficiently attest it; and they who understand any Thing of *England's Troubles**, in the grand Rebellion, are not ignorant that the grave Men of Fears and Jealousies, who discovered what no Man could ever find out since; and

the seditious Preachers, who endeavoured to gain the People's Hearts by aspersing their King, and shewing them *Dangers* and *Enemies* round about them, where none meant to hurt them; who with Scripture Phrases, and sacred Railing, and prophane Abuse of God's Word to base and malicious Purposes, demonstrated their *Governors* to be the *Designers of their Ruin*, were not the least Promoters of all our shameful Confusions.

But either we are so unwilling to reflect upon what then followed, or so inclinable to gratify our own little Humour that Way, that we too generally tread in the Steps of the Fomenters of those Disturbances, without the least Misgivings of what it may end in. We are as politick and as sharp-sighted, and as disengenuous as they were in 1641. We do, indeed, enjoy our *Liberties* and *Properties*, and the free Exercise of our *Religion*, *Peace*, and *Plenty*, *Justice* equally distributed to all, are governed by *known Laws*, and no Man is oppressed, and yet we have Grievances to complain of; *Dangers* we foresee do threaten us; we groan, and sigh, and cry out at the Badness of the Times, are apprehensive of strange Designs on Foot, and cannot afford our *Governors* one good Word. Indeed, they among us who have a great Reach, and would be thought Politicians of the first Rate, do give only notable Hints, emphatical Nods, intimate somewhat of our Fears, but darkly; speak dubiously of what may happen, with the King better advised, whif-

* *Vid.* The View of the late Troubles in *England*, p. 96. & *alibi*.

per somewhat about evil Counsellors, and the like. But the vulgar Part of us are more rash, and blunder it out more plainly, and prophesy of arbitrary Government; cry out that we are sold and betrayed, and not far from being enslaved.

Some Men have so strange fond Conceits of themselves, that they are too ready to fancy their own *petty Interests* and *absurd Desires* so twisted and interwoven with the *public Happiness* of the Nation, that, from any little Disappointment of their ill-laid Projects, they will take Occasion to predict some signal Mischiefs, if not Ruin to the Commonwealth. For they look on themselves as Persons no less in Favour with God, nor less wise in their Designs than others; and how can public Mischiefs be brought on us, but by the ill Administration of those who are concerned in the Government? And when this prophetic Foundation is once laid, then every Accident which happens shall minister some Jealousies and Suspicions, every Suspicion shall beget another; and can a Man think much, and say nothing of such Matters?

Besides, some Men strangely *affect* the Favour and good Word of the *common People*, and what readier Way to obtain it, than by persuading them that they are not so well governed as they ought to be? Some Things will happen amiss, let Men do what they can, and the common People who see the immediate and obvious Effects of some Inconveniencies, to which all Sorts of Governments are subject, have not the Judgment to discern the secret Lets and Difficulties, which in publick Proceedings are innumerable and inevitable. And does not the Reproving the supposed Disorders of State shew the Persons, who do so, to be principal Friends to the common Interest, and honest Men of singular Freedom of Mind? And what can be more popular and plausible?

Once more. When every private and ordinary Person turns Statesman, and with a judicious Gravity canvasses and determines the particular Interests and Designs of Kings and Princes; when he, perhaps, who has hardly Wit enough to govern his own little Family, takes upon him to settle the Affairs of Christendom, and fancies himself able to give this or the other Prince Advice how to govern his Subjects, and enlarge his Dominions: In fine, when Men spend that Time, they should employ in their several Callings to gain their Livelihood, in running about after News, and make themselves poor by Idleness and Negligence; what can we expect among these People but perverse

Censures and silly Conclusions, seditious Repinings and Discontents?

But, certainly, no wise Man can think the worse of any Government, because *unthinking* People speak ill of it, nor will he, who is but a little above the Multitude, think himself in Danger, and bound to vex and to be discontented; because they are not pleased!

Indeed, we have been so long used to concern ourselves in Matters that do not belong to us, to arraign, and, at our Pleasure, to condemn the Government, that either our Governors must publish to the World all their Designs and Consultations, and inform the People of all their Motives to such or such Resolutions (which would be the most absurd Thing in the World, and the greatest Contradiction to all the Uses and Ends of Government) or else they must expect to have evil Censures passed on them for all they do, to be complained of as Enemies to their Country, and Betrayers of their Trust. A Humour fit for the senseless Rabble, but below any one of Parts and Ingenuity.

But now let us think a little what will be the End of all these Things? The most experienced and ablest Disturbers have always first struck at the Reputation of the Government, and frequently with great Success. *For can there be Obedience, where there is not so much as Respect?* Will their Knees bow, whilst their Hearts insult, and their Actions submit, whilst their Apprehensions and Tongues do rebel?

And when the People are thus prepared with Jealousies and Discontents, and some Accidents happen, which offer an Opportunity, then out steps some bold *hypocritical Rebel*, and heads the discontented Party, puts forth Remonstrances of Grievances and Misdemeanors in the Government, and engages to remedy them; and the Devil, who is never wanting to Men, that are set upon Mischiefs, sets forward the Work, till it improve into an open and detestable *Civil War*. All Histories are full of Examples, and we are not so happy as not to know, and to be one.

Away, therefore, with our Murmuring and Querulousness, we do but assist evil Men, and vex and trouble ourselves by them. Let us do our Duty, every one in his Place, and leave the great Business of all to God, and to the King, whom he has given us. Let not our Curiosity, or what is worse, make us over-careful and solicitous about many Things, which belong not to us, but rather, take the Advice given us in Scripture, *Study to be quiet, and do our own Business, and wait with Patience and Modesty*. The Reports, which

which we hear, concerning our Governor's Determinations, are very uncertain, and often false, and set about by seditious and unquiet Men, who perhaps underhand work for that Design, which they seem to the World to be most violently set against. And as to those, which are true, we, who know not the Circumstances of them, must be very arrogant and presumptuous, if we take upon us to judge of their Convenience or Inconvenience. But this we may be assured of, that all our *Malicious* and *Seditious* Discourses will very little promote the *Safety* of ourselves, or of our Governors, and that there are those, who have better Information, and greater Abilities than we, who will be as much concerned for their Lives, their Liberties, and their Religion, as any of us can pretend to be. Let us assist them with our Prayers, and the Reformation of our Lives, which are the most effectual Means to secure our other Interests.

To inforce this yet farther. It is by God that Kings reign, and from Him alone, can they receive their Authority; and since he has sufficiently declared that he would have us be submissive and respectful, patient and obedient; if we murmur against them, we murmur at God's Management of the World; we arraign Providence, and shew, that, let us talk as much as we will of it, we are not for it, but when it is for us.

Let us question, as a good Man among the *Jews* did; *Whose Ox has our King taken, or whose Ass has he taken? or whom has he defrauded? Whom has he oppressed? or of whose Hands has he received any Bribes, to blind his Eyes therewith?*

We talk of *Arbitrary Government*; What Man has lost his Life or Estate under *this Government*, but by due Form, and Procedure of Law? We talk of *Tyranny*; Can any Man charge this Prince, with the least Act of Cruelty? Did he ever shew any Thing of a bloody revengeful Spirit? Or can we read of a more merciful, and condescending, and obliging King, that ever ruled in *Europe*? And all the Returns that we make to so much Justice, and Sweetness, and Goodness, are unkind, and rude, and undutiful Reflexions. We most ungratefully endeavour to render him as odious in the Eyes of the World as we can; and, not only so, but settle a Way of putting a most invidious Interpretation on all his future Actions. But, should we endeavour to ruin the Reputation of one of the meanest of our Neighbours, would it not be a great Sin in the Eyes of God, and a great Injury and Wrong to him; and, would not we esteem it so, in our own Case, if we were so

dealt with by others; and, do we not think it a Sin of much greater Magnitude, to speak evil of Dignities, to revile God's Vice-Gerent, and to lay his Honour in the Dust? Certainly we must be very partial to ourselves, if we judge otherwise. And indeed, this is a Crime of so extensive a bad Influence, and so much Mischief, that they, who consider the Injury the Public receives by it, admire that no severer Punishments are appointed by the Laws, for those who are guilty of it; and they, who consider the Heinousness of the Sin, do not less wonder, that our Divines do not more frequently lay open the Guilt of it to the People.

To make an End. Could all our Complaints and Unquietness take away the pretended Occasions of them; could our fancying ourselves in an ill Condition deliver us out of it; could our persuading ourselves, that our Liberty and Religion is in Danger, make both secure; and, our wilful Fears and jealous Surmises prevent real Evils: It were unkind to dissuade you from murmuring, and he would prove your Enemy, who would make you so yourselves. Could groundless Fears and imaginary Dangers establish Peace on a lasting Foundation; could false Alarms and mutinous Discourses contribute any thing to the Plenty and Quiet of the Kingdom: Could our suspecting our Governors render our Fellow subjects more obedient, and our aspersing those, who are concerned in the Management of the highest Affairs, strengthen your Hands and inspire their Resolutions, then we could have some Pretence for our Restlessness and Clamorousness.

But since it stands upon Record in the Histories of all Ages, since we have had late and dismal Effects of such Practices, and have too frequently found that Jealousies and Suspicions, Out-cries and Complaints, vain Fears and imaginary Grievances, have produced real Mischief, and brought on us those Misfortunes, which they seemed only to foretel: Since they are the most effectual Incouragements to seditious Persons, and aspiring Disturbers need no greater than to have their Pretences abetted by sober, grave Men, and their Cause voted up by the common Cry of the whole People; it cannot be thought indiscreet, or useless, or pragmatical in any one to intreat you to live at Ease, and to enjoy yourselves, the blessed Serenity of an undisturbed Mind; to banish out of your Hearts and Mouths such hurtful Follies; and to persuade you to let Peace and Prosperity continue among You, whilst they seem to court you, and to beg only your Consent.

Dublin, May, 24. 1681.
A WORD

A Word Without-Doors, concerning the Bill for Succession.

The Occasion of Writing this Pamphlet, was the great Dispute concerning the Exclusion of the Duke of York from the Throne of these Kingdoms, upon the Death of King Charles II. his Brother, on Account of his Religion, having professed himself a Papist, and openly declared himself a zealous Protector of all such as were so affected.

The Argument is founded upon the Divine Institution and proper End of Government; the Laws of the Land; the Reasons that may warrant such an Exclusion; Examples of the like Proceedings, and the Impossibility that a Popish King can ever prove a true Defender of the Protestant Christian Faith; all which equally serves to justify the Revolution in 1688. and the Protestant Establishment of the Crown in the Protestant House of Hanover, and the Necessity of preserving the said Establishment, as to perpetuate a Memorial of that noble Stand against Popery, and the utmost Effort of that Parliament here mentioned, to secure our Religion and Laws; even at the Hazard of their own Dissolution, which the Duke was able to obtain.

S I R,

I AM very sensible of the great Honour you were pleased to do me in your last, which I received immediately after our late unhappy Dissolution; but could have wished you would have laid your Commands on some more able Person, to have given you Satisfaction in the Matter you there propose relating to the Duke*, who, you seem to insinuate, was like (if the Parliament had continued) to have received hard Measure†. I must ingenuously confess to you, I was not long since perfectly of your Opinion, and thought it the highest Injustice imaginable, for any Prince to be debarred of his *native* Right of Succession, upon any Pretence whatsoever. But, upon a more mature Deliberation and Inquiry, I found my Error proceeded principally from the false Notions I had taken up of Government itself, and from my Ignorance of the Practices of all Communities of Men in all Ages, whenever Self-preservation, and the Necessity of their Affairs, obliged them to declare their Opinion in Cases of the like Nature: To the Knowledge of all which, the following Accident, I shall relate to you, did very much contribute.

My Occasions obliging me one Day to attend the Coming of a Friend in a Coffee-house near *Charing-cross*, there happened to sit at the same Table with me two ingenious Gentlemen, who, according to the Frankness of Conversation now used in the Town, began a Discourse on the same Subject‡ you desire to be more particularly informed in; and having extolled the late House of Commons, as the best Number of Men that had ever sat within those Walls§; and that no House had ever more vigorously maintained and asserted *English* Liberty, and Protestant Religion, than they had done, as far as the Nature of the Things that came before them, and the Circumstances of Time would admit (to all which I very readily and heartily assented :) They then added, That the great Wisdom and Zeal of that House had appeared in nothing more, than in ordering a Bill to be brought in for *Debarring the Duke of York from Inheriting the Crown*. A Law they affirmed to be the most just and reasonable in the World, and the only proper Remedy to establish this Nation on a true and solid Interest, both in relation to the present and future Times§.

* Of York, afterwards King James II.

† *i. e.* To have been excluded from Succeeding to the Crown of England, upon the Demise of his Brother, King Charles II. who said, that he had no lawful Issue.

‡ Of the Succession to the Crown.

§ Because they, without Respect to Persons would have excluded the Enemies of our holy Religion from the Throne, and established a true Protestant Succession, under which only it is possible for us to be happy.

§ As it has been long since manifested, both in King James II.'s Mal-Administration, and the Happiness we now enjoy under a Protestant King.

To which I could not but reply, That I begged their Pardon, if I differed from them in Opinion; and did believe, That, how honestly soever the House of Commons might intend in that Matter, yet that the Point of *Succession* was so sacred a Thing, and of so high a Nature, that it was *not* subjected to their Cognizance: That *Monarchy* was of *Divine Right*: That Princes succeeded by Nature and Generation *only*, and not by Authority, Admission, or Approbation of the People; and, consequently, That neither the *Merit* or *Demerit* of their Persons, nor the different Influences from thence upon the People, were to be respected; or had in Consideration; but the Commonwealth ought to obey, and submit to, the *next* Heir, without any farther Inquisition; and, if he proved a worthy, virtuous, and just Prince, it was a great Happiness; if unjust, barbarous, and tyrannical, there was no other Remedy, but Prayer, Patience, and an intire Submission to so difficult a Dispensation of God's Providence.

I had no sooner ended my Discourse, but one of the Gentlemen (that was the most serious in the Company), seeing me a young Man, gravely replied, That he could not but be extremely concerned to hear, that such pernicious Notions against all lawful Government had been taught in the World: That he believed, they were in me purely the Effects of an University-Education; and, That it had been my Misfortune, to have had a very high Churchman* for my Tutor, who had endeavoured (as it was their constant Practice to all young Gentlemen under their Care) to debauch me with such Principles as would enslave my Mind to their *Hierarchy*, and the *Monarchical* Part of the Government, without any Regard at all to the *Aristocratical* and *Popular*; and, that fat Parsonages, Prebendships, Deanries, and Episcopal Sees, were the certain and constant Rewards of such Services†: That the Place we were in, was a little too public for Discourses of this Nature; but, if I would accept of a Bottle of Wine at the next Tavern, he would undertake to give me juster Measures; adding, It was Pity so hopeful a Gentleman should be tainted with bad Principles. My Friend, coming in at the same time, proved to be one of

their particular Acquaintance; and both he and I readily complied with so generous a Motion.

We had no sooner drank a Glass round, but the old Gentleman was pleased to renew his Discourse, and said, It was undoubtedly true, that the Inclination of Mankind to live in Company (from whence come Towns, Cities, and Commonwealths) did proceed of Nature, and consequently of God, the Author of Nature. So likewise Government, and the Jurisdiction of Magistrates in general (which does necessarily flow from the living together in Society) is also of Nature, and ordained by God for the common Good of Mankind; but that the *particular* Species and Forms of this or that Government, in this or that Manner, to have *many*, *few*, or *one* Governor; or that they should have *this* or *that* Authority, more or less, for a longer or a shorter Time; or whether ordinarily by *Succession* or by *Election*, all these Things (he said) are ordained and diversified by the *particular Laws* of every Country, and are not established either by Law Natural or Divine, but left by God unto every Nation and Country, to pitch upon what Form of Government they should think most proper to promote the common Good of the Whole, and best adapted to the Natures, Constitutions, and other Circumstances of the People; which accordingly, for the same Reasons, may be altered or amended in any of its Parts, by the mutual Consent of the Governors and Governed, whenever they shall see reasonable Cause so to do; all which appears plainly, both from the Diversity of Governments extant in the World, and by the same Nations living sometimes under one Sort of Government, and sometimes under another. So we see God himself permitted his peculiar People, the *Jews*, to live under divers Forms of Government; as, first, under *Patriarchs*; then under *Captains*; then under *Judges*; then under *High-priests*; next under *Kings*; and then under *Captains* and *High-priests* again, until they were conquered by the *Romans*, who themselves also first lived under *Kings* and then *Consuls*, whose Authority they afterwards *limited* by a *Senate*, by adding *Tribunes* of the People; and, in extraordinary Emergencies of the Commonwealth, they were governed by *Dictators*, and

* Which, in those Days, signified one that was ready to turn Papist as soon as the Prince should countenance that Superstition.

† This describes the Way to Preferment in the Church, when the Duke of York influenced his Brother's Counsels, and disposed of his Places in Church and State.

last of all by *Emperors*. So that it is plain, no Magistrate has his particular Government, or an Interest of Succession in it, by any *Institution of Nature*, but only by the particular *Constitution of the Commonwealth* within itself. And as the Kinds of Government are different, so also are the Measures of Power and Authority in the same Kind, in different Countries.

I shall begin (said he) with that of the *Roman* Empire, which, though it be the first in Dignity amongst Christian Princes, yet it is so restrained and limited by the particular Laws of the Empire, that he can do much less in his State, than other Kings in theirs. He can neither make War, nor exact any Contribution of Men or Money, but by the Consent of all the States of the *German Diet*: And as for his Children and Relations, they have no Interest or Pretence to succeed, but only by Election, if they shall be thought worthy. Nay, the chiefest Article the Emperor swears to keep, at his Admission to that Honour, is, That he shall never endeavour to make the Dignity of the Empire *Hereditary* to his Family.

In *Spain* and in *France* the Privileges of Kings are much more eminent, both in Power and Succession; their Authority is more absolute; every Order of theirs having the Validity of a Law, and their next of Blood does ordinarily inherit, though in a different Manner. In *Spain* the next Heir cannot succeed, but by the Approbation of the Nobility, Bishops, and States of the Realm. In *France* the Women are not admitted to succeed, let them be never so lineally descended. In *England* our Kings are much more limited and confined in their Power, than either of the two former; for here no Law can be made, but by Consent and Authority of Parliament; and as to the Point of Succession, the next of Kin is admitted, unless in extraordinary Cases, and when important Reasons of State require an *Alteration*: And then the Parliaments of *England* (according to the ancient Laws and Statutes of the Realm) have frequently directed and appointed the Succession of the Crown in other Manner than in Course it would have gone; of which I shall give you some Examples in Order.

But first let us look Abroad, and see how Things have been carried, as to this Point, in other Countries.

Amongst the *Jews*, the Laws of Succession did ordinarily hold; and accordingly *Rehoboam*, the lawful Son and Heir of *Solomon*, after his Father's Decease, went to *Sichem*, to be crowned and admitted by the People; and the whole Body of the People of *Israel*, being there gathered together, did (before they would admit him their lawful King) make unto him certain Propositions for taking away some heavy Taxes that had been imposed on them by his Father *Solomon*; which he refusing to gratify them in, and following the Advice of young Men, ten of the twelve Tribes immediately chose *Jeroboam*, a Servant of *Rehoboam's*, a mere Stranger, and of mean Parentage, and made him their King; and God approved thereof, as the Scriptures in express Words do testify: For, when *Rehoboam* had raised an Army of One hundred and Four-score thousand Men, intending by Force of Arms, to have justified his Claim, God appeared unto *Semajah*, and commanded him to go to *Rehoboam*, and to the House of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, saying, *Return every Man to his House, for this Thing is of me, saith the Lord*. So that, since God did permit and allow this in his own *Commonwealth*, which was to be the Pattern for all others, no doubt he will approve the same in other Kingdoms, whenever his Service and Glory, or the Happiness of the *Weal-Publick*, shall require it.

The next Instance, I shall give you, shall be in *Spain*, where Don *Alonso de la Cerda*, having been admitted Prince of *Spain*, in his Father's Life-time (according to the Custom of that Realm), married *Blancha*, Daughter of *Lewis* the First, King of *France*, and had by her two Sons, named *Alonso* and *Hernando de la Cerda*; but their Father (who was only Prince) dying before *Alonso* the Ninth, then King, he recommended them to the Realm as lawful Heirs apparent to the Crown; but Don *Sancho*, their Father's younger Brother, who was a great Warrior, and surnamed *El Bravo**, was admitted Prince, and they put by, in their Grandfather's Life-time, by his and the States Consent; and this was done at a Parliament † held at *Segovia*, in the Year 1276. and in the Year 1284. (*Alonso* the Ninth being dead) Don *Sancho* was acknowledged King, and the two Princes imprisoned; but, at the Mediation of *Philip* the Third, King of *France*, their Uncle, they were

* The Valiant.

† Or *Cortes*, i. e. The general Meeting of the States.

set free, and endowed with considerable Revenues in Land; and from them do descend the Dukes *De Medina Celi* at this Day; and the present King of *Spain* that is in Possession * descendeth from *Don Sancho*.

In *France*, *Lewis* the Fourth had two Sons, *Lotharin*, who succeeded him, and *Charles*, whom he made Duke of *Lorrain*. *Lotharin* dying, left an only Son, named *Lewis*, who dying without Issue, after he had reigned two Years, the Crown was to have descended on his Uncle *Charles*, Duke of *Lorrain*. But the States of *France* did exclude him, and chose *Hugo Capetus*, Earl of *Paris*, for their King; and, in an Oration made by their Ambassador to *Charles* of *Lorrain*, did give an Account of their Reasons for so doing, as it is related by *Belforest*, a French Historian, in these very Words:

“ Every Man knoweth (Lord *Charles*) that
 “ the Succession of the Crown and Kingdom of
 “ *France*, according to the ordinary Rights and
 “ Laws of the same, belongeth unto you, and
 “ not unto *Hugh Capet*, now our King: But
 “ yet the same Laws, which do give unto you
 “ such Right of Succession, do judge you also
 “ unworthy of the same; for that you have
 “ not endeavoured, hitherto, to frame your Life
 “ according to the Prescript of those Laws,
 “ nor according to the Use and Custom of the
 “ Kingdom of *France*; but rather have allied
 “ yourselves with the *Germans*, our old Enemies,
 “ and have accustomed yourself to
 “ their vile and base Manners. Wherefore,
 “ since you have abandoned and forsaken the
 “ antient Virtue, Amity, and Sweetness of your
 “ Country, your Country has abandoned and
 “ forsaken you; for we have chosen *Hugh*
 “ *Capet* for our King, and have put you by,
 “ and this without any Scruple in our Con-
 “ sciences at all; esteeming it far better, and
 “ more just, to live under *Hugh Capet*, the Pos-
 “ sessor of the Crown, with enjoying the an-
 “ tient Use of our Laws, Customs, Privileges,
 “ and Liberties, than under you, the next Heir,
 “ by Blood, in Oppression, strange Customs,
 “ and Cruelty. For as they, who are to make
 “ a Voyage in a Ship on a dangerous Sea, do
 “ not so much respect, whether the Pilot claims
 “ Title to the Ship or no, but rather whether
 “ he be skilful, valiant, and like to bring them
 “ in Safety to their Way’s End; even so our

“ principal Care is to have a good Prince to
 “ lead and guide us happily in this Way of
 “ Civil and Politick Life; which is the End
 “ for which Princes are appointed.”

And with this Message ended his Succession and Life, he dying not long after in Prison.

And now I shall come Home, and give you an Instance or two in *England* since the Conquest, and so conclude.

William Rufus, second Son of *William the Conqueror*, by the Assistance of *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had a great Opinion of his Virtue and Probity, was admitted King by the Consent of the Realm, his elder Brother *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* being then in the War at *Jerusalem*. *William* dying, his younger Brother *Henry*, by his Ingenuity and fair Carriage, and by the Assistance of *Henry* Earl of *Warwick*, who had greatest Interest in the Nobility; and *Maurice* Bishop of *London*, a Leading-man amongst the Clergy, obtained also the Crown. And *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* was a second time excluded. And though this King *Henry* could pretend no other Title to the Crown, than the Election and Admission of the Realm; yet he defended it so well, and God prospered him with such Success, that, when his elder Brother *Robert* came to claim the Kingdom by Force of Arms, he beat him in a pitched Battle, took him Prisoner, and so he died miserably in Bonds.

King *Henry* had one only Daughter named *Maud*, or *Matilda*, who was married to the Emperor; and he dying without Issue, she was afterwards married to *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*, in *France*, by whom she had a Son named *Henry*, whom his Grandfather declared Heir apparent to the Crown in his Life-time; yet, after his Death, *Henry* was excluded, and *Stephen* Earl of *Bulloine*, Son of *Adela*, Daughter of *William the Conqueror*, was, by the States, thought more fit to govern than Prince *Henry*, who was then but a Child. And this was done by the Persuasion of *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, and at the Solicitation of the Abbot of *Glastenbury*, and others, who thought they might do the same lawfully, and with a good Conscience, for the publick Good of the Realm.

But the Event did not prove so well as they intended; for this occasioned great Factions and Divisions in the Kingdom; for the Quieting of

which, there was a Parliament held at *Wallingford*, which passed a Law, ' That *Stephen* should be King only during his Life, and that Prince *Henry* and his Off-spring should succeed him ;' and by the same Law debarred *William*, Son of King *Stephen*, from inheriting the Crown, and only made him Earl of *Norfolk*.

Thus did the Parliament dispose of the Crown in those Days, which was in the Year 1153. which sufficiently proves what I have asserted.

The Sum of all I have said, amounts to this : That Government in general is by the Law of Nature, and consequently the Ordinance of God; but that the different Forms of Government, whether to reside in one, few, or many; or whether it shall be continued by Succession or by Election, together with the different Measures and Limitations of Power and Authority in Governors of the same kind in several Countries: All these Things, I say, are ordained by, and purely depend upon, positive and human Laws. From whence it will necessarily follow, That the same human Authority (residing in King, Lords, and Commons, here in *England*) which gave Being to those Laws for the Good of the Community, is superintendent over them, and both may and ought to make any Addition to, or Alteration of them, when the publick Good and Welfare of the Nation shall require it; unless you will admit, That an human Authority, establishing any thing intentionally for the common Good of the Society, which in Tract of Time, by Reason of unforeseen Circumstances and Emergencies, proves destructive of it, has by that Act concluded itself, and made that accidental Evil, Moral and Unchangeable; which to affirm, is senseless and repugnant.

And now, Sir, I hope, by this Time (said the old Gentleman) you begin to think that the Bill for disabling the Duke was not so unjust and unreasonable as was pretended; and that the *Course of Succession* (being founded upon the same Bottom with other Civil Constitutions) might likewise as justly have been altered by the King, Lords, and Commons, as any other Law or Custom whatever.

And here I might conclude; but, because a late *Pensionary* Pen has publickly arraigned the Wisdom, Loyalty, and Justice of the honourable House of Commons, on the Account of

this Bill, I will, *ex abundanti*, add a Word or two more to that Particular.

Whereupon he plucked a Paper out of his Pocket, intituled, *Great and weighty Considerations relating to the Duke, and Successor of the Crown, &c.* Which, as soon as he had read unto us, You see here, said he, the true Temper of those Men, of whom I first gave you Caution. There never was an Endeavour (though in a *Legal and Parliamentary* Way), after any Reformation either in Church or State, but the Promoters of it were sure to be branded by them with the odious Imputations of *Fanaticism* and *Faction*: Nay, if the *Country-Electors* of *Parliament-Men* will not pitch upon such Rakehells of the Nation as are usually proposed by them, but, on the contrary, make use of their Freedom and Consciences in chusing able, upright, and deserving Persons; and if good Men, thus chosen, do but (according to their Duty in the House), inquire into publick Grievances, pursue in a *legal Course* notorious Offenders, and consult and advise the Security of the Government, and *Protestant Religion*, the Time-server immediately swells, and, in a Passion, tells you, That all this proceeds from the old Phanatick Leven, not yet worn out amongst the People; That we are going back again to *Forty-one* *; and acting over afresh the Sins of our Forefathers.

Thus, ignorantly, do they compliment the Times and Persons they endeavour to expose, by appropriating to them such Virtues as were common to good Men in all Ages. But enough of this.

In the next Place, pray observe how hypocritically the *Considerer* puts this Question, viz.

Whether Protestant Religion was not settled in this Nation by the same mighty Hand of God that established Jeroboam in the Kingdom of Israel? [And then adds] Whether we (like that wicked King) should so far despair of God's Providence in preserving the Work of his own Hands, as never to think it safe, unless it be established on the Quick-sands of our own wicked Inventions? [viz. The Bill against the Duke.]

And, throughout his whole Discourse, he frequently calls all Care of preserving our Religion, a Mistrust of God's Providence; and on that Score calls out to the Nation, *O ye of little Faith,*

* *Viz.* To grow seditious,

&c. Now I will allow him, That the *least* Evil is not to be done, that the *greatest* and *most important* Good may ensue: But that the Bill for disabling the Duke is highly justifiable both by the Laws of God, and Constitution of our Government, I think, by my former Discourse, I have left no room to doubt; and, the *Considerer* having scarce attempted to prove the contrary, it is preposterously done of him, to give us his Use of Reproof, before he has cleared his Doctrine.

However, I owe him many Thanks for putting me in mind how *Protestant* Religion was first established here in *England*; it was, indeed, by the mighty Hand of God influencing the Publick Councils of the Nation, so that all imaginable Care was taken both by Prince and People, to rescue themselves from under the *Roman* Yoke; and, accordingly, most excellent Laws were made against the Usurpation and Tyranny of that Man of Sin*. Our Noble Ancestors, in those Days, did not palliate a Want of Zeal for their Religion, with a lazy Pretence, of trusting in God's Providence; but, together with their Prayers to, and Affiance in Heaven, they joined the Acts of their own Duty, without which (they very well knew) they had no Reason to expect a Blessing from it.

But now be pleased to take Notice of the Candor of this worthy *Considerer*; nothing less will serve his Turn, than the proving all the Voters for the Bill guilty of the highest Perjury: For (says he) they have all sworn in the Oath of Allegiance, to bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors: But the Duke is Heir, Ergo, &c. A very hopeful Argument, indeed! But what if it should happen (as it is neither impossible, nor very improbable to imagine it) that the next Heir to the Crown should commit Treason, and conspire the Death of the present Possessor †, and for this Treason should not only be attainted by Parliament, but executed too: Pray, Mr. *Considerer*, would the Parliament, in this Case, be guilty of Murder and Perjury? I am confident, you will not say it. If, therefore, the next Heir become obnoxious to the Government in a lower Degree, why may not the same Authority proportion the Punishment, and leave

him his Life, but *debar* him of the Succession? This I say, only to shew the Absurdity of his Argument.

My Answer is this: No Man can bear Allegiance to Two Persons at the same time; nor can Allegiance be ever due to a Subject, and, therefore, my Obligation by the Word [*Heir*] in the Oath, does not commence till such Heir has a *present Right* ‡ to, or *actual Possession* of, the Crown; which, if he never attains, either by reason of Death, or any other Act that incapacitates and bars him, then can my Obligation to him by the Word *Heir* in the Oath never have a Beginning.

But, besides all this, it cannot be denied but that Mr. *Considerer*'s Doctrine does bring great Inconveniencies on Succession; for the *next Heir* (by his way of arguing) is let loose from all the Restrictions and Penalties of human Laws; and has no other Ties upon him not to snatch the Crown out of the Hands of the Possessor, than purely those of his own Conscience; which is worthy Mr. *Considerer*'s highest Consideration.

I shall only take notice of one Objection more, and then conclude (fearing I have too much trespassed on your Patience already).

It is very hard (says he) that a Man should lose his Inheritance, because he is of this or that Persuasion in Matters of Religion.

And truly, Gentlemen, were the Case only so, I should be intirely of his Mind. But, alas! *Papery* (whatever Mr. *Considerer* is pleased to insinuate) is not an harmless innocent Persuasion of a Number of Men differing in Matters relating to Christian Religion; but is really and truly a *different Religion* from *Christianity* itself. Nor is the Inheritance, he there mentions, an Inheritance only of *Black Acre* and *White Acre*, without any Office annexed, which requires him to be *par Officio*: But the Government and Protection of several Nations, the Making of War and Peace for them; the Preservation of their Religion; the Disposal of publick Places and Revenues; the Execution of all Laws; together with many other Things of the greatest Importance, are, in this Case, claimed by the Word *Inheritance*; which if

* The Pope. † This was laid to the Charge of the Duke of York. ‡ Alluding to the Possibility that King *Charles the Second* might have a legitimate Child before he died.

you consider, and at the same time reflect upon the enslaving and bloody Tenets of the Church of *Rome*, more particularly the hellish and damnable Conspiracy those of that Communion are now carrying on against our Lives, our Religion, and our Government; I am confident, you will think it as proper for a *Wiss* to be a *Shepherd*, as it is for a *Papist* to be the *Defender of our Faith*, &c.

The old Gentleman had no sooner ended his Discourse, but I returned him my hearty

Thanks, for the Trouble he had been pleased to give himself on this Occasion; and I could not but acknowledge, he had given me great Satisfaction in that Affair; what it will give thee, *Charles*, I know not: I am sure, I parted from him very melancholy, for having been a Fool so long. *Adieu.*

I am thy Affectionate,

J. D.

Robin Conscience : Or, Conscionable Robin : His Progress through Court, City, and Country; with his bad Entertainment at each several Place, &c. Edinburgh, Printed in the Year 1683.

I Have been quite through *England* wide,
With many a faint and weary Stride,
To see what People there abide,

That love me,

Poor *Robin Conscience* is my Name,
Sore vexed with Reproach and Blame:
For all, where-ever yet I came,

reprove me.

Few now endure my Presence here:
I shall be banish'd quite I fear:
I am despised every where,

and scorned.

Yet is my Fortune now and then
To meet some good Woman or Man,
Who have (when they my Woes did scan)

fore mourned,

To think that *Conscience* is despised,
Which ought to be most highly prized:
This Trick the Devil hath devised,

to blind Men.

'Cause *Conscience* tells them of their Ways,
Which are so wicked now-a-days,
They stop their Ears to what he says,

unkind Men.

I first of all went to the Court,
Where Lords and Ladies did resort,
My Entertainment there was short,
cold Welcome.

As soon as e'er my Name they heard,
They ran away full sore afraid,
And thought some Goblin had appear'd,
from Hell come.

Conscience, quoth one, be gone with Speed,
The Court few of thy Name doth breed,
We of thy Presence have no Need,
be walking.

Thou tell'st us of our Pride and Lust,
Which spite of thee we follow must,
So out of Court was *Conscience* thrust;
no Talking.

Thus banish'd, from the Court I went
To *Westminster* incontinent,
Where I, alas! was sorely shent
for Coming.

The Lawyers did against me plead:
'Twas no great Matter, some there said,
If *Conscience* were quite knock'd in th' Head.

Then running

From them I fled with winged Haste,
They did so threaten me to baste,
Thought it was vain my Breath to waste
in Counsel.

For Lawyers cannot me abide,
Because for Falshood I them chide,
And he, that holds not on their Side,
must down fall.

Unto the City hied I then,
To try what Welcome there Tradesmen
Would give poor *Robin Conscience*, when
I came there,

The Shop-keepers, that use Deceit,
Did come about me and did threat,
Unless I would be gone, to beat
me lame there.

And

And every one, both high and low,
Held *Conscience* as a mortal Foe,
Because he doth ill Vices show
each Minute.

Therefore the City in Uproar
Against me rose, and me so tore,
That I'm resolv'd, I'll never more
come in it.

On *Friday* I to *Smithfield* went,
Where being come incontinent,
The Horse-courfers, with one Consent,
did chide me.

They said, that I was not myself,
And said, I was a pinching Elf,
And they could get more Store of Pelf
beside me.

I told them of a cheating Trick,
Which makes the Horses run and kick,
By putting in an Eel that's quick
i'th Belly.

Another which they use full oft,
To bear their lame Jades Heads aloft,
And beat their Buttocks till they're soft,
as Jelly.

I told them that their Wealth would rot,
That they by cheating Men thus got,
But they for this same Tale would not
abide me.

And charg'd me quickly to be gone:
Quoth they of *Conscience* we use none.
Those, whom I follow with my Mone,
out-ride me.

From thence I stepp'd into *Long-lane*,
Where many Brokers did remain,
To try how they would entertain
poor *Conscience*.

But my Name when I to them told,
The Women did begin to scold,
The Men said, they that Word did hold
but Nonsense.

For *Conscience* is so hard a Word,
That scarce the Broker can afford
To read it, for his Mouth is stor'd
with Lying.

He knows not what this *Conscience* means,
That is no Cause unto his Gains ;
Thus I was scorned for my Pains,
all crying ;

Away with *Conscience* from this Lane,
For we his Presence do disdain.
They said, if I come there again
among them,

They said, they'd band me Back and Side.
Being menaced, away I hie'd ;
Thus Worldlings think that, when I chide,
I wrong them.

Among the Butchers then went I,
As soon as e'er they did me spy,
They threaten'd me most spitefully,
to kill me.

Quoth one, if *Conscience* here should dwell,
We were not able to live well,
Nor could we gain, by'th Meat we sell,
nor will we

Be bound to follow *Conscience* nice,
Which would confine us to a Price:
Robin be rul'd by my Advice,
quoth he then,

And get thee to some other Place,
We hate to look thee in the Face.
I, hearing this, from thence apace
did fly them.

To *Newgate* Market went I then,
Where Country-women, Maids, and Men
Were selling needful Things ; and when
they saw me ;

At me the Butter-woman rails,
Whose Butter weigh'd not down the Scales ;
Another comes, and with her Nails
did claw me.

The Bakers, which stood in a Row,
Began to brawl at me also,
And charged me away to go,
because I

Told them they did make lesser Bread ;
Did not the Law put them in Dread ;
There's some of them would wish them dead,
might Laws die.

Thus chid of them, my Way I took,
Unto *Pye-corner*, where a Cook
Glanc'd at me as the Devil did look,
o'er *Lincoln*.

Conscience, quoth he, thou shew'st not Wit,
In coming to this Place unfit :
I'll run thee thorow with a Spit ;
then think on

Those Words to thee which I have said,
I cannot well live by my Trade,
If I should still require thy Aid
in Selling :

Sometimes one Joint I must roast thrice,
Ere I can sell it at my Price,
Then here's for thee (who art so nice)
no Dwelling.

Perforce he drave me backward still,
Until I came unto *Snow-hill*,
The Salesmen there, with Voices shrill,
fell on me.

I was so irksome in their Sight
That they conjured me to Flight,
Or else they swore (such was their Spight)
they'd stone me.

At *Turn-again Lane*, the Fish-wives there,
And Wenches did so rail and swear,
Quoth they, no *Conscience* shall come here,
we hate him:

Their Bodes, which for Half-pecks go,
They vowed at my Head to throw:
No *Conscience* they were bred to know,
but Prating.

Away, thus frightened by those Scolds,
To *Fleet-street* strait my Love it holds
Where Men, whose Tongues were made in
of Flattery, [Moulds

Did cry, what lack you Country-men?
But seeing me, away they ran,
As though the Enemy had began
his Battery;

One said to others, Sir, ill News,
Here *Conscience* comes, us to abuse,
Let us his Presence all refuse
together,

And boldly stand against him all,
We ne'er had Use of him, nor shall
He live with us; what Chance did call
him hither?

The Haberdashers, that sell Hats,
Hit *Robin Conscience* many Pats,
And, like a Company of Cats,
they scratch'd him.

Quoth they, why com'st thou unto us,
We love not *Conscience*, refusing thus,
They gave him Words opprobrious,
and match'd him.

The Mercers and Silk-men also,
That live in *Pater-noster Row*,
Their Hate against poor *Conscience* show:
and, when I

Came to that Place, they all did set
On me, 'cause I their Gain would lett,
Who will both swear and lye to get
one Penny.

From thence unto *Cheapside* I past,
Where Words in vain I long did waste,
Out of the Place I soon was chas'd.
Quoth one Man,

Conscience, for thy Presumption base,
Intruding to this golden Place,
Thou Death deserv'st, therefore apace,
begone Man:

Think'st thou that we have so much Gold,
Before our Eyes still to behold,
Will this by *Conscience* be controll'd,
and curbed!

Oh, no, poor Fellow, haste away,
For, if long in this Place thou stay,
Thou shalt be (I'll be bold to say)
disturbed.

From thence I turned down *Bread-street*,
A Cheese-monger I there did meet,
He hied away with winged Feet
to shun me.

How now, quoth I, why run ye so?
Quoth he, because I well do know,
That thou art *Conscience*, my old Foe,
thou'st done me

Great Wrong; while I made use of thee,
And dealt with all Men honestly,
A rich Man I could never be:
but since then

I banish'd have thy Company,
And us'd Deceit with those that buy,
I thrive, and therefore *Robin* hie
thee hence then.

I left him with his bad Intent,
And into *Fish-street* strait I went,
Among those Lads, who with that *Lent*
were all Year:

As soon as e'er they me espy'd,
They all at once upon me cry'd,
And swore that *Conscience* should not guide
a Stall there.

I seeing Things thus seeming strange,
That all Men did from Goodness range,
Did hie me strait to the *Exchange*:
A Merchant

Was so affrighted when I came,
But presently he blush'd for Shame,
His Countenance did shew the same
in searchant.

Quoth he, Friend *Robin*, what dost thou,
Here among us Merchants now,
Our Business will not allow
to use thee:

For we have Traffick without thee:
And thrive best, if thou absent be,
I, for my Part, will utterly
refuse thee.

I, being thus abus'd below,
Did walk up Stairs, where on a Row
Brave Shops of Ware did make a Show
most sumptuous.

But, when the Shop-folk me did spy,
They drew their dark Light instantly,
And said, in Coming there was I
presumptuous.

The gallant Girls, that there solds Knacks,
Which Ladies and brave Women lacks
When they did see me they did wax
in Choler.

Quoth they, we ne'er knew *Conscience* yet,
And, if he comes our Gains to let,
We'll banish him, he'll here not get
one Scholar.

I, being jeered thus and scorn'd,
Went down the Stairs, and forely mourn'd,
To think that I should thus be turned
a begging.

To *Gracechurch-street* I went along,
Where dwell a great ungracious Throng,
That will deceive both Old and Young
with Cogging :

As Drapers, Poulterers, and such,
Who think they never get too much :
The Word *Conscience* to them is *Dutch*,
or *Spanish*.

And harder too, for Speech they'll learn,
With all their Heart to serve their Turn,
But *Conscience*, when they him discern,
they banish.

I seeing all the City given
To use Deceit, in Spite of Heaven,
To leave their Company, I was driven
perforce then.

So over *London-bridge* in haste,
I hiss'd and scoff'd of all Men past,
Then I to *Southwark* took, at last,
my Course then.

When I came there, I hop'd to find
Welcome, according to my Mind,
But they were rather more unkind
than *London* :

All Sorts of Men and Women, there,
Ask'd how I durst to them appear,
And swore my Presence they would clear
abandon.

I being sore a-thirst did go,
Unto an Ale-house in the Row,
Meaning a Penny to bestow
on strong Beer.

But, 'cause I for a Quart did call,
My Hostess swore she'd bring me small,
Or else I should have none at all,
thus wrong'd there.

I bade her on her Licence look ;
Oh, Sir, quoth she, ye are mistook,
I have my Lesson without Book,
most perfect.

If I my Licence should observe,
And not in any Point to swerve,
Both I and mine, alas ! should starve,
not surfeit :

Instead of a Quart-pot of Pewter,
I fill small Jugs, and need no Tutor :
I Quartrage give to the Geometer
most duly.

And he will see, and yet be blind,
A Knave made much of will be kind,
If you be one, Sir, tell your Mind,
no, truly.

No, no, quoth I, I am no Knave,
No Fellowship with such I have :
My Name is *Robin Conscience* brave :
that wander

From Place to Place, in Hope that some
Will as a Servant give me room :
But all abuse me where I come
with Slander.

Now, when my Hostess heard me tell
My Name, she swore I should not dwell
With her, for I would make her sell
full Measure.

She did conjure me to depart :
Hang *Conscience*, quoth she, give me Art,
I have not got, by a Penny a Quart,
my Treasure.

So out of Doors I went with Speed :
And glad she was to be thus freed
Of *Conscience*, that she might speed
in Frothing.

To the *King's-Bench* I needs would go,
The Jailor did me backward throw :
Quoth he, for *Conscience* here ye know
is nothing.

Thro' *Blackman-street* I went, where Whores
Stood gazing, there is many Doors,
There two or three Bawds 'gainst me roars
most loudly :

And bade me get me hence apace,
Or else they'd claw me by the Face :
They swore they scorn'd me, and all Grace,
most proudly.

I walk'd

I walk'd into St. George's Field,
Where rooking Rascals I beheld,
That all the Year their Hopes did build
on Cheating :
They were close playing at nine Pins,
I came and told them of their Sins :
Then one among the rest begins
intreating,
That I would not torment them so :
I told them, that I would not go :
Why then, quoth he, I'll let thee know,
we care not :
And yet we'll banish thee perforce :
Then he began to swear and curse,
And said, prate on till thou art hoarse,
and spare not.
I left them in their Wickedness,
And went along in great Distress,
Bewailing of my bad Success,
and Speed.
A Wind-mill standing there hard by,
Towards the same then passed I,
But when the Miller did me spy,
he cried,
Away with *Conscience*, I'll none such,
That smell with Honesty so much,
I shall not quickly fill my Hutch
by due Toll ;
I must, for every Bushel of Meal,
A Peck if not three Gallons steal,
Therefore with thee I will not deal,
thou true Soul.
Then leaving Cities, Skirts and all,
Where my Welcome it was but small,
I went to try what would befall
i' th' Country.
There thought I to be entertain'd :
But I was likewise there disdain'd
A long Time bootless I complain'd
to th' Gentry.
And yet no Service could I have,
Yet, if I would have play'd the Knave,
I might have had Maintenance brave
among them.
Because that I was *Conscience* poor,
Alas ! they thrust me out of Door,
For *Conscience*, many of them swore,
did wrong them.
Then went I to the Yeomenry,
And Farmers all of the Country,
Desiring them most heartily
to take me ;

I told them I would sell their Corn
Unto the Poor ; but they did turn
Me out of Doors, and with great Scorn
forfake me :
One said, he had no Use of me,
To sell his Corn, for I, quoth he,
Must not be only rul'd by thee,
in Selling.
If I shall *Conscience* entertain,
He'd make me live in grossing Gain,
Here is for thee, I tell thee plain,
no Dwelling.
Thus, from the rich Men of the World,
Poor *Conscience* up and down is hurl'd,
Like angry Curs at me they snarl'd,
and check'd me.
Alas ! what shall I do, thought I,
Poor *Robin*, must I starve and die ?
Ay, that I must, if no-body
respect me.
At last I to myself bethought,
Where I must go ; and Heaven brought
Me to a Place where poor Folks wrought
most sorely :
And there they entertain'd me well,
With whom I ever mean to dwell,
With them to stay, it thus befel,
though poorly.
Thus People, that do labour hard,
Have *Robin Conscience* in regard ;
For which they shall have their Reward
in Heaven.
For all their Sorrows here on Earth,
They shall be filled with true Mirth,
Crowns shall to them, at second Birth,
be given.
And all those Caitiffs that deny'd
To entertain him for their Guide,
When they by *Conscience* shall be try'd
and judged.
Then will they wish that they had us'd
Poor *Conscience*, whom they have refus'd,
Whose Company they have abus'd,
and grudged.
Thus *Robin Conscience*, that hath had,
Amongst most Men, but Welcome bad,
He now hath found, to make him glad,
Abiding
'Mong honest Folks that have no Lands,
But got their Living with their Hands,
These are the Friends that to him stands,
and's Guiding.

Neighbours, unless they chose rather to satisfy his endless Demands, by abandoning one Place after another, to his insatiable Appetite of Empire, and for maintaining whereof, the two Chambers of *Metz* and *Brissach* were erected to find out and *forge Titles*, and to *invent Equivocal* Constructions for eluding the plain Meaning of Treaties concluded and sworn with the greatest Solemnity, and than which nothing can be more sacred among Mankind.

From hence it was also, that *Strasburgh* was so infamously surpris'd by the *French King* in a time of full Peace, and though great Conditions were agreed and promised to the Inhabitants of that City; yet no sooner was he in Possession of it, but all Stipulations were forgotten, and that ancient free City doth now groan under the same Yoke with the rest of that * King's Subjects.

The building the Fort of *Hunninghen*, contrary to so many solemn Assurances given to the *Swiss*, and the Affair of *Luxemburgh*, are too well known to need a particular Deduction. In a Word, the whole Series of the *French King's* Actions, for many Years last past, has been so ordered, as if it were his Intention, not only to render his own People extremely miserable, by intolerable Imposition of Taxes, to be employed in maintaining an incredible Number of Dragoons, and other Soldiers, to be the Instruments of his Cruelty upon such of them as refuse all things to comply with his unjust Commands, but likewise to hold all the neighbouring Powers in perpetual Alarm and Expence, for the maintaining Armies and Fleets, that they may be in a Posture to defend themselves against the Invader of their common Safety and Liberties.

Examples of this sort might be innumerable; but his Invasion of *Flanders* and *Holland*, since the last Truce of 1684. and the Outrages committed upon the Empire, by attacking the Fort of *Philipsburgh*, without any Declaration of War, at the same time that his Imperial Majesty was employing all his Forces against † the common Enemy of the Christian Faith, and his wasting the *Palatinate* with Fire and Sword, and murdering an infinite Number of innocent Persons, for no other Reasons, as himself has publicly declared, but because he thought the *Electer Palatine* faithful to the Interest of the Empire, and an Obstacle to the compassing his

ambitious Designs, are sufficient Instances of this.

To these we cannot but, with a particular Resentment, add the Injuries done to your Majesty, in the most unjust and violent seizing of your Principality of *Orange*, and the utmost Insolencies committed on the Persons of your Majesty's Subjects there; and how, to facilitate his Conquests upon his Neighbour Princes, he engaged the *Turks* in a War against Christendom at the same time.

And as if violating of Treaties, and ravaging the Countries of his Neighbours States, were not sufficient Means of advancing his exorbitant Power and Greatness, he has constantly had Recourse to the vilest and meanest Arts, for the Ruin of those whom he had taken upon him to subdue to his Will and Power, insinuating himself, by his Emissaries, under the sacred Name and Character of *Public Ministers*, into those who were intrusted in the Government of Kingdoms and States, suborning them by Gifts and Pensions, to the selling their Masters, and betraying their Trusts, and descending even to Intrigues by Women, who were sent or married into the Countries of divers potent Princes, to lie as Snakes in their Bosoms, to eat out their Bowels, or to instil that Poison into them, which might prove the Destruction of them and their Countries, of which *Poland*, *Savoy*, and *Spain*, to mention no more at present, can give but too ample Testimonies.

The insolent Use he has made of his ill-gotten Greatness has been as extravagant as the Means of procuring it, for this the single Instance of *Genoa* may suffice; which without the least Notice or any Ground of a Quarrel whatsoever was bombarded by the *French Fleet*, and the Doge, and four principal Senators of that Free-state, constrained in Person to humble themselves at that Monarch's Feet; which in the Style of *France* was called, *Chastising Sovereigns for casting Umbrage upon his Greatness*.

His Practices against *England* have been of the same Nature, and by corrupt Means he has constantly, and with too much Success, endeavoured to get such Power in the Court of *England*, in the Time of King *Charles* the Second, and the late King *James*, as might by Degrees undermine the Government, and true Interest of this flourishing Kingdom ‡.

* *French*.† The *Turk*.

‡ See the Emperor's Letter, in Page 18.

Another Art which he has used to weaken *England*, and subject it to his aspiring Designs, was never to admit an *equal Balance of Trade*. nor consent to any *just Treaty* or Settlement of *Commerce*, by which he promoted our Ruin at our own Charge.

When, from a just Apprehension of this formidable growing Power of *France*, the Nation became zealous to right themselves; and the House of Commons, in the Year 1677. being assured they should have an actual War against *France*, cheerfully raised a great Sum of Money, and an Army as readily appeared to carry on the War; that Interest of *France* had still Power enough to render all this ineffectual, and to frustrate the Nation of all their Hopes and Expectations.

Nor did *France* only render this desired War ineffectual, but had Power enough to make us practise their Injustice and Irregularities (some Years before) by turning our Force against our next Neighbours *, by assaulting their *Smyrna Fleet*.

Nor were they more industrious, by corrupt Means, to obtain this Power, than careful, by the same Ways to support it; and knowing that from Parliaments only could probably proceed an Obstruction to their secret Practices, they attempted to make a Bargain †, That they should not meet in such a Time; in which they might hope to perfect their Designs of enslaving the Nation.

In the same Confidence of this Power they violently seized upon Part of *Hudson's Bay*; and, when the Matter was complained of by the Company, and the Injury offered to be proved, the best Expedient *France* could find, to cover their Injustice, and prevent Satisfaction, was to make use of their great Interest in the Court of *England* to keep it from ever coming to be heard.

The *French King*, in pursuance of his usual Methods of laying hold of any Opportunity that might increase his Power, and give Disturbance to others, has now ‡ carried on an ac-

tual War in *Ireland*, sending thither a great Number of Officers, with Money, Arms, and Ammunition, and, under the Pretence of assisting the late King *James*, he has taken the Government of Affairs into his Hands, by putting all Officers into Commands, and managing the whole Business by his Ministers, and has already begun to use the same Cruelties and Violences upon your Majesty's Subjects, as he has lately practised in his own Dominions, and in all other Places, where he has got Power enough to destroy.

Lastly, The *French King's* Declaration of War against the Crown of *Spain* is wholly grounded upon its Friendship to your Majesty's Royal Person, and no other Cause of denouncing War against it is therein alledged, than the Resolution taken in that Court, to favour your Majesty, whom he most injuriously terms, *the Usurper of England*; an Insolence never enough to be repented and detested by your Majesty's Subjects.

After our humble Representation of all these Particulars to your Majesty, if your Majesty shall think fit to enter into a War against *France*, We humbly assure your Majesty, That we will give you such Assistance, in a *Parliamentary Way*, as shall enable your Majesty to support and go through the same; and we shall not doubt but, by the Blessing of God upon your Majesty's prudent Conduct, a Stop may be put to that growing Greatness of the *French King*, which threatens all *Christendom* with no less than *absolute Slavery*; the incredible Quantity of innocent Blood shed may be revenged; his oppressed Neighbours restored to their just Rights and Possessions; your Majesty's Alliances, and the Treaty of *Nimenguen* ||, supported to that Degree, that all *Europe* in general, and this Nation in particular, may for ever have Occasion to celebrate your Majesty as the great Maintainer of Justice and Liberty, and the Opposer and Overthrower of all Violence, Cruelty, and arbitrary Power.

* The *Dutch*. † With the King and Ministry. ‡ In the Year 1689. || By which proper Caution was taken to curb the haughty Designs of *France*, to maintain the Balance of *Europe*, and to secure the Prosperity of the Protestant States.

MACHIAVEL's Vindication of Himself, and his Writings, against the Imputation of Impiety, Atheism, and other high Crimes ; extracted from his Letter to his Friend Zenobius.

In this Apologetical Letter, Machiavel endeavours to clear himself of three Accusations :

1. Of his favouring Democracy. 2. Of his vilifying the Church, as Author of all the Misgovernment in the World ; and, by such Contempts, making Way for Profaneness and Atheism. 3. Of teaching Monarchs, in his Book of the Prince, all the execrable Villanies that can be invented, and instructing them how to break Faith, and so to oppress and enslave their Subjects ; which Particulars are generally laid to his Charge.

I. To the First, he answers, That being born and brought up in a Commonwealth, viz. Florence, and having had his Share in the managing Affairs, sometimes in the Quality of Secretary of that City, and sometimes employed in Embassages abroad ; to quit himself of his Duty, he began to read the Histories of antient and modern Times, and thereupon made some Observations on Livy, wherein he carefully avoided all Dogmaticalness, and never concluded, from the Excellency of the Roman Counsels and Atchievements, that they naturally proceeded from their Government, and were a plain Effect and Consequence of the Perfection of their Commonwealth : But, says he, if Readers will thus judge, how can I in Reason be accused for that ?

Then he gives you a Description of Rebellion, which he extends, not only to a Rising in Arms against any Government we live under, but to all clandestine Conspiracies too, and believes it to be the greatest Crime that can be committed amongst Men ; and yet a Sin, which will be committed, while the World lasts, as often as Princes tyrannise over their Subjects ; for, let the Horror and Guilt be never so great, it is impossible that Human Nature, which consists of Passion, as well as Virtue, can support, with Patience and Submission, the greatest Cruelty and Injustice, whenever either the Weakness of their Princes, the Unanimity of the People, or any other favourable Accident shall given them reasonable Hopes to mend their Condition, and provide better for their own Interest by Insurrection.

But as to those who take up Arms to maintain the Politic Constitution or Government of their Country, in the Condition it then is, and to defend it from being changed or invaded by the Craft or Force of any Man, though it were the Prince, or chief Magistrate himself ; if such Taking up of Arms be commanded or authorised by those who are, by the Orders of that Government, legally intrusted with the Custody of the Liberty of the People, and Foundation of the Government : Our Author is so far from accounting it a Rebellion, that he believes it laudable, and the Duty of every Member of such Commonwealth.—— If this be not granted, it will be in vain to frame any mixt Monarchies in the World.

II. As

II. *As to the Accusation of Impiety, Machiavel denies, that his laying the Blame upon the Church of Rome, not only for all the Misgovernment of Christendom, but even for the Depravation, and almost total Destruction of the Christian Religion in Italy; he denies, I say, that such a Blame should make Way for Atheism. In order to a further Clearing of himself, he makes a most pure Profession of Faith, and then goes on to prove, that the Popes have corrupted Christianity: Nay, adds he, we have something more to say against those sacrilegious Pretenders to God's Power; for whereas all other false Worships have been set up by some politic Legislators, for the Support and Preservation of Government; this false, this spurious Religion, brought in upon the Ruins of Christianity, by the Popes, has deformed the Face of the Government in Europe, destroying all the good Principles and Morality left us by the Heathens themselves; and introduced, instead thereof, sordid, cowardly, and impolitic Notions, whereby they have subjected Mankind, and even great Princes and States to their Empire; and never suffered any Orders or Maxims to take place (where they had Power) that might make a Nation wise, honest, great, and wealthy. This I have set down so plainly, in those Passages of my Book, which are complained of, &c. And indeed, I remember to have read many things to that Purpose, in his Observations on Livy. True it is, that he does not there express his Mind so fully, but what may be written in a Letter to particular Friends, may not be allowed in a Book, especially under the Tyranny of the Inquisition, to which he was subject.*

Afterwards he pursues to enumerate the Prevarications of the Church of Rome, and shews, That the Popes are so far from being the Successors of St. Peter, and the Vicars of Christ, that they are rather the Antichrist, and Man of Sin. He briefly confutes the Worship of Images, the Invocation of Saints, the Persecution of Heretics, the Indulgences and Purgatory, the Immunities of the Clergy and Monks, &c. There he says something, by the way, worthy our Observation, namely, That the very same Year in which Luther began to thunder against the Popes Indulgences, our Author prophesies, that the Scourge of the Church was not far off. What kind of Prophecies those of Machiavel might be, I leave Politicians to judge. However, this undeniably proves, that this Letter is genuine. I might add, that those who are excellently learned in that Science, have something Divine in them; and, because of the great Chain of Consequences they foresee, may foretel several things some Ages before the Event. The Prophecy of our Author, concerning the Reformation, and the Reviving of Popery, may be an Instance of it.

III. *Concerning the last Accusation, That he teaches Princes how to enslave and oppress their Subjects: He answers, That his Treatise is both a Satire against Tyrants, and a true Character of them; and that he only designed to draw such Monsters to the Life, that People might the better know and avoid them. Just as a Physician describes a foul Disease, to the end Men may be deterred, and shun the Infection of it, or may discern and cure it, if it comes upon them. And as to what he affirmed in another Book, That in what Way soever Men defended their Country, whether by breaking or keeping their Faith, it was ever well defended; he says, he meant it not in a strict moral Sense, or Point of Honour; but would only signify, that the Infamy of the Breach of Word would quickly be forgotten and pardoned by the World; which is so true, that even good Success, a far less Consideration than Piety to our Country, commonly cancels the Blame*

of

of such a Perfidy. As we see Cæsar (though not a Whit better than Cataline) not only not detested by Posterity, but even crowned with Renown and immortal Fume.

THE Discourse we had lately (dear Zenobio) and the pressing Importunity of *Guilio Salviati*, that I would use some Means to wipe off the many Aspersions cast upon my Writings, gives you the present Trouble of reading this Letter, and me the Pleasure of writing it.—

I have yielded, you see, to the Intreaty of *Guilio*, and the rest of that Company, for that I esteem it a Duty to clear that excellent Society from the Scandal of having so dangerous and pernicious a Person to be a Member of their Conversation: For by Reason of my Age, and since the Loss of my Liberty, and my Sufferings under that Monster of Lust and Cruelty, *Alexander de Medici*, set over us by the Divine Vengeance for our Sins, I can be capable of no other Design or Enjoyment, than to delight and be delighted in the Company of so many choice and virtuous Persons, who now assemble themselves with all Security, under the happy and hopeful Reign of our new Prince *Cosimo*; and, we may say, that, though our Commonwealth be not restored, our Slavery is at an End, and, that *he, coming in by our own Choice*, may prove, if I have as good Skill in Prophecy, as I have had formerly, Ancestor to many renowned Princes, who will govern this State in great Quietness, and with great Clemency; so that our Posterity is like to enjoy Ease and Security, though not that Greatness, Wealth, and Glory, by which our City hath for some Years past, even in the most factious and tumultuous Times of our Democracy, given Law to *Italy*, and bridled the Ambition of Foreign Princes. But, that I may avoid the Loquacity incident to old Men, I will come to the Business; if I remember well, the Exceptions, that are taken to these poor Things I have published, are reducible to Three.

First, That in all my Writings, I insinuate my great Affection to the Democratical Government, even so much as to undervalue that of Monarchy in respect of it; which last I do not obscurely in many Passages teach, and, as it were, persuade the People to throw off.

Next, That in some Places I vent very great Impieties, slighting and vilifying the Church as Author of all the Misgovernment in the World, and by such Contempt make Way for Atheism and Profaneness.

And lastly, That, in my *Book of the Prince*, I teach Monarchs all the execrable Villainies that can be invented, and instruct them how to break Faith, and to oppress, and to enslave their Subjects.

I shall answer something to every one of these; and, that I may observe a right Method, will begin with the first.—

I shall speak to that which is indeed fit to be wiped off, and which, if it were true, would not only justly expose me to the Hatred and Vengeance of God, and all good Men, but even destroy the Design and Purport of all my Writings; which is to treat in some sort, as well as one of my small Parts can hope to do, of the *Politics*: And how can any Man pretend to write concerning Policy, who destroys the most essential Part of it, which is Obedience to all Governments? It will be very easy then for *Guilio Salviati*, or any other Member of our Society, to believe the Protestation I make, That the *Animating of private Men*, either directly or indirectly, to disobey, much less to shake off any Government, how despotical soever, was never in my Thoughts or Writings; those, who are unwilling, to give Credit to this, may take the Pains to assign, in any of my Books, the Passages they imagine to tend that way (for I can think of none myself), that so I may give such Person more particular Satisfaction.

I must confess I have a Discourse in one of my Books to encourage the *Italian Nation* to assume their antient Valour, and to expel the *Barbarians*; meaning, as the antient *Romans* use the Word, all Strangers from among us; but that was before the Kings of *Spain* had quiet Possession of the Kingdom of *Naples*, or the Emperor of the Duchy of *Milan*; so that I could not be interpreted to mean, that the People of those Two Dominions should be stirred up to shake off their Princes, because they were Foreigners; since at that time *Lodovic Sforza* was in Possession of the one, and King *Frederic* restored to the other, both Natives of *Italy*. But my Design was to exhort our Country-men not to suffer this Province to be the Scene of the Arms and Ambition of *Charles VIII.* or King *Lewis* his Successor, who, when they had a Mind to renew the old Title of the House of *Anjou* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, came with such Force into *Italy*, that not only our Goods were plundered, and our Lands wasted; but even the Liberty

berty of our Cities and Government endangered; but to unite and oppose them, and to keep this Province in the Hands of Princes of our own Nation; this my Intention is so visible in the Chapter itself, that I need but refer you to it. Yet, that I may not answer this Imputation barely by denying, *I shall assert in this Place what my Principles are in that which the World calls Rebellion*; which I believe to be, not only a *Rising in Arms* against any Government we live under, but to acknowledge that Word to extend to all *clandestine Conspiracies* too, by which the Peace and Quiet of any Country may be interrupted, and, by Consequence, the Lives and Estates of innocent Persons endangered; *Rebellion*, then, so described, *I hold to be the greatest Crime that can be committed among Men*, both against *Polity, Morality, and in foro Conscientiæ*; but, notwithstanding all this, *it is an Offence, which will be committed whilst the World lasts, as often as Princes tyrannise, and, by enslaving and oppressing their Subjects, make Magistracy, which was intended for the Benefit of Mankind, prove a Plague and Destruction to it*; for, let the Terror and the Guilt be never so great, it is impossible that human Nature, which consists of Passion, as well as Virtue, can support, with Patience and Submission, the greatest Cruelty and Injustice, whenever either the Weakness of their Princes, the Unanimity of the People, or any other favourable Accident, shall give them reasonable Hopes to mend their Condition, and provide better for their own Interest by Insurrection. So that Princes and States ought, in the Conduct of their Affairs, not only to consider what their People are bound to submit to, if they were inspired from Heaven, or were all moral Philosophers: But to weigh likewise what is probable, *de facto*, to fall out in this corrupt Age of the World, and to reflect upon those dangerous Tumults which have happened frequently, not only upon Oppression, but even by reason of Malversation, and how some *Monarchies* have been wholly subverted, and changed into *Democracies*, by the Tyranny of their Princes; as we see, to say nothing of *Rome*, the powerful Cantons of *Switzerland*, brought, by that means, a little before the last Age, to a considerable Commonwealth, courted and sought to by all the Potentates in Christendom. If Princes will seriously consider this Matter, I make no Question, but they will rule with Clemency and Moderation, and return to that excellent Maxim of the Antients, almost

exploded in this Age, *That the Interest of Kings and of their People is the same*: Which Truth, it hath been the whole Design of my Writings, to convince them of.

Now, having gone thus far in the Description of *Rebellion*, I think myself obliged to tell you, what I conceive not to be *Rebellion*: *Whosoever then takes Arms to maintain the Politic Constitution or Government of his Country in the Condition it then is*, I mean, to defend it from being changed or invaded by the Craft or Force of any Man (*although it be the Prince, or chief Magistrate himself*) provided, that such Taking up of Arms, be commanded or authorised by those who are, by the Order of that Government, legally entrusted with the Custody of the Liberty of the People, and Foundation of the Government; this I hold to be so far from *Rebellion*, that I believe it laudable; nay, the Duty of every Member of such Commonwealth; for that he who fights to support and defend the Government he was born and lives under, cannot deserve the odious Name of Rebel, but he who endeavours to destroy it: If this be not granted, it will be in vain to frame any mixt Government in the World: Yet such is, at this Day, the happy Form, under which almost all *Europe* lives, as the People of *France, Spain, Germany, Poland, Swedenland, Denmark, &c.* wherein the Prince hath his Share, and the People theirs: Which last, if they had no Means of recovering their Rights, if taken away from them, or defending them, if invaded, would be in the same Estate, as if they had no Title to them, but lived under the Empire of *Turky or Muscovy*; and since they have no other Remedy but by Arms, and that it would be of ill Consequence to make every private Man judge when the Rights of the People are invaded (to which they have as lawful a Claim as a Prince to his) which would be apt to produce frequent, and sometimes causeless Tumults; therefore, it hath been the great Wisdom of the Founders of such *Monarchies*, to appoint *Guardians* to their Liberty, which, if it be not otherwise expressed, is, and ought to be understood to reside in the Estates of the Country; which for that Reason (as also to exercise their Shares in the Sovereignty, as making Laws, levying Money) are to be frequently assembled in all the Regions of *Europe* before-mentioned: These are to assert and maintain the Orders of the Government and the Laws established, and (if it cannot be done otherwise) to arm the People to defend and repel the Force that is upon them:

Nay,

Nay, the Government of *Arragon* goes farther, and, because, in the Intervals of the Estates or Courts, many Accidents may intervene to the Prejudice of their Rights, or *Juros*, as they call them, they having, during the Intermision, appointed a Magistrate called *El Justicia*, who is, by the Law and Constitution of that Kingdom, to assemble the whole People to his Banner, whenever such Rights are incroached upon; who are not only justified by the Laws, for such coming together, but are severely punishable in case of Refusal; so that there is no Question, but that if the Kings of *Arragon*, at this Day, very powerful by the Addition of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and of *Sicily*, and the Union with *Castile*, should in time to come invade their Kingdom of *Arragon*, with the Forces of their new Dominions, and endeavour to take from them the Rights and Privileges they enjoy lawfully, by their Constitution; there is no Question, I say, but they may (*tho' their King be there in Person against them*) assemble under *Justicia*, and defend their Liberties with as much Justice, as if they were invaded by the *French*, or by the *Turk*: For it were absurd to think, since the People may be legally assembled to apprehend Robbers; nay, to deliver Possession forcibly detained against the Sentence of some inferior Court, that they may, and ought not to bestir themselves, to keep in being, and preserve that Government which maintains them in Possession of their Liberties and Properties, and defends their Lives too, from being arbitrarily taken away. But I know, this clear Truth receives Opposition in this unreasonable and corrupt Age, when Men are more prone to flatter the Lust of Princes than formerly, and the Favourites are more impatient to bear the Impartiality of Laws, than the Sons of *Brutus* were, who complained *Leges esse surdas*; that is, though they were fine Gentlemen, in favour with the Ladies, and Ministers of Kings Pleasure, yet they could not oppress, drink, whore, nor kill the Officers of Justice, in the Streets, returning from their Night-Revels; but the Execution of the Laws would reach them, as well as others, who in the Time of *Tarquin*, it seems, found the Prince more elozable. Nay, the Divines * themselves help with their Fallacies to oppugn this Doctrine, by making us believe, as I said before, that it is God's Will, all Princes should be absolute; and are so

far in Conspiracy against all Mankind, that they assert, that, in the Text, this shall be the Manner of your Kings, God was giving that People the *Jus Divinum* of Government, when in Truth he was threatening them with the Plagues of Tyrants: But, I spare the Divines here, since I shall have Occasion, in discoursing of my next Accusation, to shew how that Sort of People have dealt with God's Truth, and with the Interest of Men; and, to be as good as my Word, I shall presently fall upon that Point, having been tedious already in the former.

I am charged then, in the second Place, with Impiety, in vilifying the Church †, and so to make Way for Atheism. I do not deny, but I have very frequently in my Writings laid the Blame upon the Church of *Rome*, not only for all the Misgovernment of Christendom, but even for the Depravation, and almost total Destruction, of Christian Religion itself, in this Province †; but that this Discourse of mine doth or can tend to teach Men Impiety, or to make way for Atheism, I peremptorily deny: And, although, for Proof of my Innocence herein, I need but refer you and all others to my Papers themselves, as they are now published, where you will find all my Reasons drawn from Experience and frequent Example cited, which is ever my way of arguing; yet, since I am put upon it, I shall, in a few Lines, make that Matter possibly a little clearer, and shall first make Protestation, That, as I do undoubtedly hope by the Merits of Christ and by Faith in him to attain Eternal Salvation, so I do firmly believe the Christian Profession to be the only true Religion now in the World. Next, I am fully persuaded that all divine Virtues, which God then designed to teach the World, are contained in the Books of the Holy Scripture, as they are now extant and received among us. From them I understand, that God created Man in Purity and Innocence, and that the first of that Species, by their Frailty, lost at once their Integrity and their Paradise, and entailed Sin and Misery upon their Posterity: That Almighty God, to repair the Loss, did, out of his infinite Mercy, and with unparallelled Grace and Goodness, send his only begotten Son into the World to teach us new Truths, to be a perfect Example of Virtue, Goodness, and Obedience to restore true Religion, degenerated among the Jews into Superstition, Formality, and Hypocrisy.

* Of the Church of *Rome*, and such as would make their Court to an arbitrary Prince.

† Viz. *Italy*, or where-ever Popery sways the People.

† Of *Roms*.

to die for the Salvation of Mankind, and, in fine, to give to us the holy Spirit, to regenerate our Hearts, support our Faith, and lead us into all Truth.

Now, if it shall appear, that as the Lust of our first Parents did, at that time, disappoint the good Intention of God in making a pure World, and brought in by their Disobedience the Corruptions that are now in it; so that since likewise the Bishops of *Rome*, by their insatiable Ambition and Avarice, have designedly, as much as in them lies, frustrated the merciful Purpose he had in the happy Restoration he intended the World by his Son, and in the Renewing and Reforming of human Nature, and have wholly defaced and spoiled Christian Religion, and made it a worldly and heathenish Thing, and altogether incapable, as it is practised among them, either of directing the Ways of its Professors to Virtue and good Life, or of saving their Souls hereafter; if, I say, this do appear, I know no Reason why I, for detecting thus much, and for giving Warning to the World to take Heed of their Ways, should be accused of *Impiety* or *Atheism*; or why his Holiness should be so enraged against the poor Inhabitants of the Valleys in Savoy, and against the Albigenes for calling him Antichrist. But to find that this is an undoubted Truth, I mean, that the Popes have corrupted Christian Religion, we need but read the New Testament, acknowledged by themselves to be of infallible Truth, and there we shall see that the Faith and Religion preached by Christ, and settled afterwards by his Apostles, and cultivated by their sacred Epistles, is so different a thing from the Christianity that is now professed and taught at *Rome*, that we should be convinced, that, if those holy Men should be sent by God again into the World, they would take more Pains to confute this *Gallimaufry*, than ever they did to preach down the Tradition of the *Pharisees*, or the Fables and Idolatry of the *Gentiles*, and would, in Probability, suffer a new Martyrdom in that City, under the Vicar of Christ, for the same Doctrine which once animated the *Heathen Tyrants* against them: Nay, we have something more to say against these sacrilegious Pretenders to God's Power; for, whereas all other false Worship has been set up by some politic Legislators, for the Support and Preservation of Government, this false, this spurious Religion brought in upon the Ruins of Christia-

nity by the Popes, hath deformed the Face of Government in *Europe*, destroying all the good Principles and Morality left us by the Heathens themselves, and introduced, instead thereof, sordid, cowardly, impolitic Notions, whereby they have subjected Mankind, and even great Princes and States, to their own Empire, and never suffered any Orders or Maxims to take place, where they have Power, that might make a Nation wise, honest, great, or wealthy; this I have set down so plainly in those Passages of my Book which are complained of, that I shall say nothing at all for the Proof of it in this Place, but refer you thither; and come to speak a little more particularly of my first Assertion, That the Pope and his Clergy have depraved Christian Religion: Upon this Subject I could infinitely wish, now Letters begin to revive again, that some learned Pen would employ itself, and that some Person, versed in the Chronology of the Church, as they call it, would deduce, out of the Ecclesiastical Writers, the Time and Manner how these Abuses crept in*, and by what Art and Steps this *Babel*, that reaches at Heaven, was built by these Sons of the Earth; but this Matter, as unsuitable to the Brevity of a Letter, and, indeed, more to my small Parts and Learning, I shall not pretend to, being one who never hitherto studied or writ of Theology, further than it did naturally concern the Politics; therefore I shall not deal by the New Testament, as I have done formerly by *Titus Livius*, that is, make Observations or Reflections upon it, and leave you, and Mr. *Guilio*, and the rest of our Society, to make their Judgment, not citing, like Preachers, the Chapter or Verse, because the reading the holy Scripture is little used, and, indeed, hardly permitted among us†.

To begin at the Top, I would have any reasonable Man tell me, whence this unmeasurable Power, long claimed, and now possessed by the Bishop of *Rome*, is derived, first, of being Christ's Vicar, and by that, as I may so say, pretending to a *Monopoly of the holy Spirit*, which was promised and given to the whole Church, that is, to the Elect or Saints, as is plain by a Clause in *St. Peter's* Sermon, made the very same Time that the miraculous Gifts of the Spirit of God were first given to the Apostles, who says, to the *Jews and Gentiles*, Repent and be baptised every one of you, in the

* This shall be done in the Course of this Collection.

† Roman Catholics in Popish States.

Name of Jesus Christ, for the Remission of Sins, and you shall receive the Gift of the holy Ghost; for this Promise is to you and to your Children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call.

Next to judge infallibly of divine Truth, and to forgive Sins, as Christ did, then to be the Head of all Ecclesiastical Persons and Causes in the World, to be so far above Kings and Princes, as to judge, depose, and deprive them, and to have an absolute Jurisdiction over all the Affairs in Christendom, in *Ordine ad Spiritualia*; yet all this the Canonists allow him, and he makes no Scruple to assume, whilst it is plain, that, in the whole *New Testament*, there is no Description made of such an Officer to be at any time in the Church, except it be in the Prophecy of the *Apocalypse*, or in one of St. Paul's Epistles, where he says, *Who it is that shall sit in the Temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.* Christ tells us, his Kingdom is not of this World, and if any will be the greatest among his Disciples, that he must be Servant to the rest; which shews, that his Followers were to be great in Sanctity and Humility, and not in worldly Power.

The Apostle Paul, writing to the Christians of those Times, almost in every Epistle commands them to be obedient to the higher Powers or Magistrates set over them: And St. Peter himself (from whom this extravagant Empire is pretended to be derived) in his first Epistle bids us *submit ourselves to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King, or, &c.* And this is enjoined, although it is plain, that they who governed the World, in those Days, were both *Heathens, Tyrants, and Usurpers*; and in this Submission there is no Exception or Proviso for *Ecclesiastical Immunity*. The Practice as well as Precepts of these holy Men shews plainly; that they had no Intention to leave Successors, who should deprive *Hereditary Princes* from their Right of reigning, for differing in Religion*, who, without all doubt, are, by the Appointment of the Apostle, and by the Principles of Christianity, to be obeyed and submitted to in things wherein the fundamental Laws of the Government give them the Power, tho' they were *Jews or Gentiles*. If I should tell you by what Texts in Scripture the Popes claim the Powers before-mentioned, it would stir up

your Laughter, and prove too light for so serious a Matter; yet, because possibly you may never have heard so much of this Subject before, I shall instance in a few; they tell you, therefore, that the Jurisdiction they pretend over the Church, and the Power of pardoning Sins, comes from Christ to St. Peter, and from him to them. *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church; I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatever thou shalt loose on Earth, &c.* From these two Texts, ridiculously applied, comes this great Tree, which hath, with its Branches, overspread the whole Earth, and killed all the good and wholesome Plants growing upon it: The first Text will never, by any Man of Sense, be understood to say more, than that the *Preachings, Sufferings, and Ministry of Peter was like to be a great Foundation and Pillar of the Doctrine of Christ*: The other Text, as also another spoken by our Saviour and his Apostles, *Whose Sins ye remit, they are remitted, and whose Sins ye retain, they are retained*, are, by all primitive Fathers, interpreted in this manner; *Wheresoever you shall effectually preach the Gospel, you shall carry with you Grace and Remission of Sins to them which shall follow your Instructions: But the People, who shall not have these joyful Tidings communicated by you to them, shall remain in Darkness, and in their Sins.* But if any will contest, that, by some of these last Texts, that *Evangelical Excommunication*, which was afterwards brought into the Church by the Apostles, was here presignified by our great Master, How unlike were those *Censures*, to those now thundered out, as he calls it, by the Pope; these were for Edification and not Destruction; to afflict the Flesh for the Salvation of the Soul; that *Apostolical Ordinance* was pronounced for some notorious Scandal or Apostasy from the Faith, and first decreed by the Church, that is, the whole Congregation present, and then denounced by the Pastor, and reached only to debar such Person from partaking of the Communion of Fellowship of that Church, till Repentance should re-admit him, but was followed by no other Prosecution or Chastisement, as is now practised†: But suppose all these Texts had been as they would have them, how does this make for the Successors of St. Peter, or

* Alluding to Doleman, or Father Parsons's Book against Queen Elizabeth: And to the Popish Doctrine of Deposing Kings for their Religion. See Page 28. † In the Church of Rome.

the rest? Or, how can this prove the *Bishops of Rome* to have Right to such Succession? But I make haste from this Subject, and shall urge but one Text more; which is, *The spiritual Man judgeth all Men, but is himself judged of none*; from whence it is inferred by the *Canonists*, that, first, *the Pope is the spiritual Man*; and then, that *he is to be Judge of all the World*; and last, that *he is never to be liable to any Judgment himself*; whereas it is obvious to the meanest Understanding, that *St. Paul*, in this Text, means to distinguish between a Person inspired with the Spirit of God, and one remaining in the State of Nature; which latter, he says, cannot judge of those heavenly Gifts and Graces, as he explains himself, when he says, *The natural Man cannot discern the Things of the Spirit, because they are Foolishness unto him*.

To take my Leave of this Matter, wholly out of the way of my Studies, I beg of you *Zenobio*, and of *Guilio*, and the rest of our Society, to read over, carefully, the *New Testament*, and then to see what Ground there is for *Purgatory*, by which all the Wealth and Greatness hath accrued to those Men; what Colour for their *idolatrous Worship of Saints* and their *Images*, and particularly for speaking in their *Hymns and Prayers* to a Piece of Wood, the *Cross* I mean, *Salve Lignum, &c.* And then *fac nos dignos beneficiorum Christi*, as you may read in that Office*; what Colour or rather what Excuse for that horrid, unchristian, and barbarous Engine, called the *Inquisition*, brought in by the Command and Authority of the Pope, the Inventor of which *Peter*, a *Dominican Friar*, having been slain among the *Albigenses*, as he well deserved, is now canonised for a Saint, and stiled *San Pietro Martine*?

In the dreadful Prisons of this *Inquisition*, many faithful and pious Christians, to say nothing of honest moral *Moors* or *Mahometans*, are tormented and famished, or, if they outlive their Sufferings, burnt publicly to Death, and that only for differing in Religion from the Pope, without having any Crime, or the least Misdemeanour, proved or alleged against them; and this is inflicted upon these poor Creatures, by those who profess to believe the Scripture; which tells us, that *Faith is the Gift of God*, without whose special Illumination no Man can

obtain it; and therefore is not in Reason or Humanity to be punished for wanting it? And Christ himself hath so clearly decided that Point in bidding us let the *Tares and the Wheat* grow together till the Harvest, that I shall never make any Difficulty to call him *Antichrist*, who shall use the least Persecution whatsoever, against any differing in Matters of Faith from himself, whether the Person, so dissenting, be *Heretic, Jew, Gentile, or Mahometan*.

Next, I beseech you to observe, in reading that holy Book, though *Christian Fasts* are doubtless of Divine Right, what Ground there is for injoining *Fish* to be eaten, at least *Flesh* to be abstained from for one third Part of the Year, by which they put the Poor to great Hardship, who, not having Purse to buy wholesome Fish, are subjected to all the Miseries and Diseases incident to a bad and unhealthful Diet; whilst the Rich, and chiefly themselves and their *Cardinals*, exceed *Lucullus* in their Luxury of *Oysters, Turbats, tender Crabs, and Carps*, brought some Hundreds of Miles to feed their Gluttony, upon these penitential Days of Abstinence from *Beef and Pork*: It may be it will lie in the way of those who observe this, to inquire what *St. Paul* means, when he says, That, in the latter Days some shall depart from the Faith, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from Meats, which God hath created to be received with Thanksgiving; but all these Things, and many other Abuses, brought in by these Perverters of Christianity, will, I hope, ere long be inquired into by some of the Disciples of that bold Friar†, who, the very same Year‡ in which I prophesied, that the Scourge of the Church was not far off, began to thunder against their Indulgences; and, since, hath questioned many Tenets long received and imposed upon the World. I shall conclude this Discourse, after I have said a Word of the most Hellish of all the Innovations brought in by the Popes; which is, the Clergy; these are a Sort of Men, under Pretence of ministering to the People in holy Things, set apart and separated from the rest of Mankind, from whom they have a very distinct and a very opposite Interest, by a human Ceremony, called by a divine Name, viz. Ordination; these, where-ever they are found, with the whole Body of the Monks and Friars, who are called the Regular Clergy, make a Band which may be called

* The Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday.

† 1517.

† *Martin Lathery* who was an *Augustine Friar*,

the Janizaries of the Papacy; these have been the Causes of all the Solecisms and Immoralities in Government, and of all the Impieties and Abominations in Religion; and, by Consequence, of all the Disorder, Villainy, and Corruption we suffer under in this detestable Age; these Men, by the Bishop of Rome's Help, have crept into all the Governments of Christendom, where there is any Mixture of Monarchy, and made themselves a third Estate; that is, have by their Temporalities, which are almost a third Part of all the Land in Europe, given them by the blind Zeal, or rather Folly, of the Northern People, who over-ran this Part of the World, stepped into the Throne, and what they cannot perform by these secular Helps, and by the Dependency their Vassals have upon them, they fail not to claim and to usurp by the Power they pretend to have from God and his Vicegerent at Rome. They * exempt themselves, their Lands and Goods, from all secular Jurisdiction, that is, from all Courts of Justice and Magistracy, and will be Judges in their own Causes, as in Matters of Tythe, &c. and not content with this, will appoint Courts of their own to decide Sovereignty in Testamentary Matters, and many other Causes, and take upon them to be the sole Punishers of many great Crimes, as Witchcraft, Sorcery, Adultery, and all Uncleaness. To say nothing of the forementioned Judiciary of the Inquisition; in these last Cases, they turn the Offenders over to be punished (when they have given Sentence) by the secular Arm (so they call the Magistrate) who is blindly to execute their Decrees under Pain of Hell-fire; as if Christian Princes and Governors were appointed only by God to be their Bravoes or Hangmen: They give Protection and Sanctuary to all execrable Offenders †, even to Murderers themselves, whom God commanded to be indispensably punished with Death: If they come within their Churches, Cloysters, or any other Place which they will please to call Holy Ground; and if the ordinary Justice, nay, the Sovereign Power, do proceed against such Offender, they thunder out their Excommunication; that is, cut off from the Body of Christ, not the Prince only, but the whole Nation and People, shutting the Church Doors, and commanding Divine Offices to cease, and sometimes even authorising the Peo-

ple to rise up in Arms, and constrain their Governors to a Submission, as happened to this poor City in the Time of our Ancestors; when, for but forbidding the Servant of a poor Carmelite Friar, who had vowed Poverty, and should have kept none to go armed, and punishing his Disobedience with Imprisonment, our whole Senate, with their Gonfalonier, were constrained to go to Avignon for Absolution; and, in case of Refusal, had been massacred by the People. It would almost astonish a wise Man to imagine how these Folks should acquire an Empire so destructive to Christian Religion, and so pernicious to the Interest of Men; but it will not seem so miraculous to them who shall seriously consider, that the Clergy had been, for more than this thousand Years, upon the Catch, and a formed united Corporation against the Purity of Religion and Interest of Mankind, and have not only wrested the Holy Scriptures to their own Advantage, which they have kept from the Laity in unknown Languages, and by prohibiting the Reading thereof; but made use likewise, first, of the blind Devotion and Ignorance of the Goths, Vandals, Huns, &c. and since, of the Ambition and Avarice of Christian Princes, stirring them up one against another, and sending them upon foolish Errands to the Holy Land ‡, to lose their Lives, and to leave their Dominions, in the mean time, exposed to themselves and their Complices; they have, besides, kept Learning and Knowledge among themselves, stifling the Light of the Gospel, crying down moral Virtues as splendid Sins, defacing human Policy, destroying the Purity of the Christian Faith and Profession, and all that was virtuous, prudent, regular, and orderly upon Earth; so that whoever would do God, and good Men Service, get himself immortal Honour in this Life, and eternal Glory in the next, would restore the good Policy (I had almost said with my Author, Livy, the Sanctity too) of the Heathens, with all their Valour, and other glorious Endowments; I say, whoever would do this, must make himself powerful enough to extirpate this cursed and apostate Race || out of the World.

I hope I shall not be thought impious any longer upon this Point, I mean for vindicating Christian Religion from the Assaults of these Men, who having the Confidence to

* In the Church of Rome.

† In Popish States, whoever flees to a Convent, Church, or other Place set apart for Religious Exercises, is protected from Justice.

‡ Of Popery.

§ To recover Jerusalem from the Turk.

believe, or, at least, profess themselves the only Instruments which God hath chosen, or can choose, to teach and reform the World, though they have neither moral Virtues nor natural Parts equal to other Men, for the most part have, by this Pretence, prevailed so far upon the common Sort of People, and upon some too of a better Quality, that they are persuaded their Salvation, or eternal Damnation, depends upon believing or not believing of what they say. I would not be understood to dissuade any from honouring the true Apostolic Teachers, when they shall be re-established among us, or from allowing them (even of Right, and not of Alms or Courtesy) such Emoluments as may enable them chearfully to perform the Duties of their Charge, to provide for their Children, and even to use Hospitality, as they are commanded by St. Paul. But this I will prophesy before I conclude, That if Princes shall perform this Business by Halves, and leave any Root of this Clergy, or Priestcraft, as it now is, in the Ground; then, I say, I must foretel, that the Magistrates will find themselves deceived in their Expectation; and that the least Fibre of this Plant will over-run again the whole Vineyard of the Lord, and turn to a diffusive Papacy in every Diocese, perhaps in every Parish: So that God in his Mercy inspire them to cut out the Core of the Ulcer, and the Bag of this Impostume, that it may never rankle or fester any more, nor break out hereafter to diffuse new Corruption and Putrefaction through

the Body of Christ, which is his Holy Church, to viciate and infect the good Order and true Policy of Government.

I come now to the last Branch of my Charge; which is, *That I teach Princes Villainy, and how to enslave and oppress their Subjects.* If any Man will read over my Book of the Prince with Impartiality and ordinary Charity, he will easily perceive, that it is not my Intention therein to recommend that Government, or those Men there described to the World; much less to teach Men to trample upon good Men, and all that is sacred and venerable upon Earth, Laws, Religion, Honesty, and what not: If I have been a little too punctual in describing these Monsters, and drawn them to the Life in all their Lineaments and Colours, I hope Mankind will know them the better, to avoid them, my Treatise being both a Satire against them, and a true Character of them—

Whoever in his Empire is tied to no other Rules than those of his own Will and Lust, must either be a Saint or else a very Devil incarnate; or, if he be neither of these, both his Life and his Reign are like to be very short; for whosoever takes upon him so execrable an Employment, as to rule Men against the Laws of Nature and Reason, must turn all topsy-turvy, and never stick at any thing; for, if once he halt, he will fall, and never rise again, &c. And so I bid you farewell (1 April, 1537.)

The History of the most unfortunate Prince, King *Edward the Second*; with choice Political Observations on him and his unhappy Favourites, *Gaveston* and *Spencer*: Containing several rare Passages of those Times, not found in other Historians; found among the Papers of, and (supposed to be) writ by, the Right Honourable *Henry Viscount Faulkland*, sometime Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

Henry Cary, Viscount Faulkland (among whose Papers the following History was found) was born at Aldnam in Hertfordshire; his extraordinary Parts, being a most accomplished Gentleman, and a complete Courtier, got him such an Esteem with King James the First, that he thought him a Person fitly qualified to be Lord Deputy of Ireland (the Government

ment of which Place required at that Time a Man of more than ordinary Abilities) which Trust he very well discharged. Being recalled into England, he lived honourably here, until, by an unfortunate Accident he broke his Leg in Theobald's Park; of which soon after he died. He was a Person of great Gallantry, the Ornament and Support of his Country, which he served with no less Faithfulness and Prudence Abroad, than Honour and Justice at Home, being an excellent Statesman. During his Stay at the University of Oxford, his Chamber was the Rendezvous of all the eminent Wits, Divines, Philosophers, Lawyers, Historians, and Politicians of that Time; for whose Conversation he became eminent in all those Qualifications.

The Subject of the following History (supposed to be written by the above-mentioned Nobleman) is the unhappy Lives, and untimely Deaths, of that unfortunate English King Edward the Second, and his Two Favourites Gaveston and Spencer; for his immoderate Love to whom (says Dr. Heylin) he was hated by the Nobles, and contemned by the Commons. This King (saith Sir Richard Baker) was a comely Person, and of great Strength, but much given to Drink, which rendered him unapt to keep any Thing secret. His greatest Fault was, he loved but one, for, if his Love had been divided, it could not have been so violent; and, though Love moderated be the best of Affections, yet the Extremity of it is the worst of Passions. Two Virtues were eminent in him, above all his Predecessors, Continence and Abstinence; so continent, that he left no base Issue behind him; so abstinent, that he took no base Courses for raising Money.

Our Author closes his History without declaring the Particulars of the Murder of this Prince; wherefore I shall give you an Account thereof, as I find it set down by the aforesaid Sir Richard Baker.

Many Ways were attempted to take away his Life. First, They vexed him in his Diet, allowing him nothing that he could well endure to eat, but this succeeded not. Then they lodged him in a Chamber over Carrion and dead Carcases, enough to have poisoned him; and, indeed, he told a Workman at his Window, he never endured so great a Misery in all his Life; but neither did this succeed. Then they attempted it by Poisons, but whether by the Strength of his Constitution, or by the Divine Providence, neither did this succeed. At last the pestilent Achitophel, the Bishop of Hereford, devised a Letter to his Keepers, Sir Thomas Gourney and Sir John Mattrevers, blaming them for giving him too much Liberty, and for not doing the Service which was expected from them; and in the End of his Letter wrote this Line, *Edvardum occidere nolite timere bonum est*; craftily contriving it in this doubtful Sense, that both the Keepers might find sufficient Warrant, and himself Excuse. The Keepers, guessing at his Meaning, took it in the worst Sense, and accordingly put it in Execution. They took him in his Bed, and casting heavy Bolsters upon him, and pressing him down, stifled him; and not content with that, they heated an Iron red-hot, and, through a Pipe, thrust it up into his Fundament, that no Marks of Violence might be seen; but, though none were seen, yet some were heard; for, when the Fact was in doing, he was heard to roar and cry all the Castle over. This was the lamentable End of King Edward of Carnarvan, Son of King Edward the First.

What became of the Actors and Abettors of this deep Tragedy, Sir Winston Churchill tells us in these Words:

‘ Poor Prince, how unkindly was he treated, upon no other Account but that of his own overgreat Kindness! Other Princes are blamed for not being ruled by their Counsellors, he for being so: Who whilst he lived, they would have him thought to be a Sot, but being dead, they could have found in their Hearts to have made him a Saint.

How far he wronged his People doth not appear, there being very few or no Taxations laid upon them all his Time; but, how rude and unjust they were towards him, is but too manifest. But their Violence was severely paid by Divine Vengeance, not only upon the whole Kingdom, when every Vein in the Body Politick was afterwards opened, to the endangering the letting out of the Life-blood of the Monarchy in the Age following; but upon every particular Person consenting to, or concerned in his Death. For, as the Throne of his Son that was thus set in Blood (tho' without his own Guilt) continued to be imbrued all his Reign, which lasted above fifty Years, with frequent Executions, Battles, or Slaughters; the Sword of Justice, or his own, being hardly ever sheathed all his Time: So it is said, that the Queen herself died mad, upon the Apprehension of her own in Mortimer's Disgrace, who was executed at Tyburn, and hung there two Days, to be a Spectacle of Scorn. The King's Brother Edmund had this Punishment of his Disloyalty, to be condemned to lose his Head for his Loyalty, it being suggested (and happy it had been for him, if it had been proved) that he endeavoured the Restoration of his Brother; his Death being imbittered by the Mockery of Fortune, whilst, by keeping him upon the Scaffold five Hours together, before any Body could be found that would execute him, he was deluded with a vain Hope of being saved. The Fiend Tarlton, Bishop of Hereford, who invented the cursed Oracle that justified the Murderers, died with the very same Torture, as if the hot Iron, that seared his Conscience, had been thrust into his Bowels. Of the two Murderers, one was taken and butchered at Sea; the other died in Exile, perhaps more miserable. And for the Nobility in general, that were Actors in the Tragedy, they had this Curse upon them, that most of their Race were cut off by those Civil Discords of their divided Families, to which this strange Violation gave the first Beginning, not long after. A dreadful Example, both to Prince and People, that usurp unlawful Methods to accomplish their unjust Intentions.

EDWARD the Second, born at Carnarvan, was immediately after the Death of Edward the First, his Father, crowned King of England. If we may credit the Historians of those Times, this Prince was of an Aspect fair and lovely, carrying in his outward Appearance many promising Predictions of a singular Expectation. But the Judgment, not the Eye, must have Preheminence in the Censure of human Passages, the visible Calendar is not the true Character of inward Perfection, evidently proved in the Life, Reign, and untimely Death of this unfortunate Monarch.

His Story eclipseth this glorious Morning, making the Noon-tide of his Sovereignty full of tyrannical Oppressions, and the Evening more memorable by his Death and Ruin. Time, the Discoverer of Truth, makes evident his Imposture, and shews him to the World, in Conversation light, in Will violent, in Condition wayward, and in Passion irreconcilable.

Edward his Father, a King no less wise than fortunate, by his discreet Providence, and the Glory of his Arms, had laid him the sure Foun-

dation of a happy Monarchy. He makes it his last Care so to inable and instruct him, that he might be powerful enough to keep it so. From this Consideration he leads him to the Scottish Wars, and brings him Home an exact and able Scholar in the Art Military. He shews him the Benefit of Time and Occasion, and makes him understand the right Use and Advantage. He instructs him with the precious Rules of Discipline, that he might truly know how to obey, before he came to command a Kingdom. Lastly, he opens the Closet of his Heart, and presents him with the politick Mysteries of State, and teacheth him how to use them by his own Example, letting him know, that all these Helps are little enough to support the Weight of a Crown, if there were not a correspondent Worth in him that wears it.

These Principles make the Way open, but the prudent Father had a remaining Task of a much harder Temper. He beheld many sad Remonstrations of a depraved and vicious Inclination, these must be purified, or his other Cautions were useless, and to little Purpose. A Corruption

tion in Nature, that by Practice hath won itself the Habit of being ill, requires a more than ordinary Care to give it Reformation. Tenderness of fatherly Love abuseth his Belief, and makes him ascribe the Imperfections of the Son to the Heat of Youth, Want of Experience, and the Wickedness of those that had betrayed his unripe Knowledge, and easy Nature, with so base Impressions. He imagines, Age, and the sad Burthen of a Kingdom, would, in the Sense of Honour, work him to Thoughts more innocent and noble; yet he neglects not the best Means to prepare and assure it. He extends the Height of Entreaty, and useth the befitting Severity of his paternal Power, making his Son know, he must be fit for a Sceptre before he enjoy it. He takes from him those tainted Humours of his Leprosy, and enjoins him by all the Ties of Duty and Obedience, no more to admit the Society of so base and unworthy Companions. *Gaveston*, the *Ganymede* of his Affections, a Man, as base in Birth as Conditions, he sentenceth to perpetual Exile.

The melancholy Apparitions of this, loth to depart, give the aged Father an Assurance, that this *Syren* had too dear a Room in the war-ton Cabinet of his Son's Heart. He strives to enlighten his Mind, and to make him quit the Memory of that Dotage, which he foresaw, in Time, would be his Destruction. But Death overtakes him before he could give it Perfection; the Time is come, that he must, by the Law of Nature, resign both his Life and Kingdom.

He summons his Son, and bequeaths him this dying Legacy, commanding him, as he will in another Day answer his Disobedience, never to repeal his Sentence. To his Kindred and Peers, that with sad Tears and watery Eyes, were the Companions of his Death-bed, he shortly discourseth the base Conditions of this Parasite, and lets them understand both their own and the Kingdom's Danger, if they withstood not his Return, if it were occasioned. They knew his Injunctions were just, and promise to observe them; he is not satisfied till they bind it with an Oath, and vow religiously to perform it. This sends him out of the World with more Confidence, than in the true Knowledge of his Son's wilful Disposition he had Cause to ground on.

The Father's Funeral Rights performed, *Edward* in the Pride of his Years undertakes the Crown, and Guidance of this glorious Kingdom. He glories in the Advantage, knowing himself to be an absolute King, and at Liberty; yet

thinks it not enough, till the *Belief* of the Kingdom did equally assure it. He esteems no Act more proper to confirm it, than running in a direct Strain of Opposition against his Predecessor's Will and Pleasure. The strong Motive of his violent Affection suggests Reasons, that the Majesty of a King may not be confined from his dearest Pleasure. When he was a Son, and a Subject, he had witnessed his Obedience; being now a King and a Sovereign, he expects a Correspondence of the same Nature. Where there was so ready an Inclination in the Will, Reason found Strength enough to warrant it, which made him make *Gaveston's* Return the first Act of his Sovereignty. No Protestation of his Lords, nor Persuasion of his Council, can work a Diversion, or win so much as a befitting Respect. The Barons, that were unable to withstand, are contented to obey, attending the Issue of this so dangerous a Resolution. Where the News was so pleasing, the Journey is as sudden; *Gaveston* loseth not a Minute, till he felt the Embraces of his Royal Lord and Master.

Edward, having thus regained his beloved *Damon*, is so transported with his Presence, that he forgets the Will and ordinary Respect, due to the greatest Lords and Pillars of this Kingdom; and hence proceeds their first Discontent and Murmur. Many Ways are invented to dissolve this Enchantment, but none more fit and worthy than to engage him in the sacred Knot of Wedlock. The Interest of a Wife was believed the only Remedy to engross or divert those unsteady Affections, which they beheld so loosely and unworthily prostituted. *Isabel*, the Daughter of the *French* King, the goodliest and beautifullest Lady of her Time, is moved, and the Tender on all Sides as plausibly accepted.

This sends *Edward*, scarce a King of nine Months standing, into *France*, and brings him back, seized of a Jewel, which, not being rightly valued, occasioned his ensuing Ruin. The Excellency of so sweet and virtuous a Companion could not so surprize her Bridegroom, but *Gaveston* still kept Possession of the fairest Room in his Affections. He makes it more notorious by creating him Earl of *Cornwall*, and the Gift of the goodly Castle and Lordship of *Wallingford*.

Gaveston applies himself wholly to the Humour of the King, and makes each Word that falls from his Mouth an Oracle; their Affections go hand in hand, and the apparent Injustice

tice of the one never found Contradiction in the other. The Subject's Voice was so fortunate, that it was always concurrent where the King maintained the Party: If the Discourse were Arms, *Gaveston* exalted it as an heroic Virtue; if Peace, he maintained it not more useful than necessary; unlawful Pleasure he stiled a noble Recreation; and unjust Actions, the proper and becoming Fruits of an absolute Monarchy. These Glosses so betray the willing Ear that heard them, that no Honour is thought good and great enough for the Reporter. The greatest Command and Offices are in the Person or Disposal of *Gaveston*. The Command of War, and all Provisions Foreign and Domestic, are committed solely to his Care and Custody. All Treaties for Peace or War had their Success or Ruin by his Direction and Pleasure. The King signed no Dispatch, private or public, but by his Consent or Appointment. So that all Men believed their Sovereign to be but a mere Royal Shadow, without a real Substance. Neither was it enough to advance him beyond his Desert, or the Rules of a modest Proportion; but his Power must be made more extant in the Commitment to the Tower of the Bishop of *Chester*, whom he quarrels, as the Occasion of his first Banishment.

These Insolencies, carried with so great an Height and Contempt, are accompanied with all the Remonstrances of a justly-grieved Kingdom. The antient Nobility, that disdained such an Equal, justly exclaim against the Iniquity of the Time, that made him their Superior. The grave Senators, that understood their own Worths, are discontent to see themselves rejected, while Upstarts, by Money or Favour, possess the higher Places. The Soldier, that with his Blood had purchased his Experience, laments his own Dishonour, seeing unworthy Striplings advanced, while he, like the Ruins of a goodly Building, is left to the wide World, without Use or Reparation. The Commons in a more intemperate Fashion make known their Grievs, and sad Oppressions.

Gaveston, that both saw and knew the general Discontent, sought not to redress it, but, with an ill-advised Confidence, strives to out-dare the worst of his approaching Danger. *Lincoln*, *Warwick*, and *Pembroke*, whose noble Hearts disdained the overgrown Height of this untimely Mushroom, let the King know their Fidelity, and his apparent Error. He must free

himself, and right them, or else they will seek it in another Fashion.

Edward knew their Complaints were just, yet was most unwilling to hear or relieve them; till seeing their strong Resolution, and himself wholly unprovided to withstand the Danger, he makes his Affections stoop to the present Necessity, and consents to a second Banishment of his so dearly beloved Favourite. *Gaveston*, in the Height and Pride of his Ambition, is forced to leave his Protector, and to make *Ireland* the Place of his abiding. With a sad Heart he takes his Leave, departing, yet, with a more Desire of Revenge, than Sorrow for his Absence.

All Things thus reconciled, the Kingdom began to receive a new Life; Mens Hopes were suitable to their Desires, and all Things seem to promise a swift and fair Reformation. But the bewitching Charms of this wily Serpent made it soon evident, that alone his Death must prevent his Mischiefs. The personal Correspondency taken away, the Affections of the restless King become far more violent. In the short *Interim* of his Absence, many reciprocal and sweet Messages interchangeably pass betwixt them: *Edward* receives none, but he returns with a golden Interest. He is not more sensible of his Loss, than the Affront and Injury, which persuades him, it were too great Indignity for him to suffer at the Hand of a Subject: Though, with his own Hazard, he once more calls him Home, pacifying the incensed Lords, with an Assurance of Reconciliation and Amendment. Those strict Admonitions, so fully expressed, were not powerful enough to reclaim the Fondness of the one, and Insolency of the other.

The King, regaining thus his beloved Minion, doats on him in a far greater Measure; and he, to make the Musick perfect, is of a far more violent Temper. He affronts and condemns his Adversaries, the antient Nobility, surreptitiously wasting and imbezelling the Revenues of the Crown. He inflames the King's Heart, so apt to receive it, with all the Motives of Revenge, Unquietness, and Disorder. The Jewels of the Crown, and that rich Table and Treasures of Gold, are purloined and pawned, to supply this wanton Riot. He had so true a Knowledge of his Master's Weakness, that he made him solely his. His Creatures were alone preferred, his Agents were the Guides, and no Man hath the King's Ear, Hand, or Purse, but such

such as were by *Gaveston* preferred or recommended.

Edward, by his voluptuous Sensuality, supplies the Place ; but he had the sole Execution of that Royal Prerogative, that was alone proper to the Crown. The Nobility, whose Lion-hearts struggled betwixt the Sense of their just Grief and Allegiance, at length resolve, the King, as to himself, must be so to them and the Kingdom, or they may no more endure it. With grave and weighty Reasons, they make the King know both the Error and the Vanity of his Affections ; letting him truly understand, that they had a dear Interest, both in him and the Kingdom, which they would no longer suffer to be so abused and misguided.

Edward, being himself thus hardly pressed, and that no Intreaty or Diffimulation could prevail, he must now set right the Disorders of the Kingdom, or have his Work done to his Hand, with less Honour, and more Danger. Once more he subscribes to their Will, which he sees he cannot withstand or alter. *Gaveston* is again banished, and makes *Flanders*, the next Neighbour, the Place of his Reception. Infinite was the Joy of the Kingdom, who now expected a secure Freedom from that dangerous Convulsion that threatened so apparent an intestine Ruin.

This, their imaginary Happiness, was made more real and perfect, in the Knowledge, that *Windfor* had blessed them with an Heir-apparent. The Royal Father is pleased with the News, but had not (whether his divining Spirit, or *Gaveston's* Absence, were the Cause) those true Expressions of Joy, that in Justice became so great a Blessing. The Absence of his Minion could not lighten his heavy Soul ; but all other Comforts seemed vain and counterfeit ; his distracted Brains take new and desperate Resolutions ; he revokes the Sentence of his Grief, and vows to justify it against the utmost Strength of Contradiction.

He, that dares do those Things that are dishonest and unjust, is not ashamed to justify and maintain them : This Error gave this unfortunate King more Enemies than he had Friends to defend them. Kings that once falsify their Faiths, more by their proper Will, than a necessary Impulsion, grow infamous to foreign Nations, and fearful or suspected to their own peculiar Subjects. He that is guilty of doing Ill, and justifies the Action, makes it evident, he hath won unto himself a Habit of doing so, and a daring Impudence to maintain it by the Pro-

tection, of which he believes all Things in a politic Wisdom lawful. This Position may, for a time, flatter the Professor, but it perpetually ends with Infamy, which stands with Reason and Justice ; for, as Virtue is the Roadway to Perfection, so is the Corruption of a false Heart the true Path to a certain and an unpitied Ruin.

The enraged Barons are not more sensible of their own Disparagement, than the Inconstancy and Injustice of their Sovereign. They think this Affront done to them, and the whole Kingdom, of too high a Nature to be dispensed with, yet, with a temperate Resolution, they a while attend the Issue. The Actions of Injustice seldom lessen ; they believe Progression to be in all Things an excellent moral Virtue. He that hath a Will to do Ill, and doth it, seldom looks back, until he be at the Top of the Stairs. This makes the ill-affected Return of this our Favourite, more infamous and hated. With an imperious Storm, he lets the Lords know, he meditates nothing but Revenge, and waits a fit Advantage to entertain it. They believe Time ill lost in so weighty a Cause, and therefore draw themselves and their Forces together, before the King could prevent, or his Abuser shun it. The Clouds presaging so great a Storm, he studies the best Means he could to avoid it. The general Distaste of the Kingdom takes from him the Hope of an able Party. *Scarborough* Castle, his last Refuge, he makes his Sanctuary ; but it was too weak against the Number of his Enemies, and the Justice of their Quarrel. He falls at length into the Power of those, from whom he had no Cause to expect Protection or Mercy. The Butterflies of the Time, that were the Friends of his Fortunes, not him, seeing the Season changed, betake themselves to the warmer Climate. His Greatness had won him many Servants ; but they were but Retainers, that, like Rats, forsook the House, when they beheld it falling. The Spring was laden with many glorious and goodly Blossoms, but the Winter of his Age leaves him naked, without a Leaf to trust to.

In this uncomfortable Case, remains this glorious Cedar, in the Hands of those, whom, in his greater Height, he had too much condemned and abused. They resolve to make short and sure Work, unwilling to receive a Command to the contrary, which they must not obey, though it should come from him to whom they had sworn Obedience. Forsaken, unpitied, scorned,

scorned, and hated, he falls under the Hands of Justice. *Gaverseed* is the Place which gives the Epilogue to this fatal Tragedy, whence his Adversaries return more satisfied than assured.

Thus fell that glorious Minion of *Edward the Second*, who, for a time, appeared like a blazing Comet, and swayed the Jurisdiction of the State of *England*, and her Confederates. He did not remember, in the Smiles and Embraces of his lovely Mistress, that she was blind, nor made himself such a Refuge as might secure him when she proved unconstant. Such a Providence had made his End as glorious, as his Beginning fortunate, leaving neither to the just Censure of Time or Envy.

The King's Vexations, in the Knowledge, are as infinite as hopeless; his Passions transport him beyond the Height of Sorrow. He vows a bitter Revenge, which, in his Weakness, he strives to execute with more Speed than Advisement. The graver Senators, that had most Interest in his Favour, mildly discourse his Loss to the best Advantage. They lay before him his Contempt and abusive Carriage, his Insolence, Honour beyond his Birth, and Wealth above his Merit, which must, to all Ages, give a just Cause to approve their Actions, and his Fortune. The least Touch of his Memory adds more to the King's Affliction, who is fixed not to forget, or forgive, so bold and heinous a Trespas.

The Operations in the King were yet so powerful, but the Jealousies of the Actors are as cautious: So fair a Warning-piece bids them in time make good their own Security. *Lincoln*, the principal Pillar of this Faction, follows his Adversary to the Grave, but with a much fairer Fortune. This Man was a goodly Piece of true Nobility, being in Speech and Conversation sweet and affable; in Resolution grave and weighty; his aged Temper active above Belief; and his Wisdom far more excellent in a solid inward Knowledge, than in outward Appearance.

When the Harbinger of Death plucked him by the Sleeve, and he saw and knew he must leave the World, he calls unto him *Thomas Earl of Lancaster*, that had married his Daughter, giving him a strict Imposition on his Death-bed, that he should carefully maintain the Welfare of the Kingdom, and make good his Place among the Barons. This reverend old Statesman saw the King's Ways, and knew him to be a

most implacable Enemy, and, with a Kind of speculative Prediction, would often seem to lament the Misery of the Time, where either the King, Kingdom, or both must suffer. The Son, whose noble Heart was before seasoned with the same Impressions, assures it, which he in time as really performs, though it cost him the Loss of his Estate, Life, and Honour.

Things are too far past to admit a Reconciliation; the King's Meditations are solely fixed upon Revenge; and the Lords, how they may prevent, or withstand it. The Kingdom hangs in a doubtful Suspense, and all Mens Minds are variously carried with the Expectation of what would be the Issue. Meditation and Intercession brings it at length to Parliamentary Discussion, which, being assembled at *London*, enacts many excellent Laws, and binds both the King and Lords, by a solemn Oath, to observe them. Thus the Violence of this Fire is a while suppressed, and raked up in the Embers, that it may (in Opportunity and Advantage) beget a great Danger.

A new Occasion presents itself, that makes each Part temporise for a while, and smothers the Thoughts of the ensuing Rumour. *Robert le Bruce* re-enters *Scotland*, whence he had been by *Edward the First* expelled, inverting all the *English* Institutions, that had so lately settled the Peace and Subjection of the Kingdom. *Edward*, tender of his Honour, and careful to preserve that Purchase, that had proved so dear a Bargain, adjourns his private Spleen, and provides to suppress this unlooked-for Rebellion. He knew the Justice of his Quarrel, and wakens from the Dream, that had given him so large a Cause of Sorrow. He gives his Intentions a small Intermision, and a less Respite; with all Speed, he levies an Army, and leads it with his own Person. Whether it were the Justice of Heaven, or his own Misfortune or Improvidence, the *Scots* attend and encounter him, making *Eastrivelyn* the fatal Witness of his Disaster. His Army lost and defeated; he returns Home laden with his own Shame and Sorrow. His Return is welcomed with a strange Impostor, that pretends himself the Heir of *Edward the First*, and the King, the Son of a Baker. A Tale, so weak in Truth and Probability, wins neither Belief or Credit. *Voidras*, this imaginary King, is apprehended, and makes *Northampton* Gallows the first Stair of his Preferment. His Execution is accompanied with as
strange

strange a Story, which suggests the Instigation of a Spirit, that, in Likeness of a Cat, had for two Years Space advised it.

The King, with a true feeling Grief, lamenting his dishonourable Return from *Scotland*, where his noble Father had so oft displayed his victorious Arms, doth vow with a speedy Rescue to revenge it. He communicates his Resolution with the whole Body of his Council, who are, in their Advice, equally concurrent in the Action. The former Loss exacts a more Care, and a better Provision. *York*, as the fittest Place, is made the Senate of this grave Assembly. Thither resort all the Sages of the Kingdom, and make it their first Deliberation to secure *Berwick*, that is one of the Keys of the Kingdom, and exposed to the greatest Hazard. This Charge is given to Sir *Peter Spalden*, who was believed able enough, both in Fidelity and Valour. A short Time discovers him truly possessed of neither. A small Sum of Money, with an expectant Preferment promised, betrays the Trust reposed, and gives the *Scots* the full Possession of the Charge to him committed.

The Pope, wisely foreseeing into the Misery of this Diffension, out of his Christian and pious Care, sends over two Cardinals, to mediate a Peace and Agreement. They, being arrived in *England*, find the King well disposed, so the Conditions might be reasonable, and such as might become his Interest and Honour. They pass from hence into *Scotland*, and are by the Way, with a barbarous Example, surprised and robbed. The King is infinitely discontented with so inhuman an Act, that threw a Taint upon the whole Nation. Great Inquiry is presently made, which finds out the Actors, and sends Sir *Peter Middleton*, and Sir *Walter Selby*, to a shameful and untimely Execution. Immediately at the Heels of this follows another Example, no less infamous, and full of Danger.

Sir *Gilbert Denvil*, and others, pretending themselves to be Outlaws, with a jolly Army, to the Number of Two hundred, ramble up and down the Country, acting divers notorious Insolencies and Robberies. The Fame of an Attempt so new and unexpected, without a speedy Prevention, seemed to intimate a greater Danger. A Commission is immediately sent out, which apprehends the Heads of this increasing Mischief, and delivers them over to the Hand of Justice. They which confessed themselves

out of the Protection of the Law, and glory in their being so, fall under his Rigour.

Those that duly examined the Truth of this Action, believed the Pretence to be but a Mask, that hid a more perilous Intention. The King, by his untemperate and indiscreet Actions, had lost the Hearts of his People, and there was a general Face of Discontent throughout the whole Kingdom. The Ulcers festered daily, more and more, which seemed to presage and threaten, without some speedy Prevention, a dangerous Issue. All Men discover their ill Affections, expecting but a Patron, that durst declare himself, and adventure to hang the Bell about the Cat's Neck. If this disorderly Attempt, which was but to taste the People's Inclinations, had succeeded, the King (as it was to be feared) had much sooner felt the general Loss, and Revolt of his whole Kingdom. But this Work was reserved to future Time, and the Operation of those who had the Time to effect it with more Power and Pretence of Justice. The crying Maladies of this Climate were such, that the Divine Power sent down, at one and the self-same Instant, his three fatal Executioners, *Plague*, *Dearth*, and *Famine*, to call upon us for a repentant Reformation. No Part of the Kingdom is free, but was grievously afflicted by the unmerciful Prosecution of one, or all these fatal angry Sisters. So great a Misery was too much, but it is seconded with a sudden Invasion of the hungry *Scots*, who apprehending the Advantage of the present Visitation, and ill Estate of their Neighbours, like a Land-Flood, over-run the naked and unprovided Borders.

The Archbishop of *York*, a grave and wise Prelate in his Element, but as far from the Nature, as Name of a Soldier, resolves to oppose this over-daring and insolent Eruption. He levies in haste an Army, in Number hopeful; but it was composed of Men, fitter to pray for the Success of a Battle, than to fight it. With these, and an undaunted hoping Spirit, he affronts the *Scots*, and gives them Battle, making *Milton* upon *Swale*, that honoured his Enemies with the Glory of a second Triumph, the Place of his Disaster. Many religious Churchmen, with the Purchase of their Lives, begin their first Apprenticeship in Arms; whose Loss christened this Overthrow, *The White Battle*.

The Intent of this grave Prelate was, questionless, worthy of a great and singular Commendation,

mendation; but the Act was wholly inconsiderate, weak, and unadvised. It was not proper for his Calling to undertake a military Function, in which he had no Experience; neither did it agree with his Wisdom, or Piety, to be an Actor in Blood, though the Occasion were so great and weighty. Too much Care and Confidence, improperly expressed, doth many Times overthrow and ruin the Cause it seeks to strengthen and advantage. There ought to be, in all Considerations of this Nature, a mature Deliberation, before we come to Action, else we lose the Glory of our Aims, and commit all to the uncertain Hazard of Time and Fortune. The Cardinals are now returned out of *Scotland*, by whom the King truly understands, that the Hopes of Peace are desperate. Their Leave taken, and Losses fairly repaired, they return to *Rome*, acquainting his Holiness with the Success of their Employment. The Pope being truly informed, that the *Scots* were neither conformable to his Will, or the general Good, excommunicates both that usurping King and Kingdom.

The King, nearly touched with the Loss of *Berwick*, inflamed with the Insolency of his barbarous Enemies, and grieved with so great a Loss of his People, resolves no more to suffer, but to transport the War into the very Bowels of *Scotland*. To this Effect, with Speed he hastens out his Directions, and gives present Order for the Levying of Men, Arms, and Money, to begin the War, and continue it. The Royal Command, and Desire of Revenge, gives Wings to this Resolution. An Army is ready, and attends the King's Pleasure, before he conceits his Will truly understood, or bruited. Nothing is wanting but his own Person, or a fit Commander to lead them; he loseth no Time, but appears in the Head of his Army, before his Enemies had the least Knowledge of this Assembly. With a hopeful Expectation he leads them on, and makes *Berwick* the Rendezvous, that should make his Number compleat and perfect. Before this Strength that had the Warranty of Art and Nature, he makes the first Experiment of this Expedition. The Town, being not more confident of their own Strength, than assured of a speedy Supply or Rescue. This gave the King a longer Delay than he believed, and his Enemies Leisure to raise and enable their Provisions. They saw it a Work too full of Danger and Hazard, to venture the Breach of the Body of so great an

Army, that in Worth and Number so far exceeded. The Memory of former Passages and Trials taught them, how to understand their present Condition; this begets in them a Resolution more solid and hopeful. They leave the Road-way, and war rather by Discretion than Valour; which succeeds so fortunately, that they surprise all the *English* Provisions, and enforce the King to a second Return, more fortunate, yet much less honourable. It is true, he retreated, and brought back his Army in Safety; but he had quitted the Siege, which he had vowed to continue, against the united Power of *Scotland*, and lost wholly all that Wealth and Luggage he had carried with him.

This filled all Mens Mouths with a complaining Grief, and made foreign Nations think the *English* had lost their former Lustre, and renowned Valour. It was wondered, that an Enemy, so weak and contemptible, should, three several Times successively, bear away the Garland from those, that had so often, and knew the Way so well, to win and wear it.

But now begins a second Fire of a higher Nature, that made the Kingdom a Theatre stained with the noblest Blood, that within her Confines had or Life or Being. The King, discouraged with his foreign Fortune, lays aside the Thoughts of Arms, and recalls into his wanton Heart the bewitching Vanities of his Youth, that had formerly bred him such Distemper. He was royally attended; but it was by those that made their Tongues, rather the Orators of a pleasing Falshood, than a true Sincerity. These were fit Instruments for such an Ear, that would not hear, unless the Musick answered in an even Correspondency. The Infidelity of the Servant is, in a true Construction, the Misery of the Master; which is more or less dangerous, as is the Weight or Measure of his Employment. It is in the Election of a Crown a principal Consideration, to choose such Attendants, whose Integrity may be the Inducement, as well as the Ability, else the imaginary Help proves rather a Danger than Assistance. Neither is it safe or honourable, for the Majesty of a King, to seem to depend solely on the Wisdom, Care, or Fidelity of one particular Servant. Multiplicity of able Men is the Glory and Safety of a Crown, which falls by Degrees into Confusion, when one Man alone acts all Parts; whence proceeds a World of Error and Confusion.

The King was not ignorant, that such a Course would make such as were his but at second Hand; yet he resolves to make a new Choice of one to supply the Room of his lost beloved *Gaveston*. Though his diseased Court was furnished with a large Variety, yet his Eye fixeth on *Hugh*, the younger of the *Spencers*, who was always tractable and conformable to the King's Will and Pleasure. This Man was in Show smooth and humble, of an insinuating Spirit, one that knew his Master's Ways, and was ever careful to observe them. He had applied himself wholly to *Edward's* Will, and fed his wanton Pleasures with the Strains of their own Affection. Heat of Spirit, and Height of Blood, consult more with Passion than Reason, and a short Deliberation may serve, where the Subject was so pleasing, and to each Side agreeable.

The King, to make his Resolutions eminent, with more Haste than Advise, makes him his Lord Chamberlain, and lets the World know, it was his Love and Will that thus advanced him. Scarcely is this new great Officer warm in his unbecoming Authority, but he exactly follows his Predecessor-precedent to the Life, making all Things lawful that were agreeable to his Master's Will, or his fantastical Humour.

The Peers of the Kingdom, that saw the sudden and hasty Growth of this undeserving Canker, resolve to lop or root it up, before it should overtop their Lustre. *Spencer*, that in the precedent Story of *Gaveston*, beheld the Danger of his own Condition, begins, in time, to provide and strengthen a Party. His aged Father, fitter for his Beads than Action, he makes a young Courtier, and wins the King to give him Power and Assistance. He labours to remove from his Master's Ear all such as might endanger him, and supplies their Places with such as were his Creatures. Those that were too high for such a Surprisal, by Persuasion, Money, or Alliance, he seeks to engage, and make the Parties of this his coming Faction. The Body of the Court thus assured, his Actions in the State went in an even Correspondency. Those that held him at a Distance, valuing their Fidelity and Honour before so base an Advantage, saw themselves disgracefully cashiered, and others installed in their Rooms, that had neither Worth, Birth, or Merit. The factious Entertainers of his proffered Amity, not only enjoy their own, but are advanced higher, which made them but

the Instruments to act and further the Corruptions of his Will and wicked Nature.

This Foundation laid, they now seem to condemn all Fear of Danger, and, in that Assurance, express their Contempt and Scorn against the Nobility, who, they knew, would never entertain their Society or Friendship. While thus the Rule and Manage of all the Royal Affairs, in their Power, was daily more and more abused, the incensed Barons met at *Sherborough*, where the Earl of *Lancaster*, the Prime Agent, lays before them, in a short and grave Discourse, the Iniquity and Danger that seemed eminently to threaten both them and the whole Kingdom, if such a Resolution were not taken, as might assure a speedy Prevention. The Fore knowledge of their Sovereign's Behaviour, which would observe no Rule or Proportion in his immodest Affections, gave them small Hope to prevail by Persuasion or Entreaty. They too well understood, that *Spencer's* Pride was too great and haughty to go less without Compulsion, and they must sink a Key, or neither the Kingdom or themselves (against so inveterate a Hatred) could expect, in Reason, Safety or Assurance. *Hertford*, *Mowbray*, and *Clifford* soar a higher Pitch, and, in plain Terms, affirm, That all other Resolutions were vain and hopeless, it was only Arms that must right the Time and State so much disordered. *Benningfield* and *Mortimer* approve this Resolution, and as soon give it Life and Action. They enter furiously on the Possessions of their Enemies, spoiling and wasting like professed Enemies.

Such an Outrage flies with a nimble Wing to the Ears of the Owner, who as soon makes the King the Sharer of his Intelligence, and increaseth it to his own Advantage. The King sensible of so great an Affront, and as tender of the one, as cruel to the other, publisheth, by Proclamation, the Sentence of his Royal Will and Pleasure. The Actors of this Misdemeanor must appear and justify themselves, or presently forsake the Kingdom.

The Lords, that saw their Interest at Stake, as they had begun, resolve to maintain the Quarrel. New Levies and Preparations are daily made, to make good the succeeding Issue. Yet the more to justify those Arms, that in the best Construction were deemed rebellious, they send to the King a fair and humble Message. The Tenor whereof lets him know, their Intentions were fair and honest, and the Arms, thus levied, were rather to defend, than offend

his Person ; only they in all Humility desire, he would be graciously pleased to remove and punish those Vipers, which had too near a Room in his Royal Heart, whereby they had overthrown and undone the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom.

The King, that fears, is enforced to believe. He knew their Informations were just, and he had no Power to deny or withstand them. He assures a Reformation ; to make it more real, he adjourns it to the ensuing Parliament, which is immediately summoned to appear at *London*. The jealous Lords, that too well knew the Cunning and Hatred of their malicious Adversaries, appear like themselves, bravely attended with a Crew of lusty Yeomen well armed, which stiled this *The Parliament of White Bands*. The Mayor, seeing such a Confluence from all Parts of the Kingdom, so ill inclined, and well appointed, with a careful Providence reinforceth the City Guards, and planteth a strong Watch throughout all the Strengths and Parts of his Jurisdiction.

This great Assembly being now met, the complaining Barons find in both Houses a ready Belief, and as sudden a Censure. A solemn Declaration gives the King Knowledge of their Sentence, which commands both the *Spencers*, Father and Son, into perpetual Exile. The King, as weak in his Disability, as wilful in the least Advantage, gives a sad and unwilling Consent ; which, being known, gives the *Spencers* no Time of Imparance ; their Judgment is immediately put in Execution, and they find more Servants than they desire to attend them to *Dover*, where they are immediately shipped to go and seek a new Fortune. The Elder, whose snowy Age, and more Innocence, deserved Pity, makes his Tears witness his true Sorrow, and his Tongue unfold them. He taxeth his Son's Vanity and Ambition, and his own Weakness, that had so easily consented to his Ruin. He laments his Misfortune, that in the Winter of his Age had cast him from his Inheritance, and had made him the Sea-mark and Scorn of a whole Kingdom. He confesseth the Folly, that led him (by indirect Means) to the Preservation of his high and ill-acquired Greatness. He wisheth his Carriage had been such, that, in this so sad Change of Fortune, he might have found either Pity or Assistance. But it is the inseparable Companion of Greatness that is gotten in the By-way, and not by a just Desert or Virtue : It labours to support

itself more by Cunning and Falshood, than by a sweet and winning Temper, when it is of all others the most erroneous Maxim, that believes, Affections can be in a subordinate Way gotten or assured. They are the proper Functions of the Soul, which move alone in their own Course, without Force, or the least Impulsion. All other Ways are but temporary Provisions, that serve the present Advantage ; but he, that by a just Desert wins the Love and Belief of his Worth, has laid a sure Foundation, making his Honour his own, and the Succession hereditary and permanent, to his everlasting Glory.

These imperious Servants thus removed, the Father, in Obedience to his Doom, betakes himself to a foreign Quietness. The Son, of a more turbulent and revengeful Spirit, keeps still a Sea-board in the Skirts of the Kingdom, and falling short in Power, to requite the Authors of his Disgrace, he expresseth his Malice to the whole Nation. The Merchants, free from all Suspicion, in their Voyages and Returns, are pillaged and rifled, and he the principal Actor.

Such a domestic Piracy begets a general Terror and Exclamation, which fills the King's Ears, and presseth (as it required) a speedy Prevention or Remedy. He knew the Action was foul, but it was one of his own that had done it ; and such a one that was too dearly valued, to be either persecuted or punished. He studies first to satisfy his own Passion, before he right this injurious Carriage against the Subject. This makes him reject the wholesome Admonition of Friends, the Validity of his Laws, and those fearful Apparitions that present him with the Danger of so foul an Enterprize, while with an Example new, and full of assured Hazard, he repeals the Sentence of their Exile. This Act gave him too large a Time of Repentance, and may be a befitting Instance to all ensuing Posterity. The Actions of a Crown are exemplary, and should be clean, pure, and innocent ; the Stains of their Errors die not with them, but are registred in the Story of their Lives, either with Honour or Infamy.

But to proceed in this Historical Relation : The *Spencers* thus recalled, and reinvested in their former Favour, they express themselves in another Kind, and now, by a strong Hand, strive to crush, by Degrees, all those of the adverse Faction. Sir *Bartholomew Baldsmer* was the first that tasted their Fury and Injustice. His Castle of *Leedes* in *Kent*, under a pretended and

and feigned Title, is surpris'd and taken from him, without a due Form, or any legal Proceeding. Their Return, and the Abrogation of that Law that banished them, was Provocation enough; there needed not this second Motive to inflame the Hearts of the angry Barons. But when the unjust Oppression of the Knight (their Ally and Confederate) was divulged, and came to their Ears, they vow a bitter Revenge, and make Speed to put it in Execution. They see the Fruits of their Dalliance, and long abused Confidence, and waken out of that Slumber that had fed him with the *Chimera's* of so dull and cold a Proceeding.

The King, who formerly had been so often surpris'd, in time arrives to provide a Remedy: He knew his Arms, and not his Tongue, must plead the Injustice of his Actions, wherein, if he again failed, he feared another Manner of Proceeding. The *Spencers*, that evidently saw the Eminency of their own Dangers, make it their Master-piece to crush the Serpent in the Head before it grew to Perfection. They knew the Height of their Offences was beyond the Hope of Mercy, and there was no Way left of Assurance, but that, which they must wade through in Blood, and make good, with the Sword, their Lives, or else be sure to lose them. An Army is provided, and appears at *Shrewsbury* almost before it was bruited. The first Exploit seizeth the two *Mortimers*, that had begun again their former Invasion of the *Spencers*. Their Strength was great enough for such an Incurſion, but much too weak to withstand or encounter this Royal Army. This first Hansel, so fortunate, gives Life to their Adversaries, and imprisons them in the *Tower*, before their Associates could be truly informed, or ready to relieve them.

There is now left no Time to dispute; the Barons must with their Arms warrant their Proceedings, or they must miscarry in the Action. They had soon gathered a Strength, with which they resolve to encounter the King at *Burton*. The Knowledge of the great Power that came against them, and their own Weakness, wins them to a Retreat, not more dangerous than dishonourable. But their Reasons were just and weighty; the Earl of *Lancaster* had sent Sir *Robert Holland* to raise his Tenants and Friends, which he hoped would, in time, reinforce his Army.

Valence, Earl of *Pembroke*, that commands his Master's Forces, seeing the Disorder of their

Going off, lays hold of the Advantage, and chargeth them so hotly, that they break and betake themselves to their Heels, with great Losses and Confusion. *Holland*, entrusted by the Earl of *Lancaster*, having accordingly performed the Work he was employed in, marching up to the Rescue, is advertis'd of the State of their Affairs, which makes him seek his own Peace, and resign this Supply wholly up, to be disposed at the King's Will and Pleasure. The Supply, so unexpected, is graciously received, and there is a set Resolution to employ it to the best Advantage.

The despairing Lords, with their Adherents, with much ado recover *Pomfret*; there a second Deliberation is taken, which held it the safest Course to pass on, and to possess the Castle of *Donſtanborough*, which was deemed a Strength tenable enough until they could reinforce their Party, or work their own Conditions. This Resolution is presently attempted with more Haste than Fortune. Sir *Andrew Harkely* meets and encounters them at *Burrowbridge*, where *Hertford*, *Clifford*, and others, died honourably, in maintaining a brave Defence, while *Lancaster*, *Mowbray*, and many of their Adherents, were taken, and with their Heads paid the Ransom of their Errors. The *Spencers*, like two furious Tigers that had seized their Prey, give not their incensed Master Leave, to deliberate on the Weight of so sad a Work; the Lives of many brave Subjects are taken away in an Instant, and each Part of the Kingdom is stained with Loss of that noble Blood, that had been much more gloriously spent in a foreign War, than in these Domestic and Civil Tumults.

Edward, who was apparently guilty of too many other Vices, drowns their Memory in this so cruel and bloody a Tyranny. The reeking Blood of so many brave Gentlemen, so unfortunately and untimely lost, doth cry for Vengeance, and hurry on the Destruction of the chief and principal Actors. Mercy should precede the Severity of Justice, if not to all, yet to some, since they were not alike guilty. If *Lancaster* had been of so unnoble a Disposition, the *Spencers* had neither had Time nor Cause to rejoice in his Ruin. How often had they by a full Advantage had Power of these their Enemies; yet made it evident, their Aims were not Blood, but Reformation! And assuredly, in this their last Act, their Intents towards the Crown were innocent in all other respects, than the Desire of supporting it with

more Honour. As Things fell afterwards out, it had been to the King a Happiness, if their Arms had prevailed; for this Victory was the principal and fundamental Cause of his ensuing Ruin. Fear, and the Expectation of Danger, kept both him and his Favourites in a better Temper, so long as there was so strong a Bridle. Certainly, in the Regimen of a Kingdom, it is a wise and discreet Consideration to maintain and uphold a divided Faction, and to countenance them so, that the one may be still a Counterpoise to the other: By this means the King shall be more truly served and informed.

The Subject that is too far exalted, and hath no one to contradict or question him, considers not the Justice, but the Means to preserve him; by which the Judgment of the King is taxed, and he is robbed of the Hearts of his People. The greater the Height, the stronger is the Working to maintain it, which seldom goes alone, but is accompanied, for the most part, with those State-Actions of Impiety and Injustice, which draws with it so perpetual an Envy and Hatred, that it leads him headlong to a fatal and dishonourable Conclusion. Though the Fury of this enraged King had so fully acted this bloody Tragedy, yet *Mortimer* is spared, rather out of Forgetfulness than Pity, whose Life had been more available than all these, that with so great a Speed had felt his Rigour. But he is reserved for a second Course, to teach the *Spencers* the same *legem talionis*, and *Edward* the plain Song of his Error. The Kingdom seems now in better Peace and settled; the principal Pillars of the Commonwealth were taken away, and those which remained are utterly disheartened in the Danger of so fresh an Example.

This gains such a Liberty to these triumphing *Sycophants*, that they make the whole Kingdom, as it were, the just Fruits of an absolute Conquest. The King approves and maintains their Actions, giving them the Regal Power for their Warranty. All Kinds of insolent and unjust Oppressions are now confidently practised, without Contradiction or Question. No Exaction or unlawful Action is left unattempted, while the grieved Kingdom languisheth under the Burden, yet durst not stir to redress it. The Great ones suffer basely beyond their Birth or Honour; yet look faintly one upon another, nor daring to revenge their Quarrel. The Commons murmuring complain; yet find

not a Man that will give them Heart or Leading.

The watchful *Spencers*, that saw and knew the general Hatred, and Infamy of their own Conditions, lessen not their Height, or fear the Sequel. With a politic Care they use their best Means to prevent it. The King's Humour, naturally vicious, they feed, with all the proper Objects, that might please or more betray his Senses. They strive to make him alike hateful to his Subjects, that in the Change of Fortune they might together run one and the self-same Hazard.

There is yet another Piece of State to this great Work as proper. *Edward* is but a Man, and a Creature in nothing more constant than his Affections; yet these with Age and Time may alter; this Gap must be stopped, that they may be more assured. *Hugh*, the younger of the *Spencers*, who had a searching Brain, wise and active, believes this Work had two several Dependences, the one to keep him in continual Fear, the other in a perpetual Want. These, being marshalled with Discretion, he knew would knit fast his Master's Love, and add to the Opinion of his Wisdom and Fidelity; imposing a kind of necessary Impulsion still to continue him. In his Breast alone were locked all the Passages and Mysteries of State, whereby he was most able to provide for the future Inconveniences.

From this Ground, with a kind of loose Scorn, he continues the *French* Correspondence, and secretly contriveth a Continuance of the *Scottish* Rebellion. He omits no Act of Contempt against the antient Nobility, that they might in the Sense of their Disgrace be, or at least daily threaten some new Combustion. The Confluence of so many threatening Dangers work the wished Effect, and keep the King in perpetual Fear and Agitation. The ill Success of his Armies and Expeditions, in their Memory, help strongly to increase it: Yet is not his faithful Servant neglecting in the second and remaining Part. He so orders his Business, within Doors and without, that the Royal Treasure of the Crown is profusely wasted and spent without Account or Honour. The antient Plate and Jewels of the Crown are in the *Lombard*, and their Engagement drowned, before it had the Warmth of a sure Possession. The Subject is racked with strange Inventions, and new unheard of Propositions for Money, and

and many great Loans required, beyond all Proportion or Order. Lastly, the Royal Demands are set at Sale, and all Things that might make Money within the Kingdom.

To supply these Inconveniencies, which are now grown to a greater Height than the Plotter of them intended, a new Parliament is called at *York*, where the elder *Spencer* is advanced to the Earldom of *Winchester*; and *Harkely*, another Chip of the same Block, is made Earl of *Carlisle*. *Baldock*, a mean Man in Birth, Worth, and Ability, is made Lord Chancellor of *England*.

In this Parliament, which was by Fear and Favour made to his Hand, he makes known the Greatness of his Want and Occasions; the justly aggrieved Commons, entering into a deep Consideration of the Times, freely give the sixth Penny of all the temporal Goods throughout the whole Kingdom.

When this Act came to the general Knowledge, it utterly estranged the Hearts of the Subjects, which plead an Impossibility to perform it, in respect of those many former Exactions. Yet after some light Contestation it is levied, no Man daring to make so much as a Shew of Resistance.

If we may credit all the antient Historians, who seem to agree in this Relation, there were seen, at this Time, many Sights fearful and prodigious. Amongst them no one was so remarkable, as that which for six Hours Space shewed the glorious Sun cloathed all in perfect Blood, to the great Admiration and Amazement of all those that beheld it. Following Times, that had recorded it in their Memories by the Sequel, believed it the fatal Prediction of the ensuing Miseries. Those, that more aptly censure the present View of a Wonder, conceited, the just Heavens shewed their incensed Anger for the noble Blood of the Earl of *Lancaster*, and his Adherents, so cruelly shed, without Compassion or Mercy.

The *Scots* working on the Condition of the Times, so much dejected and amazed, seize the Advantage. They saw by the last Parliamentary Proceedings, that the King was so enabled, as the Hope of any Attempt, in *England*, was altogether hopeless. Yet they resolve to be doing somewhere within the King's Dominions, or at least his Jurisdiction. This draws them to assemble themselves, and to attempt a Surprisal of the Northern Places in *Ireland*. As the Action was vain, so the Success proved as

unfortunate; they are defeated, slain, overthrown, and return not with the twentieth Part of their Number.

The King, remembering those many Indignities he had suffered, and resenting this their last Attempt, with an implacable Scorn and Anger, resolves to let them speedily know that he meant to call them to an After-reckoning. Upon this he sends out his Summons, to call his Men of War together, and makes all Provisions be prepared, for this so constantly resolved a Journey. His former Misfortunes had instructed him to undertake this Design much more strongly and warily. And this so grave a Consideration brought him together the remaining Glory and Strength of the greater Part of his Kingdom. With these he marcheth forward and invadeth the nearer Parts of *Scotland*; but, whether it were the Infidelity of those about him, the Will and Pleasure of Him that is the Guider and Director of Human Actions, or the unfortunate Destiny of this unhappy King, he is enforced to return, without doing any Act that is truly worthy his Greatness or Memory.

The wily *Scots*, that durst not set upon the Face of his Army, wait upon the Rear, and, in a watched Opportunity, surprise his Stuff and Treasure. This sends him home a third Time a discontented Man, and, whether with a just Guilt, or to transfer his own Fault upon others, the newly created Earl of *Carlisle* is put to a shameful Execution. The Grounds against him were very probable, but not certain; and it was enough that he is believed, like *Judas*, for Money to have sold his Master. The principal Motive, that may lead us to think he was deeply faulty, was the Honour and Gravity of his Tryal, which gave him, on a full Hearing, so sincere and sharp a Sentence.

Scarcely is the King settled, after his tedious Journey, when comes a stranger News, That the *French* King had made a hostile Attempt upon the Frontier-Parts of *Guyenne*, which was seconded with a Declaration, That he was no longer resolved to entertain the Friendship or Peace with *England*.

This Feat had been cunningly beforehand wrought by the secret Working of *Spencer*; yet he desired to have it still in Agitation, and not in Action. He wished his Master thence might be possessed with the Fear of War, and not feel it. The *French* were of another Mind; they saw into the great Disorders and Misguidance of *England*, and thought it a fit Time, either by
War

War or Policy, to unite so goodly a Branch of their Kingdom. It is true, they had matched a Daughter of *France* to the Crown of *England*, and had solemnly sworn a Peace, but these they thought might be with Ease dispensed with on so weighty a Cause, and so fair an Advantage. *Edward* seeing into the Danger, and taxing bitterly the Infidelity of the *French*, begins to survey his own Condition, whereby he might accordingly fort his Resolution, either to entertain the War, or to seek Peace upon some honourable, or at least reasonable Conditions.

He in this Passage finds himself more hated and feared than beloved; he saw his Coffers empty, the *Scotish* War and Surprisal had quite exhausted the Sinews of his last Parliamentary Contribution. He feared the Inclination of the Subjects would refuse any further Supply, or, in Consenting, make it conditional, which he was unwilling to undergo or adventure.

Lastly, The Misfortune, that waited on him ever since he was absolute, he feared, had estranged and dejected so the Hearts of his Soldiers, that they would hardly be drawn forth, or act any thing with their accustomed Valour and Resolution. In this Distraction, he seeks not by the Advice of a grave Council to qualify or prevent it, this Medicine he conceits is worse than the Disease, but calls unto him *Spencer*, the Cabinet of his Heart; he alone is thought fit to communicate this deep Secret, and to give the Resolution. His Father, *Baldock*, and the rest of that Faction, by his Persuasion and Entreaty, are admitted to make the Party greater, and the Discourse more serious and likely. Before them is laid the Condition of the King, the Estate of the Kingdom, their own Danger, and the Intentions of their foreign Adversary. Many several Ways are devised and advised, and in Conclusion, no one is believed more sound and proper, than that the Queen should personally mediate the Atonement with her Royal Brother. This as it was cunningly laid, so had it a double Use and Reflexion. The *Spencers* saw the Subjects more inclinable to adore the rising Sun, in which Act they thought the Queen's Mediation and Presence would be a dangerous Instigator. They believed her Absence could not work such and so great an Assistance as might countervail the domestic Danger. They knew the *French* light and inconstant, and those which, with a kind of natural Fear, abhorred the *English* Wars, out of the Limits of their own Kingdom. And in the worst Con-

struction they conceited Money, or a Resignation of that Part which was holden by the King in *France*, would beget a Peace at their own Will and Pleasure. Yet these Considerations were attended with some Doubts, which delayed and put off the Execution.

The Queen, who had long hated the Infidelity of the *Spencers*, and pitying the languishing Estate of the Kingdom, resolves in her Mind all the possible Ways to reform them. Love and Jealousy, two powerful Motives, spurred her on to undertake it. She saw the King a Stranger to her Bed, and revelling in the Embraces of his wanton Minions, without so much as a Glance or Look on her deserving Beauty. This Contempt had begot in her Impressions of a like, though not so wanton and licentious a Nature. She wanting a fit Subject for her Affections to work on (her Wedlock being thus estranged) had fixed her wandering Eye upon the goodly Shape and Beauty of gallant *Mortimer*. He was not behind-hand in the Reception and comely Entertainment of so rich and desired a Purchase. But his last Act had lodged him in the *Tower*, which was a Cage too streight to crown their Desires with their full Perfection: Yet is there a sweet Correspondency continued, Letters and many loving Messages bring their Hearts together, tho' their Bodies were divided.

By these is *Mortimer* informed of the Resolution for the intended Journey of his Royal Mistress, whom he vows to attend, or lose his Life in the Adventure. The Queen understanding the Intentions of her Servant, strives to advance her Dispatch, and hasten it with all her best Endeavours. But, where was so great an Inconstancy, there could be no Expectation, that this Proposition should be more assured and permanent. New Delays and Doubts interpose, insomuch, that the Hopes of this Journey were now grown cold and desperate.

The Queen, seeing herself deluded, and this Opportunity stolen from her, by those whom she before so mortally hated, sets her own Brains a working, to invent a speedy Remedy. She was therein so fortunate, as to pretend a Journey of Devotion and Pilgrimage to *St. Thomas of Canterbury*, which by her Overseers was wholly unsuspected. Things thus prepared, by a faithful Messenger she gives *Mortimer* the Knowledge of her Design, who prepares himself with a more dangerous Stratagem to meet it. Her eldest Son, her dearest Comfort, and the chief Spring that must set all these

these Wheels a going, she leaves not behind, but makes him the Companion of her Travels.

The King's Joy was great, that saw, by this Occasion, he should gain a free Liberty to enjoy his stolen Pleasures, which were before so narrowly attended by the jealous Eyes of his Queen, that in this Kind had been so often wronged.

The aspiring *Spencers* were well pleased, that to be assured would have given a free Consent to her perpetual Absence. A short Time brings her to the End of so short a Journey, where she makes her Stay of the same Measure. *Winchelsey* had the Honour to have the last Farewel of this Pair of precious Jewels. Thither comes *Mortimer*, having made a fortunate Escape, and with the Earl of *Cane* resolves to venture his Life in the Attendance and Service of so brave a Mistress. An Exploit so weighty and dangerous gave no Time of Stay or Ceremony. They immediately embark, and make a Trial where they may find another Climate more propitious and fortunate. The watery Billows and the peaceful Winds, as if they were consenting to their Enterprize, entertain them with an Aspect clear and quiet, sending them with a fresh and pleasing Gale safe to their desired Port of *Bulloign*.

The King and *Spencers*, being truly informed, are startled with the Matter and Manner of their Escape. They knew the Birds were too far flown to be caught or reclaimed; and did imagine the Plot was too surely laid that had so prosperous a Beginning. Now all the former Resolutions were useless; new Deliberations are required how this Breach may be handsomely folded, or the threatening Danger prevented. All other Ways are deemed short; that one of taking off the King of *France* was believed most sure and easy. They knew the *French* Strain to be giddy, light, and covetous; and applied themselves in the right Key to fit these several Humours.

The King, whose presaging Soul misgave his Welfare, grows sad and melancholy, calling to mind the Injustice of his own Actions, and the fair Cause his Wife had to seek her Right and Refuge. The Neglect and Breach of *Wedlock* was so great an Error; but so to contemn so sweet and great a Queen, was a Fault, in his own Thoughts, deserved a heavy Censure. She had not only felt a particular Share of her own Grief, but suffered deeply in the Sorrow of the whole Kingdom. Those, which had erected

their petty Tyrannies over the Subjects, were in like sort authorized by him that ought to have had an equal Share of her Affliction, more and more to abuse her.

The sad Impressions of these Disorders, and the reeking Blood of so many noble and brave Subjects, so basely spilt, do seem to cry for Vengeance. This, for a while, wrought deeply in his distressed Thoughts, but a small Intermision brings him back to his former Temper, A customary Habit of a depraved Nature dull-eth the Sense of the Soul and Conscience; so that, when our better Angels summon us to Repentance, the Want of a lively true Apprehension leads us blindfold into a dangerous despairing Hazard.

The *French* King having Notice of his Sister's Arrival, with a wonderous plausible and seeming Joy, doth entertain it with an honourable Attendance, fitting more her Estate, Birth, and Dignity, than her present miserable Condition; she is waited on to *Paris*, where she is soon visited by the Royal King, her Brother. When she beheld the Refuge of her Hopes, she falls upon her Knee, and, with a sweetly coming Modesty she thus begins her Story.

The King, unwilling to suffer such an Idolatry from her that had a Father, Brother, and Husband, so great and Royal, takes her up in his Arms, and then attends her Motives.

Great Sir (quoth she), behold in me, your most unfortunate Sister, the true Picture of a dejected Greatness, and the essential Substance of an unhappy *Wedlock*. I have, with a Suffering beyond the Belief of my Sex, overcome a World of bitter Trials. Time lessens not, but adds to my Afflictions; my Burthen is grown too heavy for my long-abused Patience. Yet it is not I alone, but a whole Kingdom, heretofore truly glorious, that are thus unjustly wronged. My blushing Cheek may give you Knowledge, I too much honour the Cause of my Affliction, to let my Tongue discover it. Yet this in Duty and Modesty I may ingenuously confess, My Royal Husband is too far seduced, his Ear is too open, his Will too violent, and his Heart too free, to those bewitching Sirens, that make his Errors their Profit and Glory. All Hope of his Return is lost, so long as they shall live, and remain his Leaders. How many of his noblest and bravest Subjects have attempted his Freedom, and by an unjust and inglorious Death miscarried! Alas! all Expectations are vain and desperate; if I had not known the Impossibility to disenchant him, I had not

in so mean and miserable a Case stolen to you for Succour. You have a fair Way to make known to the World the Truth of your own Glory and Goodness. Fortune leads you by the Hand to an Action not more just than honourable, if you would dispute it. Can there be a more precious Motive to invite you, than the View of these unhappy Ruins? See here two Royal Branches of the Flower-de-Luce withering, sullied, and depressed. Would you truly consider, how great and noble a Work it is, to support those that are unworthily oppressed, Heaven and Earth must witness the true Value of your Worth and my Petition. Let it not breed a Jealousy or Discouragement, that I appear before you, and seek your Help with so poor a Train and mean Attendance. Besides the Justice of my Cause, I bring with me the Grievs and Hearts of a Kingdom, that have both sworn and vowed to defend it. Nor may you with Reason doubt their Integrity, while you have my wretched self, and the Heir apparent, to be your Pawn and Warrant. For God's sake, Sir, by your own Virtue and Goodness I desire it, and in the Challenge of that Royal Blood, whereof by the Laws of God, Men, and Nature, I have so large a Share and Interest. Let not After-ages taint your Memory with such an Aspersions, That you are the first of all the Kings of France, that denied to relieve a Sister so deeply wronged and distressed.

She would have spoken more; but here the big-swollen Fountains of her watery Eyes discharge their heavy Burthen. Her Tears, like Orient Pearls, bedew her lovely Cheeks, while she with a silent Rhetoric invites a noble Pity. Her sad Complaint now won a general Remorse, and her liquid Tears, a deep and strong Compassion. Her Brother vows Revenge, and promiseth to make *England* and the World know she was his Sister.

The Lords and Peers of *France* tender their ready Help and Assistance; the Service is so hotly pursued, that the poor Queen, with an abused Confidence, believes she shall be speedily and strongly righted. It was not alone her Error, it is a general Disease. We easily credit that News we most desire and hope for.

The *Spencers*, whose watchful Eyes were soon informed of these Passages, too late condemn their own Improvidence and Folly, that gave the wronged Queen so fit and fair an Advantage. They fear not all the Power of *France*, but suspect intestine Danger, where they knew the Hearts of all were aliened and estranged.

They well enough understood the Vanity of Female Passion, but suspect, that the rising Sun would be followed and admired, whilst their declining Master would be left forsaken and dejected. These Conceits work so deeply, that they conclude they must fall, if they could not stop the foreign Danger. The *English* were cowed, there was in them no Fear, unless the Strangers Strength gave them new Life and Spirit. In so weighty a Cause there was no Time left for Delay or Dalliance. They dispatch presently away their Agents to the *French* Court, laden with the Treasure of the Kingdom, and many glorious Promises. They instruct them how to apply themselves to the Time, and present Necessity; and teach them the Way to work and undermine the Queen's Proceedings.

These Messengers, arriving at *Paris*, find the *French* Heat well qualified and cooled. This gave them more Time and Hope, to bring their Master's Will and their own Employment to a speedy Perfection. They set upon the Pillars of the State, such as in their Master's Ear, or in his Council, had most Sway and Pre-eminence; they give freely and promise more, till they have won a firm and fair Assurance. No one had an Interest, and was known to be a Favourer of the adverse Party, but his Tongue is tied with a golden Chain to a perpetual Silence.

When thus this Practice was ripe, the King is persuaded to the Danger and Peril of so great and weighty an Action. His Sister's Reputation, and intemperate Carriage, though tenderly, is often touched. A Woman's Passion is believed too weak a Reason to engage two so warlike Nations in a War, wherein themselves had formerly so often suffered.

The King, for all his first great and high Expressions, had much rather have to do with the *English* in their own Kingdom than in *France*; yet was well enough content not to try their Arms in either. Yet still he feeds his sorrowing Sister with good Words, pretending many vain Excuses, which made her suspect and doubt his Meaning. She arms herself with a noble Patience, hopeful, at least, that she and her Son might there remain in Peace and Safety.

By the Intercourse of Messages that had so often passed and repassed, the *Spencers* are assured, that their Affairs in *France* went fairly on, by which they were well onward in their Journey.

There

There could be yet no certain or assured Confidence, until they had again gotten the Queen and her Son into Possession. No Promise or Persuasion is left to win her to return; but her Ears were stopped, she too well knew the sweet Enticements of such alluring Serpents. This Project falling short, a solemn Letter is framed from King *Edward* to the Pope, and a Messenger after their own Hearts appointed to carry it. The Contents were full of Humility and Bitterness, complaining to his Holiness, That his Wife had, without just Cause, forsaken both him and his Kingdom, carrying away his Son, the Stay of his Age, without his Leave or Licence; a Traytor to him and his Crown, who had publicly acted a Rebellion, and was taken and imprisoned for it, had made an Escape, and was now her sole Companion; and though he was not hasty to report or credit, yet he had just Cause to fear he was the Abuser of his Wedlock. The King of *France*, with whom he had sworn so solemn and firm a League, being summoned, had denied to restore her.

These goodly Glosses and Pretexes find a ready Passage, and an easy Belief, where there was none to contradict or justify. If these Aspersions had been, as they were pretended, just and true, the Fact had been odious, and justly deserved a fair and speedy Reformation. The greater Cardinals, who were at that Time most great and eminent, had tasted deeply of the King's Bounty, which gave the Pope a daily Instigation to pity and reform so great and gross an Error. On which an Admonition is presently sent out to the *French* King, that he cause immediately the Queen of *England* to depart forth of his Dominions.

Whilst this Device was in Action, the *English* discontented Barons send privately to the Queen, informing her, that they were almost crushed to Pieces with their Suffering. They solicit her to hasten her Return, and promise really to engage themselves and their Estates in her Quarrel. With a joyful Heart (as it deserves) she entertains this loving Proffer. And, the more to advance her declining Affairs, she instantly acquaints her Brother with the Tender. He had then newly received his Summons from the Pope, which taking out of his Pocket, he delivers her back, wishing her to peruse and read it. The amazed Queen, when she beheld so sad a Sentence, falls humbly on her Knees, and desires, That his Majesty would grant her but so much Favour, that she might

more truly inform his Holiness, and justify herself by a fairer and noble Trial. With Tears she instanceth the Malice of her Adversaries, that had taken so strange a Course, both to abuse and wrong her. Her Brother, glad of such a Protection to shadow his dishonourable and unnatural Falshood, lets her know the Necessity of his Obedience, and that he must not, for her Sake, adventure the Censure and Interdiction of himself and a whole Kingdom. He wisheth her to arm herself with Patience, and to return and make a Peace with her Husband, in which Act himself would use both the Persuasion and Strength of his best Power and Interest, letting her withal know, that she had but a short Time to deliberate, for she must instantly leave his Kingdom. Scarcely had he ended these his last unwelcome Words, when away he flings, with a seeming discontented Shew of Sorrow, rejoicing inwardly, that he had freed himself of the Expence of her Entertainment, and found so fair a Colour to avoid the Justice of her daily Importunity.

The drooping Queen, thus abandoned, with an amazed Grief, relates this unkind sad Passage to her faithful Servants, *Cane* and *Mortimer*. Their valiant Hearts make good the Loss of their Hopes; they accuse the Injustice of Time, and exclaim against the *French* unnatural Baseness. *Mortimer*, whose inflamed Passion flew a higher Pitch, breaks out, and, with a bold Freedom, would have fallen to a bitter Expostulation. The Queen, who knew the Danger, and was loth to lose that little miserable Freedom she had left, with sweet and mild Persuasions reclaims him to a milder Temper. She had a second Doubt, lest in such a Contestation she might be sent back against her Will to her Husband. This makes her temporize, and cunningly seem to provide for a voluntary Return, which might prevent that Danger. She, failing in the Master, yet tastes anew his Servants, and leaves no Means unattempted to bring about and alter so hard and strict a Censure. They, that were the first Betrayers of her Hopes, do now with a more Confidence and Constancy express it, and, with one Voice, sing the same Tune with their Master; declining Misery, the Touchstone of Friendship, finds itself shunned, like some infectious Fever. The Sunshine of Fortune hath as many Professors as Beams; but, if her Glory be once eclipsed, they all, with a coward Baseness, seek some other Succour. This Lesson,

that is so frequent and familiar, should guide our Election more by Judgment than Affection. They are not to be chosen or valued, that in the Pretence of Love, though it be for our proper Good and Service, will act any Thing that is base and unworthy; the same, in the least Change, will not be squeamish, for a poor Advantage to confirm their former Practice, though it be to our Loss, or Destruction. Where Virtue guides our Choice, it begins with Truth and Honour, ending with a like resplendent Glory. No worldly Cross, nor Height of Affliction, lessens the Worth and Value of such a Friend, who, like a goodly Rock, in Fury of the greatest Storms, makes good his proper Station. Mutual Correspondency in Affections ought to be pure and innocent; if private Respects taint the Sincerity of the Intentions, it makes this Traffick rather a Commerce than Friendship. Opinion of Faith is a powerful Motive, yet not weighty enough, unless it become as well with real Ability, as Appearance, the Subject of our Election.

But, to proceed, the Queen, being in this distressed Agony, finds an unexpected Refuge. The gracious God of Heaven, who never forsakes those which are his, sends her a Comfort when her dying Hopes were almost sunk and desperate.

Robert of Artois, a Man as truly valiant as noble, was one of the first that in the French Court had tendered the Queen his Service. He was a wife, grave, and steady, well-resolved Gentleman; his first Devotion was not led by Matter of Form or Compliment, but was truly grounded on a true Compassion and Honour. This brave Friend, beholding with a noble Eye, the Vanity of his Fellow-friends and Courtiers, and looking into the Misery of the Queen's forsaken Condition, sets up his Rest to appear like himself, a Friend in all her Fortune, firm and constant. In this Resolution he waits a fitting Opportunity to let her see and know it. The Time was favourable, he finds her in her melancholy Chamber, confused in her restless Thoughts, with many sad Distractions. She, fancying the Occasion of the Coming of so great a Person was great and weighty, with a silent and attentive Ear expects his Message.

Madam (quoth he), *It is the most excellent Part of Wisdom, with an equal Virtue, to entertain the different Kinds of Fortune. This World is but a mere Composition of Troubles, which seems greater*

or less, as is the Quality of the Heart that entertains them. I confess the Justice of your Grief, and truly share it, but Tears and Sorrow are not Means to relieve or right you. The just Heavens assist those that with an active and lively Hope invoke their Succour. The Tenderness of your Sex, and former free Condition, is yet a Stranger to these Trials; Time will let you know they are the familiar Attendants of our frail Structure of Flesh and Blood, when you will confess it too great a Weakness to sink under the Burden of our Afflictions. For your own Goodness (noble Queen) erect and elevate your thus dejected Spirits: Behold in me the Character of an unworthy, but true Friend, that am resolved my Life and State shall attend and run with you the self-same Fortune. You may no longer make this unthankful Climate, the Place of your Birth, the Stage of your Abiding; the Way is paved with Gold to your Destruction. Wherefore, if my Advice may sway, let Speed prevent your Danger. The Confines of the sacred Empire are near adjoining, where are many brave Princes, who may happily afford you Succour; at the worst, you may there enjoy a more assured Peace and Safety. Neither do I presume to direct this Course, but lay it humbly before you, offering my faithful Service to attend you, to what Part soever of the universal World your Resolution shall fix on, desiring you to be assured, my Life, before my Faith, shall perish; for I have vowed myself, and will continue your everlasting Servant.

Infinitely was the Queen rejoiced in this so grave and sincere an Expression; she doubles a World of Promises and Thanks for this so free an Offer, and with a secret and wary Carriage she speedily provides to begin her thus resolved Journey. Though here she saw a far less Appearance of Hope, when her dearest Brother, and her native Kingdom had forsaken her, yet she resolves the Trial rather than to return, without a more Assurance. She knew she had too far waded, and incensed her malicious Adversaries, to expect a Reconciliation, and feared to be mewed up from all Hope of future Advantage. These Considerations made her with a sad Heart and weeping Eyes forsake the fruitful Limits of ingrateful *France*, and betake herself to her last but most uncertain Refuge. The Condition, that is truly miserable, finds few real Friends, but never wants Infidelity to increase its Sorrow.

Stapleton, Bishop of *Exeter*, who had fled to the Queen, and made himself a Sharer in this weighty

weighty Action, forsakes her Party. He seeing the *French* Hopes vanished, and these remaining so poorly grounded, thought to work his Peace by losing his Faith, and, in this Conceit, in haste returns for *England*. His Intelligence reconciles and wins him Favour, but it was purchased at too dear a Rate, that stained the Honour of so high a Calling, and made him most unworthy of so divine and grave a Profession.

By this Treachery, the King and *Spencers* understand both the Queen's Resolution and Weakness. They fear not the *German* Motions, that were a dull sad Nation, that seldom use to fight for nothing. Time hath at last brought our Royal *English* Pilgrims to the Shrine of their Devotion. The Earl of *Heinault*, a Man truly noble and virtuous, understanding her Arrival within the Precincts of his Jurisdiction, gives her a free and loving Welcome. This bountiful honest Earl esteems it his Glory to entertain so princely Guests like themselves, and to become the Patron of their so weak Condition. He had a Brother that made his Arms the Honour of his Profession, who thinks the Estate of this forsaken Queen, in Justice, deserved a true Relief and Pity. He tenders her his Service, and believes the Occasion happily offered; that might leave to ensuing Times the Memory of his Virtue, Worth, and Valour.

So fair a Morning puts the Queen in Hope, the Evening would prove as fortunate: By all those winning Graces of a distressed Beauty, she strives to confirm, and more engage, this first and fair Affection.

The Earl, having Knowledge of his Brother's Resolution, thought the Attempt too full of Hazard, and, with a grave and mild Temper, commending the Nobility and Greatness of his Spirit, adviseth him to quit the Action; he lays before him the Weakness of the Foundation, the Queen was in want of Men and Money, and had not such a Correspondency in *England*, as might warrant her against her incensed Husband, who was waited on by so warlike and valiant a Nation. He, in like Sort, acquaints him, how impossible a Thing it was, for him to raise such an Army, as might credit the Cause, and countenance the Beginning: True Valour consisting not in daring Impossibilities, but exposing itself where Reason, Judgment, and Discretion were the Leaders.

Sir *John*, with a quiet Patience, hears his Brother's Admonitions, which he knew sprung from the Freedom of an honest and a loving Heart,

but he imagined Age had robbed his Breast and Head of all their noble Vigour.

Sir (quoth he), *If you and all the World forsake this noble Lady, my single Arm shall maintain her Quarrel, since I had rather lose my Life than my Faith, so full and freely engaged. After Ages shall not blot the Glory of our House, so great and noble, with so inglorious a Stain of Baseness and Infidelity: Such Precedents are seldom seen, and ought to be more tenderly regarded. A Queen, and the Heir-apparent of so great a Crown, pleading so just a Pity, nor may, nor shall be forsaken. If, in the Reason of State, you list not to be an Actor, reserve yourself, and make not the King of England your Enemy. Know, I have both Arms and Friends, I will pawn them all, rather than, in the least Degree, falsify my Word and Promise.*

These Words, spoken with such a Resolution, and fearless Bravery, stopped all Reply and Contradiction. The Queen, that had already both a *French* and an *Italian* Trick, had no less Reason here to doubt it. She knew no Means would be left unattempted from her domestick Spies, to make her once more forsaken. This enforceth her with a more Importunity to hasten and advance her Enterprize. All the good Offices, that might spur on the inflamed Heart of her brave Protector, she makes the Handmaids of her female Wisdom. But, alas, they needed not her careful Agent; they had quickly gotten together a voluntary Troop of Three hundred well-resolved Gallants, that vow themselves to follow him, even into the Mouth of the Cannon. He stays not to increase his Number with a Multitude, but believes, if there were an answering Correspondency in the *English*, with these, to over-run the Kingdom. Arms, Shipping, and all Provisions necessary, attend their Coming. They, with the Glory of their Hopes, lead the revived Queen a Ship-board. Now do they expose themselves to the first Trial of their Fortune, aiming at *Donge Port*, to take their hoped Possession. The Heavens, that favoured their Design, out of their present Fear, preserve them beyond Belief or Expectation. Her Adversaries had a forerunning Knowledge of their intended Place of Landing, and had there provided to give them a hot and bitter Welcome. The raging Billows, and the blustering Winds, or rather the Divine Providence, after the second Day's Extremity, brings them a-land safe at *Orwel*, near *Harwich*.

wich. They were ignorant, being driven to and fro by the Violence of the Weather, what Part of the Kingdom they had light on; and were as much distressed with the unshipping of their Men and Baggage, as with the Want of Harbour and Victuals. Three whole Days in Disorder and Confusion, they make the bleak and yielding Sands their Habitation, perceiving the Vanity of their rash and desperate Attempt, which, in the least Opposition or Encounter, must have wrought their Confusion. It was in vain to attend longer here, where they saw so small Sign of better Entertainment; this makes them march on with this little weather-beaten Troop, to win and conquer a Kingdom. St. *Hammond's*, an Abbey of black Monks, was honoured with the Welcome of their long-lost Mistress; here she and her princely Son had their first Reception and Entertainment.

The Bruit of this Novelty, like a *Welsh* Hubbub, had quickly overtaken the willing Ears of the displeased Commons; who, ever desirous of Innovation, like Bees, in Swarms, do run to her Assistance. The Barons, so depressed, and unjustly grieved, with itching Ears, attend the News of this Advantage. When the Tidings of their Arrival came to their Knowledge, with so liberal a Relation, which made her Army ten times greater than it was, they lose no Time, for fear of some Prevention.

Henry of Lancaster was the first, who was seconded by many others of the braver Peers of the Kingdom. By this means the Queen and her adherent Strangers lose the Depth of that Agitation, that till now had kept them doubtful.

The King, that till this Time had slumbered out the Prologue of this ensuing Danger, secure in the Belief of the *Spencers* Strength and Providence, in so general a Revolt, awakens from his licentious Pleasure, and beholds nothing but a grim and fearful Face of Sorrow. The Council of his Cabinet, accompanied with their own Guilt, are affrighted in the sad Apparitions of their approaching Ruin. The Time of Prevention is lost, their abused Confidence had only laboured to shut the Gate, but not assured the Family. The present Necessity admits no long Deliberation; this Flame was too violent to be quenched, and such a Course is to be taken as may rather assure them Time to temporize, than with a strong Hand to strive to repel it.

The City's Guard is recommended to *Staple-*

ton, that had so unhappily, and with so little Credit, changed his Master. The King and the *Spencers* forsaken, but yet strongly attended with the Guilt of so many, and so foul Errors, fly to *Bristol*, a Town strong enough, and well provided. *Arundel*, and the Elder *Spencer*, undertake the Defence of the City, while the King, and the others, make the Castle their Hope and Refuge.

The Queen being informed, that the King had forsaken his Royal Chamber, and had stolen a Flight to *Bristol*, she soon apprehends, and lays hold of the Advantage, addressing a fair, but mandatory Letter to the Mayor, to keep the City, to the Use of her, and her Son, that was so like to be his Sovereign. The inconstant Citizens, that ever cleave to the stronger Party, are easily persuaded and intreated. *Stapleton*, that foresaw and feared the Danger, summons the Mayor to surrender him the Keys of the Gates for his Assurance. *Chickwell*, that was then Lord Mayor, incensed with the Imperiousness and Injustice of this Demand, apprehends this inconsiderate Bishop, and, without all Respect to his Place or Dignity, makes his Head the Sacrifice to appease the angry Commons. This Act had too far engaged him to recoil; he must now wholly adhere to the Queen's Faction. Four of the greatest and most substantial Burghers are sent, to let her truly understand their Devotion. They are graciously and lovingly received; the Mayor hath Thanks for his late bloody Act, which was stiled an excellent Piece of Justice.

This Gap thus stopped, with her Army she marcheth to the Cage that kept those Birds, whose Wings she would be clipping. She knew, if she struck not while the Iron was hot, the Heat of a popular Faction would quickly sink and lessen. All the Way of her Journey, she finds, according to Heart's Desire, a free and noble Welcome; her Troops, like Snow-balls, in her Motion more and more increasing. When she came before this great and goodly City, she saw it was a Strength by Art and Nature, and did believe it furnished to out-wear a Siege of long Continuance; which made both her and her Adherents more jealous, and suspect the Issue. Where the Person of an anointed King was at Stake, there could be no Assurance. But smiling Fortune, that had turned her Wheel, resolves this Doubt, and makes the Action easy. The Citizens, that knew not the Laws of War or Honour, will not expose their Lives and

and Goods to the Mercy of the Strangers, and the Hazard of an unruly Conquest. They had too much tasted the Afflictions of the Kingdom, to think the Quarrel just, or to adventure their Protection at so dear a Hazard, for those that had been the Cause and Instrument of so much Blood and Trouble.

From this Consideration, they send an humble Message to the Queen, and desire as well to capitulate for their Commanders, as their own Interest. All other Conditions are despised and disdained; if they will have Grace, they must purchase it with the Resignation and Delivering up their Captains. This Doom was esteemed heavy; they would have been glad, that she had had her Will; but were themselves unwilling to be the Actors. But the Time no more Imparlance admitted, neither could they have a Delay or Remedy. The Queen, that had won so far upon their yielding Hearts, knew their Condition well enough, and would not give them Respite, but calls upon their present Answer.

This round and smart Summons brings, with one and the same Art, *Arundel*, *Spencer*, and the City, into her Possession. This Part of the Prey thus gotten, no Time is lost to call them to a Reckoning. Sir *Thomas Wadge*, the Marshal of the Army, recites a short Calendar of their large Offences, when, by a general Consent, they are approved Guilty, and without Judge, or other Jury, they are sentenced to be drawn and hanged, and their Bodies to remain upon the Gibbet. The Rigour of this Doom *Spencer*, the Father, feels, that was Ninety Years old, and could not long have lived by the Course of Nature.

The Castle-walls, and the Eyes of the King, and his unhappy Son, were Witnesses of this sad Spectacle, and his Disaster. This *Prælude* gives them the Sense of their ensuing Story, which, with a world of melancholy Thoughts, they study to prevent or alter. A despairing Resolution at length wins them to a desperate Hazard. While the Queen was labouring to surprise their Fortress, which was like too long to hold good, if some Stratagem were not found to get it, there were no Citizens to betray them; it needed not; themselves were soon the Actors. They steal into a small Bark, that rode within the Harbour, hoping by this means to make an Escape undiscovered; they find the merciless Waves and Winds alike cruel. Twice had they gained *St. Vincent's Rock*, but, from that Reach, were hurried back, with sudden Gusts

and Tempests. The often Going off, and Return, of this unguided Pinnace begets a shrewd Suspicion. At length she is surprised, and in her Bulk is found that Treasure that ends the War, and gave the Work Perfection.

The King is comforted with the smooth Language of those which had the Honour to take him, and believes the Title of a King, Father, and Husband, would preserve his Life, if not his Sovereignty.

The Queen, having now made the Victory perfect, no Enemy, or other Work remaining, resolves with herself to use it to her best Advantage. Yet she gives her incensed Passion Pre-eminence; Revenge must precede her Desire, and strong Ambition. No sooner had Sir *Henry Beaumont* brought the imprisoned King, and his dejected Favourite, to the Army, but she dispatcheth away her Husband to *Barkley-Castle*, and *Spencer* is delivered over to the Marshal, and immediately hath the like Entertainment; only he hath somewhat a longer Time, and a far more cruel Sentence, than his Father. All Things thus ordered, the Queen removes to *Hereford*, and in all the Places of her Passage is welcomed with joyful Acclamations. With a kind of insultant triumphing Tyranny, far unworthy the Nobility of her Sex and Virtue, she makes her poor condemned Adversary, in a strange Disguise, attend her Progress. He was set upon a poor, lean, deformed Jade, and cloathed in a *Tabarce*, the Robe, in those Days, due to the basest Thieves and Rascals; and so was led through all the Market-Towns and Villages, with Trumpets sounding before him, and all the spiteful Disgraces and Affronts that they could devise to cast upon him.

Certainly this Man was infinitely tyrannical and vicious, deserving more than could be laid upon him; yet it had been much more to the Queen's Reputation and Honour, if she had given him a fair and legal Trial by his Peers, according to that antient and laudable Custom of *England*, wherein by his Death he might have given both the Law and his Adversaries a full Satisfaction. It is certainly, give it what other Title you will, an Argument of a wonderful base Condition, to insult or to tyrannize over those poor Ruins, which Fortune hath thrown into our Power. A noble Pity is the Argument of an honourable and sweet Disposition, and the Life of Man is great enough to expiate all Offences. To satisfy our Passions with the bitterest Extremity of our Power, may justly

justly be stiled rather a savage and barbarous Cruelty, than true and perfect Justice. No Question, it was a pleasing Sight to all the wronged Subjects, to see such a leprous Monster so monstrously used. But when the Heat of Blood was past, and Men had recollected their Senses, it then appeared to be too great a Blemish to a Queen, a Woman, and a Victor. But whether she were now weary with imposing, or he with suffering, *Hereford*, on a lofty Gibbet, of an extraordinary Height, erected on Purpose, gives him the End of all his Torments. Which being performed, Order is left behind for the Execution of *Arundel* four Days after, which is accordingly performed.

I could never yet read a fair and just Cause, why this Earl lost his Life, unless it may be counted Treason not to forsake his Lord and Master, to whom he had so solemnly sworn his Faith and Obedience. It certainly was no such capital Fault, to accompany and seek to defend his Sovereign, when he was by all others forsaken, that, by their Vows and Oaths, ought to have been as deeply engaged. If being taken with those that were so corrupt and wicked occasioned it, I see yet no Reason, why he alone was executed, and those, that, in their Knowledge, were his only Instruments and Creatures, were suffered to live, and be promoted. But we may not properly expect Reason in Womens Actions, whose Passions are their principal Guide and Mover.

Now she is come to *London*, and received with all the Honour due to so great a Queen and Conquest; the People croud to see her, and with applauding Shouts extol her, that, in the least Change of Fortune, would be the first should cut her Throat, or do her any other Mischief.

A Parliament is immediately called and assembled, in which the Pack was before-hand easily laid, for *Edward* had lost the Hearts and Love of all his People; the Errors and Abuses of the Kingdom are there, with too great a Liberty against a sacred King yet living, laid open and discoursed. All Men were of one Mind, a present Reformation must be had, which, in a true Construction, was but a mere politic Treason. The three Estates presently assent to the Deposition of the Elder, and raising the Younger *Edward*, to the sole Regimen and Guidance of the Kingdom; not a Peer, Bishop, Knight, or Burgess, speaks a Word in Defence of him that was their Master; but divers are sent from both Houses, to the yet King, to let

him know their Declaration. When they were come into his Presence, *Trussel*, Speaker in the lower House, in the Name of the whole Kingdom, resigned up all the Homage due to him, and then pronounceth the Sentence of his Deprivation.

Edward, that long before had Notice of these Proceedings, arms himself to receive it with Patience. He gives them back no Answer, knowing a Contestation or Denial might hasten on his Death, and a Consent had made him guilty, by his own Confession.

Thus did this unfortunate King, after he had, with perpetual Agitation and Trouble, governed this Kingdom Eighteen Years, odd Months and Days, lose it by his own Disorder and Impvidence, accompanied with the Treachery and Falshood of his own Subjects. And that which is most miraculous, an Army of three or four hundred Men entered his Dominions, and took from him the Rule and Governance, without so much as a Blow given, or the Loss of one Man, more than such as perished by the Hand of Justice. In a declining Fortune, all Things conspire a Ruin, yet never was it seen, that so great a King fell with so little Honour, and so great an Infidelity. But what could be expected, when, to satisfy his own unjust Passions, he had consented to the Oppressions of his Subjects, tyrannised over the Nobility, abused his Wedlock, and lost all fatherly Care of the Kingdom, and that Issue that was to succeed him? Certainly it is no less honourable than proper, for the Majesty and Greatness of a King, to have that same free and full Use of his Affection and Favour, that each particular Man hath in his economic Government; yet, as his Calling is the greatest, such should be his Care, to square them always out by those sacred Rules of Equity and Justice; for if they once transcend to exceed, falling into an Extremity, they are the Predictions of a fatal and inevitable Ruin. Let the Favourite taste the King's Bounty, and enjoy his Ear, but let him not engross it wholly, or take upon him the Sway and Governance of all the Affairs of his Master; this begets not more Envy than Multiplicity of Error, whose Effects do, for the most part, occasion a desperate Convulsion, if not the Destruction of that State, where it hath his Allowance and Practice. As Kings ought to limit their Favours, so ought they to be curious in the Election; for Persons of baser or meaner Quality, exalted, are followed at the Heels with a perpetual Murmur and Hatred.

Neither

Neither is it safe or proper, that all the principal Dignities, or Strengths of a Kingdom, should be committed to the Fidelity of any one particular Subject, though never so gracious or able. There must be then a Kind of impulsive Necessity still to continue his Power, and approve his Actions, else, having the Keys in his Hand, he may at all Times open the Gates to a foreign Trouble, or a domestic Mischief.

The Number of Servants, as it is the Master's Honour, so is the Knowledge of their Ability his Glory. Where, by a discreet Distribution, they find Variety of Employment, and are indifferently heard, both in Advice and Action, they more secure their Master's Safety and Greatness. Kings, in their Deliberations, should be swayed by the whole Body of a Council, and, in my Opinion, should take it ill, to have any Servant esteemed much wiser than his Master. Their Royal Glory should be pure and transparent, suffering not the least Eclipse or Shadow: Be the Advice of a single Wit never so grave and weighty, let the Act and Honour be solely the King's, which adds more and more to the Belief of his Ability and Greatness.

If once the Royal Heart be so given over to Sensuality, that the befitting and necessary Cares of a Kingdom seem a Burden, and, by Letter of Attorney, assigned over to the Fidelity of another, he is then, by his own Indiscretion, no more an absolute King, but at second-hand, and by Direction. It is the Practice, and not the theoretic Act of State that awes and assures the Heart of the Subject; this, being once doubtful or suspected, estrangeth the Will of our Obedience, and gives a Belief of Liberty to the Actions of Disorder and Injustice.

Neither is the Error and Imbecillity of a Crown more prejudicial to itself, than dangerous in the Example. Majestic Vanities and Vices find a ready Imitation and Practice, so that it may be concluded, an ill King may endanger the Virtue and Goodness of a whole Kingdom. Our Nature is prone to the worse Part, which we more readily are inclined to practise, with the Condition of Time, and so powerful and eminent a Precedent.

Kings that are subject to a natural Weakness, or grown to the Practice of any other particular Error, by Corruption, should act their Deeds of Darkness with such a reserved Secrecy and Caution, that there be not a Suspicion to taint him; for, if it once win an open Knowledge, besides the particular Aspersions, it brings with it an en-

suuing supposed Liberty of Practice, both in Court and State, by his Example.

As these are most proper to the Affections, so are there some as necessary Instructions for Kingly Passions, which, of the two, are more violent and dangerous.

Though it a-while delay the concluding Part of the History, yet my Pen must not leave them untouched. I must confess, if Man could master and govern these rebellious Monsters, he might justly merit rather the Name of an Angel than a mortal Creature. But this, in a true Perfection, is most impossible. It is yet, in Divinity and all moral Construction, the most absolute Master-piece of this our Pilgrimage, to dispose them so, that they wait on the Operations of the Soul, rather as obedient Servants, than loose and uncontrouled Vagabonds. A King, that is in these deficient, having so unlimited a Power, and making his Will his Law, in short Time loseth the Honour of his Calling, and makes himself a Tyrant. Intemperate and heady Actions beget but Disorder and Confusion, and if they end in Blood, without a Warranty of apparent Justice, or inevitable Necessity, they cry to Heaven for a deserved Vengeance. The Law hath Advantages and Punishments enough for those that lie at his Mercy. Let not incensed Haste betray the Royalty of a Crown, to make itself both Judge and Executioner. Kings are Gods on Earth, and ought in all their Actions to direct the Imitation after a Divine Nature, which inclines to Mercy more than Justice. Mens Lives, once lost, cannot be redeemed; there ought therefore to be a tender Consideration before they be taken, lest the Injustice of the Actor, in Time, be brought to suffer in the same measure. As is the Quality of the Fact, so is the Condition of his Agent to be maturely deliberated, wherein there may be such Dependencies, that it is for the Crown more profitable, safe, and honourable, to save, or delay the Execution of the Law, than to advance or hasten it. Howsoever, it is the more innocent and excellent Way, to offend in the better Part, and rather to let the Law, than once own Virtue and Goodness to be visibly deficient, and disesteemed. The Actions of Repentance are numbered with the Register of our Misdemeanours, where none appear more fearful than those, which an inconsiderate Fury, or the Violence of Passion, hath acted with too much Haste and Cruelty. Let then the Height of so great and excellent a Calling be suited with

with as sweet a Temper, neither too precipitate or slow, but with a steady and well-adviced Motion.

As these Considerations are in the one Part necessary, so ought there to be a correspondent Worth and Care in him that hath the Happiness to enjoy in so great a Measure his Royal Master's Ear and Favour. If the Actions of the King be never so clear and innocent, yet he must favour or protect the Error of so great a Servant, which makes him an Accessary, if not an Actor, in the unjust Oppression of his Kingdom. It is not Discretion, neither hath it any Society with the well grounded Rules of Wisdom, for the Subject to exalt or amplify the Height of his own Glory; it is, in the Eye of all, too great a presuming Insolence, and Kings themselves will rather alter their Affections, than to be outshined or dazled in their own Sphere or Element.

He that hath made his Master's Love, and hath ascended the Stairs of his Preferment, should make the same Virtue the Stay of his Advantage, framing his Carriage to his Equals and Inferiors with a like sweet and winning Temper. If he swerve from this sacred Rule, and arrive to win Fear, or a vain Adoration, let him know, the first is the Companion of Trust and Safety, the other of a jealous Diffidence, that must betray his Life and Honour.

But, to return to our History, which now removes *Edward*, the Father, to *Killingworth*, where he remains under the Keeping of the Earl of *Lancaster*, while his unripe Son is crowned King; and the Queen, with *Mortimer*, take into their Hands the whole Sway and Administration of the Kingdom. Their first Act sends *Baldok*, the Lord Chancellor, to *Newgate*; a fit Cage for such a Haggard, though far unworthy the Eminency of his Height and Dignity.

Now do the recollected Spirits of the Kingdom begin to survey and examine the Injustice of that Act, that had disrobed and put down a King, their unquestionable Sovereign, that had been so solemnly anointed, and so long enjoyed the Regimen of the Kingdom: They find the Condition of their Estate but little altered, and, according to the Vanity of their Hearts, are as ready to attempt a new Innovation. Many Suits are made to the King, and the Protectors, to release him out of his Imprisonment; but all prove vain and fruitless. The *Black Friars* were, in this Request, more earnest; who, in their Denial, sought to bring it to pass by Force

or Surprisal. They make *Donhead*, one of their Number, their Captain; but he knew better the Use of Church-Ornaments, than how to handle his Weapons, or manage an Army; he is intercepted, and sent to Prison, where he dies, before he had so much as mustered his Congregation.

This Cloud dispersed, the Queen believes it a fit Time to take her Leave of her assistant Strangers, who mainly hasten their Departure. She was unwilling they should be Witnesses to the unnatural succeeding Tragedy, which was too much for her own Kingdom, and unfit for the Strangers Climate, which was filled with the Belief of her Virtue and Honour. She liberally and freely requites, to each Particular, the Minute of his Pains and Travel; but Sir *John of Heinnault*, and the better Sort, are honoured with many rich Jewels and Gifts, besides continuing Annuities, and annual Revenues. They hold themselves nobly contented, and, taking a solemn Leave, are honourably attended to *Dover*, leaving the Kingdom with a merrier Eye, than when they first beheld it.

Now is the Earl of *Lancaster*, who, though he had least Cause, was nobly disposed towards his old Master, removed; and delivers over his Charge, by Indenture, to Sir *Morice Barkely*, and Sir *John Mattrevers*, who led him back to his first Place of Imprisonment, where, in the Presence of his Keepers, he one Day, in a melancholy Passion, doth thus discourse his Sorrows:

Alas! Is my Offence so great, that it deserves nor Pity nor Assistance? Is human Piety and Goodness so wholly lost, that neither in Child, Wife, Servant, or Subject, appears the least Expression of Love or Duty? Admit my Errors unexcusable, wherein I will not justify myself, nor accuse others: Though it hath taken from me the Glory of my former Being, I am yet a Father and a Husband; these Titles are without the Jurisdiction of Fortune. If I be so, where, is the Affection and Duty that becomes the Child and Wedlock? Sure, my Misery hath not made me such a Basilisk, or Monster, that my Sight should beget or Fear or Hatred; can they believe a Danger in the Visitation of a poor distressed Captive? I know their hardened Hearts are not so noble, and apt for Compassion, that they need suspect themselves, or me, in so poor a Courtesy. What then occasions this Neglect or Estrangement? Are they not content to enjoy all that was mine,

as yet, by the Laws of God, Man, and Nature, but they must despise and forsake my withered Ruins?

Alas! I know my poor Children are innocent, both they, and my injurious Queen, are betrayed by cunning, wicked Mortimer; whom, if I had paid with his just Desert, when Heaven, and his own Guilt, had laid him at my Mercy, I had not lived to endure this Affliction, nor he to be the insulting Instrument of my Dishonour. But Time, and this sad Trial, hath taught me Patience, and learned me how to know the Height of my Misfortunes, which (if my divining Spirit err not) will not be long unseen and unrevenged. Am I unworthy to be seen? I am then unfit to live, and will receive it as a well-becoming Pity, if my Death may send me hence, from this so great a Sorrow.

When he had thus ended, and, with a few manly Tears, smothered in the Depth of that heart-breaking Sigh, that enforced his Silence, he was, by one of his Attendance, made this rough uncivil Answer.

‘ My Lord, your Wife and Children are jealous, and fearful of your cruel furious Nature, whereof both they and the Kingdom have too true a Knowledge to trust you: Besides, they are informed, your Resolution is fixed to do them Mischief, if they approach your Danger. This keeps your Queen from you she once so truly loved.

My Queen (quoth he) hath she that remaining Title, while I, that made her so, am less than nothing? Alas, poor wretched Woman? Hath she, nor could she find no other more tolerable Excuse than this, so faint a pretended Fear and Danger? Is there a Possibility in her Suspicion? Or have I the Means (if I were so resolved) to do it, that am here a poor forsaken Man, as far from Power as Comfort? And, Fellow, thou that takest so audacious and sawcy a Liberty, to character thy Soverign's Disposition, which thou art bound to honour, and not to question: Know, Edward's Heart is as free from thy base Aspersions as thine from Truth or Honesty.

When he had ended these Words, he retires himself to his Chamber, sad and melancholy, believing his Case was hard and desperate, when so base a Groom durst Face to Face affront him.

The Queen and *Mortimer*, revelling now in the Height of their Ambition and Felicity, had yet a wary Eye to the Main, which they knew did principally rest on the Safeguard and sure Keeping of the deposed King. Though they had all the Marks and essential Parts of an absolute Sovereignty, the Name alone excepted, yet they had unquiet and troubled Thoughts, in the Fear and Imagination of loosing it. They saw their plausible Incomes were dully continued, and there was a beginning Murmur against the Manner of their Proceedings. They knew there was no Constancy in the People, that would be as ready to take them off, as they were to bring them on, in any new Stirring or Innovation. The Lords, that were their principal Supporters, were content, but not satisfied, all Things concurring to make them suspect their own Condition.

Edward the Father's Faults were extenuated, his Vices ascribed to those that had betrayed him, and his Estate infinitely pitied, that had so dishonourable an Usage, far short of what in Justice appertained to the Honour of his first Calling. These Reports made their Ears tingle and incite them in Time to think upon some befitting Remedy. Many Ways and Devices art thought upon, but they are all subject to some manifest Imperfection. On this *Mortimer* falls to the Matter roundly, and tells the Queen plainly, That there is no Way left to make all sure, but absolutely to take away the Cause, and to leave the Party by *Edward's* Death hopeless, that, by his Life, sought to make a new Combustion.

The Queen, whose Heart was yet innocent of so deep a Transgression, was deeply and inwardly troubled with this unhappy Proposition. She believed his sufferings were already greater than his Faults, and was unwilling to stain the Opinion of her Worth and Virtue, with so fowl an Act of Injustice. She was assured it could not be so done, but it would be discovered; if the Eyes of Men could be blinded, yet that all-knowing Power of Heaven would reveal and punish it. Such deep Actions of crying Sins are seldom long unrevenged, which made her most unwilling, that her Consent should pass, or be assistant. To kill a King, her Husband, that had once so dearly loved her, was more than an Act of Blood; nor could she expect, but that the Son, grown up, would revenge the Death of the Father. *Therefore (quoth she)*

N

sweet

Sweet Mortimer, let us resolve rather any other Hazard, than this which is waited on with so great Infamy and certain Ruin.

Mortimer replies, Madam, who hath the Benefit of Time, and neglects the Advantage, if he fall, is justly unworthy Pity or Compassion. Have you exposed yourself to all the bitter Trials of Fortune, suffering, so meanly, so many Miseries; and having overcome them according to your Desire, are you willing to return to your own Condition, and former Sorrow? If it be so, Mortimer is wretched, in sacrificing his Devotion and Heart to such a female Weakness. In Cases of Extremity, a Tenderness of Conscience beget a certain Danger, nor is it disproportionable so to continue a Crown, that by Blood was gotten and surprised; had Edward known I should have lived to see his Ruin, my Head had paid my Ransom. The Impressions of Fear make his Subject less in Sense than Apparition; think not me of so poor a Brain, but I as well know how to work as move it; such Actions are not to be done, but such a Way as may prevent Proof, if not Suspicion. But why do I seek thus to charm your Ears, if you be willing he shall live, let him; let the inclining People set him free, to call you to an Account for his Oppression; let him parallel his Spencer's Death in your Affliction; perhaps he will spare you for your Brother's Sake, who, he knows, so dearly loves you, and did so bravely witness it in your Affliction; perhaps he will suffer you still to guide the Crown, and your fair Son to wear it. If you be pleased, you may abide the Trial. Mortimer's resolved, since you neglect his Judgment, you will as soon forget his Service, which he will in Time prevent, before it be debarred.

With this, he flings away, as if he meant, to give his words a real Execution. The amazed Queen pursues and overtakes him.

Stay, gentle Mortimer (quoth she) forgive my Error, I am a Woman fitter to take Advice than give it. Think not I prize thy Love so little as to lose thee. If Edward must die, I will not seek to divert it; only I thus much beg, I may not be Partaker, or privy to the Time, Means, or Manner.

Madam, leave that to me, who will, alone, both undertake the Act and Danger; all I require from you, is, but to seal a Warrant to change his former Keepers.

Sir *Morris Barkley* had been tampered with al, and was so far from Consent, that he plainly declared he did abhor the Action. This Answer suddenly dischargeth him, and commits his Master's Guard to Sir *Thomas Gourney*, and his former Partner *Mattrevers*. They, having received both their Warrant and Prisoner, convey him to *Cork-Castle*, the Place in all the World he most hated. Some say, he was foretold, by certain magick Spells, that this Place was to him both fatal and ominous. But, whatsoever the Cause was, he was, at his first Arrival, deeply sad and passionate. His Keepers, to repel this Humour, and make him less suspicious, feed him with pleasant Discourse, and better Entertainment, while his misgiving Spirit was heavy, sad, and melancholly.

The Night before his Death, he supped heartily, and went to Bed betimes; scarcely were his heavy Eyes locked up in silent Slumber, when his forsworn traiterous Murderers enter his Chamber, and, finding him asleep, inhumanly and barbarously stifled him, before he could avoid or resist it. The Writers differ mainly in the Manner of his Death, but all conclude him murdered; yet so, that the Way, on Search and View, could not be known or discovered. A small Passage of time gave the most Part of all these Actors of his Death an End fit for their Deserts, and this so bloody an Action. Their several Relations and Confessions occasion so many various Reports, and different Kinds of Writing; the Truth whereof is not much material, since all agree, he came to an unnatural and untimely Death.

Thus fell that unhappy King *Edward the Second*, who was Son and Father to two of the most glorious Kings that ever held the Monarchy of the *English Nation*. Main Reasons are given probable enough to instance the Necessity of his Fall, which, questionless, were the secondary Means to work it. But his Doom was registered by that inscrutable Providence of Heaven, who, with the self-same Sentence, punished both him and *Richard the Second*, his great Grandchild, who were guilty of the same Offences. The Example of these two so unfortunate Kings, may be justly a leading Precedent to all Posterity.

Certainly, we have had other Kings as faulty and vicious, that have overlived their Errors, and died not by a violent Hand, but by the ordinary and easy Course of Nature. The Condition and Quality of these was not, in themselves

selves, more perilous and exorbitant, than hurtful and dangerous to the Estate, Peace, and Tranquillity of the whole Kingdom. If, by Height of Youth, Height of Fortune, or a corrupt natural Inclination, the Royal Affections loosely fly at Random; yet, if it extend no farther than the Satisfaction of the proper Appetite, it may obscure the Glory, but not supplant the Strength and Welfare of a Monarchy. But when it is, in itself, not only vicious and ill affected, but doth patrocine and maintain it in other's, not blushing in such a Justification, it is a forerunning and presaging Evidence, that betokens a fatal and unpitied Ruin.

It is too much in a King, that hath so great a Charge delivered to his Care and Custody, to be dissolute, or wantonly given; but when it falls into a second Error, which makes more Kings than one in the self-same Kingdom, he opens the Way to his own Destruction. The Subjects Hearts, as they are obliged, so are they continued by the Majesty and Goodness of a King; if either of these prove prostitute, it unties the Links of Duty and Allegiance, and hunts after Change and Innovation.

It is of so singular and great a Consequence, that Kings ought to be well advised, and sparingly to accumulate their Honours and Favours, wherein both the Time, Person, and Occasion, ought to be both worthy and weighty; for the Eye of the Subject waits curiously on his Actions, which finding them degenerating from his own Greatness, and inclinable to their Oppression, vary their Integrity to a murmuring Discontent, which is the Harbinger to a Revolt and Mischiefe. Nor is it proper (if the Sovereign's Affections must dote) that the Object of their Weakness should sway the Government of the Kingdom. Such an Intermixion begets Confusion and Error, and is attended by a perpetual Envy and Hatred.

Is it possible, but there must be perpetual Error and Injustice, where all Things are carried more by Favour and Affection, than Law and Reason? Nor can the lesser Fountains be clear when the main Spring that feeds them is tainted and polluted? Alas, common and familiar Experience tells, that the Actions and principal

Use of a Favourite is to make good, by his Strength and Favour, those Designs that are, in themselves, unjust, perverse, and insupportable.

A good Cause, in the Integrity of Time, needs no Protection, but its own Innocence; but where the sacred Rules of Justice are inverted, the Sincerity of the Law abused, the Conscience of the Judge corrupted or enforced, and all things made mercenary, or carried by indirect Favour, what Expectation can there be, but that Kingdom, which is the Theatre of so infamous a Practice, should fall speedily into a fearful and desperate Convulsion? Though the Histories of these Times are plentifully stored, and few Common-wealths are free from the Examples of this Nature, yet I shall not need any other Instance, than the Story of this unfortunate Prince, whose Time presents a perfect Mirror, wherein ensuing Kings may see how full of Danger and Hazard it is, for one Man's Love, to sell the Affections and Peace of the whole Kingdom.

Had *Edward*, in his own Particular, been far worse than he was, he might have still subsisted; but when for his inglorious Minions, *Gaveston* and *Spencer*, who successively engross him, he fell to those injurious and dissolute Actions, that made all Men, and the Kingdom, pray to their insolent and imperious Humours, he quickly found both Heaven and Earth resolved to work his Ruin. Not only his own, but theirs, and those of their ignoble Agents, were made his proper Errors, which took so wholly from him the Love and Hearts of his Subjects, that he found neither Arms nor Tongue to defend him. A more remarkable Misery, I think, no Time of ours produceth, that brings this King to Destruction, without so much as any one Kinsman, Friend, or Subject, that declared himself in his Quarrel.

But he found the climacterick Year of his Reign, before he did expect it: And made that unhappy Castle, which he ever hated, the Witness of his cruel Murder; where I must leave him, 'till he find a more honourable Place of Burial, and my weary Pen a fortunate Subject that may invite it to some other new Relation.

A LETTER to Mr. *SERJANT*, a *Romish* Priest, concerning the Impossibility of the Publick Establishment of *Poper*y here in *England*.

May 19, 1672.

S I R,

SINCE I was last with you I have thought of what you said, *that 'ere long all our Parish Churches would be in your Possession*. This hath occasioned me to write (I will not say my Advice) but my Opinion: That you and your Clergy should not attempt that which I perceive you have already in your Speculations. They who know the History of your Services in the last Wars, and since, must acknowledge that you have deserved well of your Prince, in that not only you asserted his Cause in the Field with the Loss of a Limb, but which is more, you discovered to one of his great Ministers of State the Design of the *Roman* Catholicks, managed by Sir *Kenhelm Digby*, and Father *Holden*, an *English* Sorbonist to put their Part of this Nation under the Subjection and Patronage of *Oliver*. It is in Respect to you, and so many as are of your Loyalty as well as *Religion*, that I wish in the Game they now play, by venturing high, they may not loose all. You are much mistaken, if from a Toleration you conclude an Assurance of publick Establishment. It is one Thing to gain a favourable Look, another, that one should so fall in Love, as to espouse your Cause. Consider the Difficulties, if not, Impossibilities, which in great Number oppose your Hopes. The Chiefest, as you ought to apprehend, is the firm Resolution of the King, to defend the *Church of England*, as it yet stands; a Resolution in him so unmoveable, that neither an Interest in mighty Princes, obtainable by such an Exchange, could invite, nor the Arguments of Military Men could perswade him to renounce that Church, from which he then * received no Advantage, but the Satisfaction of her Communion, and suffering in her Defence. You cannot but know withal, that, to believe him

inclined to you is to commit Treason in your Hearts, since that, to say so, is declared Treason by an Act of Parliament. But, if you should prove so sanguine and full of Fancies, as to believe what was formerly ineffectual, might now prevail; I cannot commend your Judgment, except you shew, that either your Religion is better, or else that Interest doth more strongly draw the King towards you now than heretofore. For the former Part, Religion you say it ought not in the least to be altered; and we acknowledge, if it were reformed, it will be less worth to the Clergy. For the other, concerning Interest of State, if it dissuade under those Circumstances, much more will it at this Day. In those Times he might by his Course, have been restored to three Kingdoms. Now he would hereby give up half his Jurisdiction, to wit, Supremacy; and, after a While, a good Part of his Revenue, the appendant Possessions of his Supremacy. But this is not the Worst; for, besides this, by setting up Popery, he sets up the Pope as his Colleague and fellow Sovereign in all his Majesties Dominions. He gives him, at once, all the Clergy, and implicitly as many as they frighten with Purgatory and Hell. — To obey God's Vicar rather than Man. This hath been done, not in the Case of the Church alone, but in temporal Quarrels betwixt him and other Princes. But, if you still hold the Conclusion against unanswerable Objections, what Means, pray, can you propose, whereby this may be accomplished? Exercise all your imaginative Power fancy any Thing, though never so unlikely, to be granted or practised, so it be but in the utmost Degree of Possibility. There are but two Ways to do it, either by Parliament, and you cannot expect that this Parliament, which appeared so earnest against your Toleration, should set you up as the National Church. And if you hope this Parliament may

* In the Time of his Banishment and the Grand Rebellion.

quickly

quickly die of old Age, and that another more favourable to the Distressed may sit in their Rooms, you will find yourselves mistaken; and that it is not your Party shall be the Men, but rather such, who, though they served your Turn, never loved you when they were uppermost.

Let me farther advise you not to forfeit your Discretion so far, as to expect as sudden a publick Change of Religion now by a Parliament, as was in Queen *Mary's* Days; then the Reformation had only been begun by King *Edward* his six Years Reign, and carelessly managed by the greatest Persons under him, whose chiefest Aims appear to be quite another Thing: So that thereby, whilst they neglected to bring over the Country Gentlemen to Protestantism, they confirmed them in Popery. Thence was it, that the *Romanists* might much better promise themselves to be restored under that Queen, than at these Years when People still remember her; and for several Generations have been reconciled to the Reformation by Writings in those Controversies, and held in by penal Laws—, and estranged from *Rome* by 88. * and the 5th of *November* †. Now you cannot look for any Good from a Parliament, you may rightly dread their Displeasure; especially if you should stretch your Liberty of Conscience to the Perverting of other Men's: For do what you can and declaim never so much against a Parliamentary Religion; the Commons will have a Committee for Religion, or else Liberty and Privilege are utterly lost. So that you ought by a private Exercise of your Worship, and a peaceable Demeanor, to provide for the Coming of a Parliament, as by Repentance Men do for Death, because it cannot be avoided, but may be made less hurtful.— By this Time, I suppose, you may have laid aside all Hopes of being advanced by a Parliament, and cast your Thoughts towards a standing Army; certainly you will find this Conceit as airy as any of the rest, for (besides that he, whose Authority should raise it, intends you

no more than a bare and limited Toleration) there are very many and obvious Hinderances of that Project: The Kingdom, being an Island, takes away the Pretences hereof, which are allowed by our powerful Neighbours, and allowed by Reason of their Situation. So that, on the Surmises of such a Thing, the mutinous Temper of this Climate would appear as jealous of their Liberties, as in some Countries Men are of their Wives. And withal, where could you raise Men for the Service? Your own Gentlemen of Estates would not endure Foreigners; and they must necessarily want home-born Soldiers, there being not a sufficient Number of your Religion, and of none to give the Law of Arms to all your Adversaries. And where will you get the main Weapon, Money? Though your Religion should open their Stock, and Treasure as for a holy War, yet, in a little Time, either their Stock or their Zeal would be spent, and then an Army in its own Country cannot so easily get Bread by the Sword, as labouring Men can do by the Spade. For Proof of this, you may call to Mind how that both Rump and Army were well nigh famished into a *Dissolution* when the Country declared they would pay no more Taxes. In such Necessities, Soldiers, like Beasts of Prey, will fall one upon another and devour their Keepers too; and, if you believe them to be wholly mercenary, they are never so likely to be hired to a Design contrary to their former Commission, as when their Masters cannot pay, nor their Enemies can be plundered, yet will freely part with Money upon their own Terms. You see, Sir, how I have followed your Propagators through all, both probable and wild Methods, which they can invent; all which appearing unprofitable and unlikely, they will not surely like vain Projectors waste what they have, for that which they can never obtain.—

Your Servant —

* The Time of the *Spanish* Invasion, with their *invincibili Armado*, as they were pleased to term it; tho' God brought it to nothing; the Particulars whereof will be printed in this Collection.

† The Day when the Papists had contrived to destroy the three Estates of the Nation assembled in Parliament, by Blowing them up with Gunpowder, and since called *The Gunpowder Plot*, or *Treason*.

The apparent Danger of an Invasion, briefly represented in a Letter to a Minister of State. By a *Kentish* Gentleman. MDCCI.

S I R,

THE present Posture of publick Affairs abroad has such a terrible Aspect upon the Liberties of *Europe* in general, that *France* will have no Reason to wonder, if all the Princes and States of *Europe*, which are its Neighbours, should take the Alarm at her late Conduct since the Treaty of *Reswick* * I am sure it would be a very great wonder with me, and Posterity too, if, after so late and notorious a Violation of a solemn Treaty, we should take her Word again, and trust to her Engagements, unless we can oblige her to perform them †.

She has, undoubtedly, her Envoys and her Instruments in all Countries ‡, especially here, who, with great Artifice and subtle Insinuations, will tempt the Easy and the Ignorant by Colours and Pretences of her good Meaning, that she has no farther Design than maintaining the Duke of *Anjou's* Succession §, and all her Neighbours, that will own Him, shall be, if they please, Her dear Friends and Confederate.

But what wise Men can be found? Nay, one may venture to say, Where can you shew me that Blockhead that has Brains little enough to believe her? And yet a *Frenchman* has so much Confidence in the Folly of all other Nations, and in his own Dexterity to play the Knave, that with very great Assurance he obtrudes his Flattery, and expresses his Friendship and Esteem for you, when his own Conscience gives

him the Lye, and he is carrying on a Design at the same Time to cut your Throat.

Every Body knows it was but in *October* last, that all the Courts of *Europe* were, in Show at least, earnestly solicited to enter into the Treaty of Partition; and all the huffing and sneaking Arguments were used by your *Guis—ds* and your *Amel—ts*, for two or three Months together to prevail upon the *Italians* and *Germanians* §, great and little; but, in the midst of all this Banter and Grimace, arrives an Express with the King of *Spain's* Death and *Anjou's* Succession, and what Part does my little *Franculus esuriens* ** act upon so sudden a Change?

Why, out he sets as briskly as can be with a new Memorial, fawns and hectors, *en bon Francoise*, desires your Patience a little, while his Master, like a true Son of old *Eunius*, steals away half a dozen Kingdoms and Dukedoms; and then promises (believe him if you dare) to be a very good Musselman, — till the next Opportunity ††.

There is a certain very worthy Gentleman |||, and true *Englishman* too, who was aware of this, and gave us his Advice, in very honest Terms, in the Year 98, but *Thrift* and *Distrust*, Two wary Devils, opposed his Design; and what the Force of Foreigners, in 10 Years War, could never do, the Foly of a few true-born *Englishmen* effected in a Trice; viz. Subdued the Hero, and ridiculed the Politician.

* The same may justly be remarked of the *French* Behaviour since the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

† By first reducing her to so low a Condition, as to oblige her to an honourable Peace, and so to watch her Intrigues, and check her illegal Aspirings in Time of Peace, as to prevent her Capacity ever to become troublesome to the Liberties of her Neighbours any more.

‡ See Page 19, in Number I.

§ To the Crown of *Spain*, by which Union *France* promised herself to gain a Power to give Laws to all *Europe*, as her Attempts from that Time will prove.

§ Was not this the very Method taken by *France*, to deprive the Empire of its Liberties, and to ruin the House of *Austria*, before this War broke out?

** Hungry *Frenchman*, who grasps at all Power.

†† To take what more he can get from you.

||| K—'s Speech.

We chose, at that Time, rather to trust our good Neighbour with a standing Force of 150000 Foreigners, than, at the End of the War, suffer 10 or 20000 Swords and Musquets to continue in the Hands of our own Countrymen, for Fear, I suppose

That Englishmen should Englishmen subdue.

I confess they have a pretty good Hand at betraying their Country, but, for my Part, I was for trusting them at that Time, and ever shall, before any Foreigners.

§. But our Fleet was disarmed, and our Land-Forces reduced, from 84 to 7000 Men, that is full $\frac{1}{12}$ s. And when we had stripped ourselves thus naked, and invited the Assyrians into our Land, you will ask me, How it came to pass, that we have not had a second Invasion from Normandy or Picardy, and that the French have not, before this, taken up their Quarters within the Weekly Bills, and with our Friends at Rochester and Sittingborn. Why truly, I must tell you, not for Want of good Will, and good Opportunity too (we thank our Masters) but they had other Game in Chace; the lingering Sickneses of the late King of Spain put Versailles in a constant Alarm every Post; for Spain and the Indies, ever since 1660, were decreed for Usurpation*; and if your Montaloe's and Portocarrero's had failed of their Treason the Ratio ultima Regum was at Hand; viz. A good Train of Artillery, and an 100000 Men. When this morsel was swallowed, it would be Time enough to look after England, and the Outskirts of Europe: Who in the mean Time are to be hushed, if possible, with specious Proposals and Golden Mountains, till my little Master † is well settled at Madrid. And then her Highness the Dutches of Burgundy will put in her Claim to the Crown of England, and we may defend the Protestant Heir or Possessor if we can, when her Grandfather ‡ has over-run Italy and the Netherlands, and taken Possession of all the Parts in Holland. He has already made such quick Approaches towards that unfortunate Country, that the People are in the highest Consternation; and, if we suffer them to be devoured, the next Step he takes will be for England.

And he has so many and so considerable Reasons to invade us at this very Juncture, that

some Mysteries of State, undiscoverable at present, or a mighty Infatuation alone can hinder him. The People on our Coasts are so sensible of their defenceless Condition, especially since the French Troops entered so unexpectedly, and all at one Moment, into all the Frontier Towns in the Spanish Flanders, that they expect every Morning to hear they have put Garrisons into Dover, Rye, and Shoreham, and it is almost as easy and quick a Passage from Calais and Dunkirk, to Harwich, Dunwich, and Yarmouth. The Passage between us and them is so short, that five or six Hours is Time enough to execute such a Design in any Part of Kent.

Julius Caesar, who had but indifferent Pilots, and Vessels that were ill Sailors, came over in a Night: And William the Conqueror crossed a wider Part of the Channel, viz. from Bologn to Pevensey, in a few Hours, and both of them succeeded so well by the Folly and Divisions of our Ancestors, that it is our good Luck if our Enemies do not take the Advantage of our present Circumstances to make a Trial of our boasted English Valour, and see, how many of the Fourteen-hundred Thousand Names, contained in the Associations lodged in the Tower of London, dare shew their Faces in the Field against the Marshal de Bouffleurs at the Head of Twenty or Thirty-thousand Veterans.

I pretend not to the Skill of a Marshal, and you do not mistake me, I am sure, for a Conjuror in Affairs of State; and yet I will venture to affirm, upon the little Experience I have had in a Military Station, and a pretty long Acquaintance with the Humour of a People under a Panick Fear, that, were I of the Interest and Religion and in pay of Monsieur at Versailles, I should no more question the Success of invading England, at this Time, till about a Month or Six Weeks hence, than I do my Meeting with you next Year at Tunbridge-wells in the Season.

And, upon Peril of my Head, I would undertake, as old as I am, to land with about Twenty-thousand Foot, and Two-thousand Dragoons on next Monday Morning in any Part of Kent, or Suffex, from Dover to Chichester, and with little or no Opposition continue my March towards your populous City, and quarter my Troops in London, Westminster, and Southwark, by Saturday next, so as to hear high Mass on Sunday Morning, at St. Paul's,

* By the King of France.

† The Duke of Anjou.

‡ The King of France.

and dissolve your Parliament the *Monday* following.

This you may think a little unlikely, and I wish it were morally impossible; but, I think, I can make it appear a very feasible Enterprize. I will suppose then the *Marshal de Boufflers* at *Dunkirk*, or *Calais*, this very *Saturday Night*, embarking his Men, and setting sail at one or two in the Morning, with a fresh Gale at *East*, what shall hinder him from crossing the Channel in five or six Hours, but a Tempest, or a Fleet, in that very Place? The first we cannot expect, and the latter we have not ready, so that, land he will in Spite of our Barks and our Fishermen of *Kent*. When his Troops are debarked, we will suppose they rest them one Day, and, by that Time, it may be, another Reinforcement arrives; what now will hinder him from bending his March directly for *London*, and coming thither in the Time before-mentioned, but a sufficient Body of Men to meet him by the Way? And nothing but an equal Force will do, for the Battle of *Cressy* is long since forgotten, and the Name of an *Englishman*, I will assure you, is no such Bugbear to a *Frenchman* at this Time of Day.

But where are the Forces we should draw together? As for the *Dutch*, *Hannibal* is at their *Gates*, and they cannot spare a single *Battalion*, and, if they could twenty *Monsieur Boufflers* may march to *York*, before they can all embark, for they do not lie ready quartered in their Ports, as the *French* do in theirs. And for our Handful of 7000 standing Forces, if you fill all the *Northern* and *Western* Garrisons with our *Militia*, it will be a Fortnight, at least, before they can meet in a Body on *Hounslow-beath*, which will be too late. And then for our *Militia* of *London* and *Westminster*, which may make a Body of Ten or Twelve-thousand Men, and can soonest assemble themselves; do you, imagine, they will march towards *Dover*, and with the Assistance of a little Mob, venture to give Battle to disciplined Troops? If they should have so much Courage, and so little Discretion, I expect little more from such an Attempt, than what was done by Eight or Ten-thousand Club-man, who rose in the late Civil

War in the Counties of *Wilt*s, *Somerset* and *Dorset*, and were dispersed by half a Dozen Troops of the *Parliament-Horse*. The *City Militia*, I believe, is our best; but what Discipline can Men have, who appear in Arms but once a Year, march in to the *Artillery-ground*, and there wisely spend the Day in *Eating*, *Drinking*, and *Smoking*; in *Storming* half a Score *Sir-loins* of Beef and *Venison-pasties*; and, having given their Officers a *Volley* or two, and, like so many idle Boys with *Snow-balls* fooled away a little *Gunpowder*, return Home again as ignorant as they went out, and as fit to fight the *French* at *Blackheath*, as one of our little *Yachts* is to engage the *Britannia*.

And, besides this, which I have not represented to the worst Disadvantage, there are other prodigious Difficulties that would perplex us upon such an Invasion; we have so many *Cataline's* and *Portocarrero's* amongst us, that would not fail to betray us, so many religious Bigots that are bewitched with a tender Conscience for the Right of old *Pharaoh* *, so many hardy Villains, and desperate Miscreants, that are for Plunder, and a prevailing Power †, and so many lukewarm heartless Coxcombs, that will stand still to see themselves undone, or run away by the Light of their own Houses; and so very few, whatever they pretend, that will stand by the King with their Lives and Fortunes, and fight for their Religion, Laws and Liberties; in short, we are so crumbled into Factions, Civil and Religious, so debauched from the old *English* Virtue and Valour and so destitute of the true Love to our Country and real Principles of Honour, so ripe for a Civil War at Home, and so exposed to an Invasion from Abroad, that our Enemies are altogether infatuated, if they do not lay hold on this Opportunity, in a Week or two; and we are all utterly undone if they do, unless a Miracle be wrought to save us.

England is now the only Nation in *Europe*, that hath any Remains of substantial Liberties; for Arbitrary Power, like a mighty Deluge, has in a Manner over spread the Face of the whole Earth, and is ready to break in upon us ‡ with an irresistible Fury, unless we make ready to

* The Family of the *Stewarts*.

† It is a general Observation in all Rebellions, that the Mobile take Part with a powerful Invader, because they have nothing to lose, and hope to better their Condition upon the Ruin of those that maintain their Religion and Laws.

‡ If overcome by the *French* Invasion.

withstand it. *Holland* stands now exposed to Military Execution, and so do the Counties of *Kent* and *Surrey*, who have Forty or Fifty-thousand Men ready to land upon them at a Day or two's Warning from *Boulogne*, *Calais*, *Gravelin*, *Dunkirk*, *Newport*, and *Ostend* *, there is but a Hair's Breath betwixt us and Ruin.

We have been so long fitting ourselves by our Vices and our Treachery for Conquest and Slavery, that I fear you have scarce Ten-thousand Men left in City and Country, that have Spirit and Bravery enough to march to our Assistance, whenever we have Occasion. You will be sure to have as early Notice, as is possible, for our Fears make us as watchful, as we hope you are indefatigable to provide for our Security.

We cannot forget how the *French* Troops treated the Inhabitants of the *Palatinate*, in 1688 †, when they intirely ruined a Country on both Sides the *Rhine*, as large as *Kent* and *Suffex*; burnt down to the Ground above Two-hundred Burghs, and the three famous and

populous Cities of *Worms*, *Spires*, and *Heidelberg*, put the People to the Sword in divers Towns; and spared not the *Popish* Temples and Cathedrals, and this without Provocation from the People or their Prince. What sort of Usage think you then may we expect at *Dover* and *Winchelsea*, &c. and you too in *London*, who are *Englishmen*, Rebels, and Hereticks as bad as we. Our Enemies have a particular Eye upon your Faction City, and the Wealth of the *Bank* and *Lombard-street*, which the hungry Priests and Soldiers frequently talk of at *Calais* and *Dunkirk* with great Indignation, but with some Kind of Assurance of late, that *England* will shortly receive her old Master ‡ and the *Popish* Religion again.

Which I heartily wish may be prevented by the Wisdom and Prudence of the King and present Parliament.

Me—ds, Febr.

13, 1700.

I am, SIR,

* All which Ports were then in the Power of the *French*. † See the Emperor's Letter to King *James II.* at *St. Germain's*, in Number I. Page 18. ‡ A *Popish* Prince, then King *James II.*

A brefe Comedy or Enterlude of *Iohan Baptystes* preachynge in the wyldernesse, openynge the craftye assaultes of the hypocrytes *, with the gloryouse Baptyme of the Lorde *Jesus Christ*. Compyled by *Iohan Bale*, Anno M.D.XXXVIII †.

The worde of God came unto Iohan the sonne of Zachary in the wyldernesse. And he resorted into all the coastes about Iordane and preached the Baptysme of repentaunce for the remyssyon of synnes. Luce iii.

John Bale, the Compiler of the following Comedy or Interlude, was the Son of Henry Bale, of Covie in Suffolk. Born in the Year 1495; entered among the Carmelite Friars at Norwich, at twelve Years old, and went from thence to be a Schollar at Jesus College in Cambridge, still remaining, as he himself declares, in the most profound Ignorance of all true Learning, and greatest Blindness of Mind, without any Tutor or Patron, till

* Alluding to the *Popish* Priests, Friars, &c. who, like the *Pharisees* and *Hypocrites* of old, were determined, at all Events to prevent the Dawning of the *Gospel*, at the Beginning of the *Reformation*.

† The Year in which *Henry the Eight* declared his Disgust with the See of *Rome*.

the Word of God began to appear in its proper Lustre, and the Churches were brought back to the pure Fountains of all Divinity; and then, by the Means of the most Noble the Lord Wentworth, he was induced to leave the monstrous Corruptions of Popery, and to embrace the Purity of the Gospel. Soon after his Conversion, he married his Wife Dorothy, who also was zealous for the true Religion; but he had been utterly undone by Dr. Lee Archbishop of York, and Stokley Bishop of London, had not my Lord Cromwell screened him from their Persecutions; after whose Death he retired to the Low Countries; from whence he was recalled by Edward the Sixth, who made him Bishop of Ossory in Ireland, Feb. 2, 1552. But, before he had been consecrated six Months, he was obliged to fly from thence to escape the Persecutions of Queen Mary, who then ascended the English Throne; and, embarking at Dublin, he was taken by the Pirates and sold. But he obtained his Ransom, and proceeded to Basil, where he employed himself in his Studies till recalled by Queen Elizabeth, who gave him a Prebend of Canterbury; upon which he was rather contented to live, than to return any more to Ireland. He died in November 1563. He published many Books both in Latin and English, in Prose and Verse, amongst which this Comedy is one of the scarcest, and gives us a true Idea of the Stage in those Times, when it appears the first Reformers endeavoured to expose the Errors of the Roman Church, and to propagate the Gospel, even in those Places which had been remarkable for Vice; for, I apprehend, this as well as some other Interludes, composed by him, were the Productions of his younger Days just after his Conversion, as it more particularly appears in the Conclusion of this Comedy; and it is further valuable, as it is in no Catalogue of Plays that ever I saw, and gives us a Specimen of the most refined Part of our Language in King Henry the Eighth's Reign. To conclude, he was a Man of Learning, a constant Preacher and good Antiquary, but a most bitter Writer against the Church of Rome, insomuch that he has drawn the whole Herd of Writers on that Side the Question upon himself in most bitter Invectives, when ever they mention him; and his Books are particularly prohibited in the Ex-purgatory Index, published in Folio, at Madrid, Anno 1667.

I N T E R L O C U T O R E S.

Pater cœlestis, <i>i. e. The heavenly Father.</i>	Iesus Christus, <i>Jesus Christ.</i>
Ioannes Baptista, <i>John Baptist.</i>	Turba vulgaris, <i>The common People.</i>
Publicanus, <i>The Publican.</i>	Miles armatus, <i>The Soldier.</i>
Pharisæus, <i>The Pharisee.</i>	Sadducæus, <i>The Sadducee.</i>

B A L E U S P R O L O C U T O R.

P R Æ F A C I O

THE kyngedome of Christ, wyll now * begynne to sprynge,
 Which is the preachynge, of hys newe testament †.
 Now shall Messias, which is our heavenly kyng,
 Apere to the worlde, in manhode euydent
 Whose wholsom commynge, Iohan Baptyft wyll preuent,
 Preachynge repentaunce, hys hygh waye to prepare,
 Whych now we entende, before yow to declare.

*The lawe and Prophets, draweth now fast to an ende,
 Which were but shaddowes, and fygures of hys commynge.*

* Our King being ready to shake off the Popish Superstition.
 Church of Rome.

† In Opposition to the Traditions of the

Now

Now shall he approche, that all grace wyll extende,
Of cleane remysſyon, our caucion will he brynge;
To pacyfye God, hys father euerlaſtynge.
By ſheadynge hys bloude, all thynges ſhall he renewe,
Makyng one people of the Pagane and the Iewe.
For ſo much as we, are geuen to noueltees *,
Of very nature. Lete vs our ſelues applye,
To accepte theſe newes, and heauenlye verytees †,
Which are for our ſynne, moſt ſoueraigne remedye,
And for our ſowles helthe, ſo hyghlye neceſſarye.
That without knowledge, of them, we can not haue,
A true fayth in him, which dyed our ſowles to ſaue.

Whan Man had ſynned, the harde preceptes of the lawe,
Moses proclaimed, the Prophetes gaue monycyons.
But non of them all, to the heauenly kyngedome drawe,
Tyll Iohan Baptiſt come, with clerar expoſcyons.
The publycanes then, leaue their yll dyſpoſcyons,
Vnto Chriſt to come, and hys moſt holy Goſpell,
Where the frowarde ſectes, continuallye rebell,

Ye ſhall ſe Chriſt here, ſubmyt himſelf to Baptym,
Of Iohan hys ſeruaunt, in moſt meke humble wyſe.
In poornesse of ſprete, that we ſhuld folowe hym,
Whoſe lowelye doctryne, the hypocrytes deſpyſe.
Folowe hym therfor, and ſhurne their deuyliſh practyſe.
Be gentyll in hart, and beare your good intent,
Towards hys Goſpell, and godlye teſtament.

Incipit Comœdia

Ioannes Baptiſta

A Sa maſſenger, I come to geue yow warnynge,
That your lorde, your kynge, your ſauer and redemer,
With helth, grace and peace, to yow ys hydre commynge.
Applye ye therfor, delaye the tyme no longer,
But prepare hys waye, makynge the rough pathes ſmother.
Stryke downe the mountaynes, fyll vp the valleyes agayne,
For all men ſhall ſe, their mercyful ſauer playne.

The ſeate of *Dauid*, whych is the father heauenly,
He cometh to poſſeſſe, as a ruler ſpirytuall.
And in *Iacobs* howſe, to reigne continually,
Whych is of hys churche, the nombre unyuerſall,
Not only of *Iewes*, but faythfull beleuers all.
That congregacyon, will he euermore defende.
And of hys kyngedome, ſhall neuer be an ende.

Turba uulgaris

At theſe newe tydyngeſ, whom thys good man doth brynge,
My hart within me, for loye doth leape and ſprynge.

* Traditions. † Preached by the Reformers.

Publicanus.

O myghty maker, what confort to vs is thys?
Thyne own sonne to sende, to reforme that is amys.

Miles armatus.

Soch confort to me, as I can not expresse,
Of tungen though I had, thre thousande and no lesse.

Ioannes Baptista

Approche nyghar fryndes, and tell me what ye saye.

Turba uulgaris.

Ye tolde us, me thought, we shuld prepare a waye,
For the lordes commynge. Was not your saynge so?

Ioannes Baptista.

My preachynge was it, from it can I not go.
For grounded it is, on Gods myghty worde trulye,
Vttered longe afore, by the prophet *Esaye*.

Publicanus.

I praye ye tell vs what ye meane by that waye?

Ioannes Baptista.

Your conuersacyon, which is in fore decaye.

Laye apart your wrathe, your couetousnesse and pryde,
Your lustes unlauffull, with your other synnes besyde.
Knowledge your trespace, and cease from doynge yll,
Flee mennys tradycyons, and Gods hygh lawes fulfyll.
Make ye strayght the pathes, lete euery man haue hys,
In no wyse reuenge, whan men vse ye amys.

Seke God your father, in sprete and veryte,
But not in shaddowes, as doth the *Pharyse*,
Whych by outward workes, loketh to be iustified.
And neyther by faythe, nor by Gods worde wyll be tryed.
Euery depe valleye, to moch more hygthe wyll growe,
The mountaynes and hylles, shall be brought downe full lowe.

Miles armatus.

What meane ye by that? I pray ye hartely tell.

Ioannes Baptista

Mekenesse wyll aryse, and pryde abate by the Gospell.

The symple fysher, shall now be notable;
The spirytual *Pharyse*, a wretche detestable.
The wyse and lerned, the Idyote wyll deface,
Synners shall excede, the outward sayntes in grace.
Abiectes of the worlde, in knowledge wyll excell,
The consecrate Rabyes, by vertu of the Gospell.

The poore man by faythe, shall very clerely deme,
The clause that wyll harde unto the lawer seme.
All that afore tyme, vntowarde ded remayne,
The rule of Gods worde, wyll now make straight and playne.
The couetouse iourer shall now be lyberall,
The malycyouse man wyll now to charyte fall.

The wratheful hater shall now loue earnestlye,
To temperate measure men wyll change glotonye.

Pryde shall so abate, that mekenesse wyll preuayle,
Lechery shall lye down, and clennessē set up sayle.
Slouthfulnesse shall flyde, and dyligence aryse,
To folowe the truthe, in godly exercyse.

Prepare ye therefor, so fast as euer ye can,
To thys lorde whych will, renue ye euery man,
In case ye repent the folye that is past.

Omnes una.

Sory are we for it, and wyll be to our last.

Ioannes Baptista.

What are ye? tell me, ych persone seuerallye.

Turba uulgaris.

I do represent the commen People of Jewry.
In sweate of my browes, my lyuyngē I procure
By daylye labours, and mynde so to endure.

Publicanus.

A publican I am, and moch do lyve by pollage,
For my offyce is, to gather tax and tollage.
Moch am I hated, of the *Pharyse* and *Scrybe*,
Fo axyng trybute, it iudgyngē vnlauful brybe.

Miles armatus.

A soldyour I am, or valeant man of warre,
The lande to defende, and hys enemyes to conquare.
Whan my wages are too lyttle for my expence,
To get a botye, I spare no vyolence.

Ioannes Baptista.

For Gods loue repent, and turne ye to the lorde,
That by him ye maye, to hys kyngedome be restorde.

Ad Deum conuertitur turba uulgaris. & peccata sic confitetur.

Turba uulgaris.

I knowe blessed lorde, by playne experiment,
Most nygh vnto helth, is he that sheweth hys sore.
Wherefor I confesse, in place here euydent,
The synnefull lyuyngē, that I haue vsed afore.
A wretched synnar I haue bene evermore,
Vnthankfull to thee, to man uncharytable,
And in all my workes, both false and deceyuable.

Hunc tunc baptizat Ioannes flectentem genua.

Ioannes Baptista.

Then take my baptyme, whych is a preparacyon.
Vnto faythe in Christ, wherin rest your saluacyon.
To Christes Gospell your conuersacyon applye,
And lerne by thys sygne, with hym to lyue and dye.

Turba uulgaris.

Myne vsage (ye knowe) is outwarde and externe,
Some godly preceptes for that fayne wolde I lerne.

Ioannes Baptista.

I will not moue ye to offer calfe nor gote,
But to charyte, whych is of hyghar note.
With no sacryfye is God more highly pleased,
Than with that good hart, wherby the poore is eased.
For that he accepteth, as though hymselfe it had.

Turba

Turba uulgaris.

Thys helthsome counsell, maketh my hart ioyfull and glad.

Ioannes Baptista.

He that hath two coates, lete hym geue one to the nedye,
 And he that hath vytayle lykewyse releue the hungrye.
 Helpe alwayes the poore, with herbour, foode and apparell,
 With socour, solace, with doctryne and ghostlye counsell.
 These thynges done in faythe maye mollyfye Gods yre.

Turba uulgaris.

Farewell to ye then, for I haue my desyre.

*Eo exeunte, publicanus coram Deo peccatum agnoscit.**Publicanus.*

Thy worde blessed lorde, by this good man declared,
 Causeth my conscyence of synne to haue remorse,
 And to remembre, how that I haue not spared
 The poore to oppresse, by crueltie and force.
 I consydre yet, how I oft haue bene horce,
 Cryenge for custome, exactyng more than due,
 To my neyber lorde I haue bene full vntrue.

*Illum tunc baptizat Ioannes incuruantem genua.**Ioannes Baptista.*

Be baptysed then, in token of repentaunce,
 And take to ye faythe, with a newe remembraunce.
 Thynkyng by thys sygne, ye are from hensfourth bounde,
 Vyces to refyt, acceptyng Christ for your grounde,

Publicanus.

Geue me some precept, or rule, whereon to staye,
 That I, in my fort, my lorde God maye obaye.

Ioannes Baptista.

I wyll not bynde ye, your substaunce to dyspence,
 But I requyre yow, to abstayne from vyolence.
 Though your offyce be to gather and to pull,
 Yet be no tyrautes, but rather mercyfull.
 A good waye thys were, for your estate, I thynke.

Publicanus.

Perfourme it I shall. I wolde els I shuld synke.

Ioannes Baptista.

For your peynes ye haue appoynted by the emproure
 Your stypende wages, no creature ye ought to deuoure;
 For Gods loue therfor, do no man iniury
 In taking tollage, aduauntage to haue therby.
 Non otherwyse than, it is to yow perscrybed.

Publicanus.

By me from hens fourth, nought from the poore shall be brybed.

*Eo decedente, Miles sua confitetur scelera.**Miles armatus.*

Experyence doth shewe, where as are good monycyons,
 Maye be auoyded all ieopardy and daunger.
 At thys mannys counsell, all synneful dysposycyons
 I wyll therfor change to a lyfe (I hope) moch better.
 No man so wycked, nor so faire out of order,
 As I wretche haue bene, in murther, rape and thefte.
 Swete lorde forgeue me, and those wayes shall be lefte.

Illum

Comædia Ioannis Balei de Christi Baptismo.

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Illum tunc baptizat Ioannes in genya procumbentem.

Ioannes Baptista.

Thys baptyme of myne, to yow doth represent
Remyssyon in Christ, in case your synnes ye repent.
In hys blessed deathe, it assureth yow of grace,
Sealyng your passport, vnto the hyghar place.

Miles armatus.

My maker I thanke, of hys most specyall gyfte,
For my vsage now, shewe me some ghostly dryfte.

Ioannes Baptista.

Of warre ye haue lawes, vse them with ryght alwayes,
Do no spoyle nor rape, take no vnlauffull prayes.
The offyce ye haue, for the publyque vnyte,
Mynde to exercyse, to the landes tranquyllyte.
Ye maye thus please God, in doyng your feate, ryght well.

Miles armatus.

Father go forewarde, for I moch delyght your counsell.

Ioannes Baptista.

For the publyque peace, Gods lawe doth yow permyt,
Stronge weapon to weare, but in no case to abuse it.
If ye mynde therfor, of God to auoyde the daunger,
For couetouse lucre, hurt neyther frynde nor stranger.
But with your wages, yche man be satysfyed.

Miles armatus.

Prayse be to the lorde, I am moch edifyed.

Eo locum deferente, intrant Phariseus ac Sadduceus. Interim Ioannes Baptista alloquitur populum.

Ioannes Baptista.

Of Christ to tell yow, with the dyfference of our baptym,
I washe in water; but remysyon is of him.
My baptyme is a sygne of outwarde mortyfyenge,
A grace is hys baptyme of inwarde quyckenynge.
The baptyme of me is the baptyme of repentaunce,
Hys baptyme in faythe bryngeth full recoueraunce.

My doctryne is harde, and full of threttenynges,
Hys wordes are demure, replete with wholsom blesynges.
I feare the conscience, with terrour of the lawe,
He by the Gospell mannys fowle wyll gently drawe.
A knowledge of synne the baptyme of me do teache,
Forgeueneffe by faythe wyll he here after preache.

I open the fore, he bryngeth the remedye,
I sturre the consyence, he doth all pacyfy.
As *Esaye* sayth, I am the cryars voyce,
But he is the worde, and message of reioyce.
The lanterne I am, he is the very lyght,
I prepare the waye, but he maketh all thyng perfyght,

Phariseus

Inuicem alloquuntur.

As is said abroad, thys fellowe preacheth newe lernynge *
Lete us dyssemble, to vnderstande hys meanynge.

Sadduceus.

Wele pleased I am, that we examyne hys doynges,
Hys doctrine paraenture myght hyndre els our lyuynges,

* This is the Term given to the Reformers Preaching the Gospel, by the Priests of the Church of Rome.
But

But in our workynge, we must be sumwhat craftye.

Phariseus.

Tush. thou shalt se me, vndermynde hym very synelye.

Et uertens se ad Ioannem, dolose illum alloquitur.

God blesse ye father, and prospere your busynesse.

Ioannes Baptista.

Ye are welcome both, so that ye mynde anye goodnesse.

Sadduceus.

No harme we intende, ye maye trust vs and ye wyll.

Ioannes Baptista.

Ye shewe to the worlde, as though ye coulde do no yll,

But the lorde doth knowe, what ye haue in your hartes,

And secretlye how ye playe most wycked partes.

Where as sectes remayne, the sprete of God cannot be,

Whose kynde is to knytt, by a perfyght vnyte.

Phariseus.

That taunte haue I ones, bycause I am a *Pharyse*.

Sadduceus.

My parte is no lesse, for I am also a *Sadduce*.

We wyll thou knowe it, our relygyons are worthypfull.

Ioannes Baptista.

Not so worthypfull, but moch more false and deceytfull

An outwarde pretence ye haue of holynesse,

Whych is before God a double wyckednesse.

Phariseus.

A very wretche art thou, soch vertuouse men to despyse.

As the lawes of God, to hys people doth decyfe.

We *Pharysees* are those, whych syt in *Moses* seate

As interpreters, the holy scriptures to treat.

Ioannes Baptista.

And them ye corrupt, with your pestilent tradycyons.

For your bellyes sake, have you false exposycyons.

Sadduceus.

What sayst thou to me! whych in one poynt do not swerue.

From *Moses* fyue booke; but every Iote we obserue.

Thynkest not vs worthy the gloryouse name we beare,

Of ryghteous *Sadducees*? Saye thy mynde without feare.

Ioannes Baptista

I saye thys vnto yow, your observacyons are carnall.

Outwarde workes ye haue, but in sprete nothyng at all.

Ye walke in the letter, lyke paynted *Hypocrytes*.

Before God ye are, no better than *Sodomytes*.

De Christo Baptismo.

Synners offendynge, of weakenesse, doubt, or ignoraunce,

Of pytie God pardoneth. But where he syndeth resystence

Agaynst the playne truthe, there wyll he ponnyshe most.

For a wyckednesse that is agaynst the holy Ghost.

And that reigneth in yow, whych neuer hath forgiuenesse.

For enemyes ye are, to that ye knowe ryghteousnesse.

Phariseus.

Auaunt beggar, auaunt. Becometh it the to prate

So vnmanerly agaynst our comely estate?

Whych is knowne to be, so notable and holye?

Thou shalt be loked on, I promyse the surelye.

Sadduceus.

Sadducæus.

Our worthy decrees, the knaue doth not regarde.
But practyseth newe lawes, soch as were neuer hearde.
By whose autoryte, doest thou teache thys newe learnynge?
Doubt not but shortly, thou wylt be brought to a reckenyng.

Ioannes Baptista.

Ye generacyon of vipers, ye murtherers of the prophetes,
Ye Lucifers proude, and vsurpers of hygh seates.
Neuerwas serpent, more styngynge than ye be,
More full of poyson, nor inwarde cruelte.
All your stodye is, to persue the veryte,
Soch is your practyse, deceyte and temeryte.
You boast yourselves moch, of ryghteousnesse and scyence,
And yet non more vyle, nor fuller of neglygence.
How can ye escape the vengeance that is commynge,
Upon the vnfaythfull? whych wyll admytt no warnynge.
Neyther your good workes, nor merytes of your fathers,
Your fastynges, longe prayers, with other holy behavers,

Shall yow afore God, be able to iustifye,
Your affeccyons inwarde, vnles ye do mortifye.
And therefor shewe fourth, the due frutes of repentaunce.
Not in wordes only, but from the hartes habundaunce.
Forsake your malyce, your pryde and hypocresye,
And now exercyse, the frutefull dedes of mercye.

Phariseus.

It become not the, to shewe what we shall do,
We knowynge the lawe, and the prophecyes also
Go teache thy olde shoes, lyke a busye pratlynge sole:
For we wyll non be, of thys newe fangeled scole:
We are men lerned, we knowe the auntyent lawes,
Of our forefathers, thy newes are not worth, ii. strawes.

Sadducæus.

The ofsprynge we are, of the noble father *Abraham*,
And have the blessinge, so many as of hym cam.
We can not perysh, though thou prate never so myche,
For we are rygtheouse, wele lerned, famouse and ryche.

Ioannes Baptista.

Great folye is it, of *Abraham* so to boost,
Where his fayth is not, the kyndred is sone lost.
Ye are *Abrahams* chyldren, lyke as was *Ismael*,
Onlye in the fleshe, to whom no blessinge fell.
It profyteth yow lyttle, of *Abraham* to beare name,
If ye be wycked, but rather it is your shame.

And as touchynge *Abraham*, the lorde is able to rayse,
Of stones in the waye, such people as shall hym prayse.
The *Gentyles* can he call, whom ye very sore despyse,
To *Abrahams* true faythe, and graces for them deuys.
No hart is so harde, but he can it mollesye,
No synner so yll, but he maye him iustifye.

P

Phariseus.

Phariseus.

Yea he tolde the so, Thu art next of hys counsell,
And knowest what he myndeth, to do in heaven and in hell,
Now forsooth thou art, a Iolye *Robyne Bell*.

Sadduceus.

Wyth a lytle helpe, of an heretyke he wyll smell.

Ioannes Baptista.

I see it very wele, agaynst Gods truthe ye are bent,
And come not hyther, your wicked wayes to repent.
For that prynces sake, that will clere vs of care,
But your commynge is, to trappe me in a snare.

Sadduceus.

We knowe hym not we nor wyll not knowe hym in dede.
But whan he shall come, if he do sowe soch fede,
As thou hast done here, he maye chaunce to have yll spede.

Ioannes Baptista.

Be ware if ye lyst, the axe is put to the rote,
With the Lorde to mocke, it will ye no longer bote.
Every wythered tre, that wyll geue no good frute,
Shall up, whych are yow, of all grace destytute.
And shall be throwne fourth, into everlastyng fyre,
Where no helpe can be, for no pryce nor desyre.

Phariseus.

A lewde knave art thou, yll doctryne dost thou teache,
We wyll so provyde, thou shalt no longer preache.

Sadduceus.

If we do not se, for this gere a dyreccyon,
This fellowe is lyke, to make an insurreccyon.
For to hys newe lernynge, an infynyte cumpanye,
Of worldlye rascalles, come hyther suspyciouslye.

Phariseus.

In dede they do so, and therefor lete us walke,
Vpon this matter, more delyberatelye to talke.

Ioannes Baptista.

The nature of these, is styll lyke as it hath be,
Blasphemers they are, of God and hys veryte.
Here haue I preached, the baptye of repentaunce.
After me he cometh, that is of moch more puyssaunce.
For all my austerite, of lyfe and godly purpose,
Worthye I am not hys lachettes to vnlose.

He wyll yow baptyse, in the holy Ghost and fyre,
Makyng yow more pure, than your heart can desyre.
Hys fanne is in hande, whych is Gods iudgement,
Vnto hym comytted, by hys father omnyotent.
He wyll from hys floore, wich is hys congregacyon,
Swepe awaye all fylth, and false dyffymulacyon.

Cleane wyll he seclude, the dysguysed hypocrytes,
And restore agayne, the perfyght *Israelytes*.
He wyll bryng the wheate, into hys barne or grayner,
The chyldren of faythe, to the kyngedome of hys father.
The casse vnprofytable, whych are the vnfaithfull sort,
Into hell shall go; to their sorrowfull dysconfort.

Iesus Christus.

I am *Iesus Christ*, the sonne of the lyuynge God,
The lyght of hys glorye, the ymage of hys substaunce.
Though he to thys daye, hath plagued man with the rod,
Yet now for my sake, he hath withdrawne all vengeance,
All rygour, all fearcenesse, with hys whole hartes displeaunce,
Sendynge me hyther, of hys benyuolence,
To suffer one deathe, for all the worldes offence.

The tyme prefixed, of my celestyall father,
Is now perfourmed, I reinyng in thys nature,
Borne of a woman, yea, of a vyrgyne rather:
Subject to the lawe, for Man which is vnpure,
From deathe dampnable, hys pardone to procure.
That he may receyue, the hygh inherytaunce,
Due to the chyldren, of hys choyce or allowaunce.

If ye will nedes knowe, wherefor I am incarnate,
It is to be head, of your whole congregacyon,
To make means for ye, to pacyfye the hate,
To be the hygh prest, that shall worke your saluacyon,
Your gyde, your comfort, your helth, your consolacyon,
I come not to iudge, nor flee, but all to saue,
Come therfor to me, all yow that lyfe wyll haue.

I am become flesh, for myne own promes sake,
Without mannys sede borne, hys kynde to sanctyfye,
Of synners lynage, the synners quarell to take,
Of patryarkes and kynges, as a father and gyde heauenlye,
Poore, that ye shuld thynke, my kyngedome nothing wordlye
In flesh, to the sprete, that the Gospell shuld ye brynge.
Beleuyng by me, to have the lyfe euerlastyng.

Ye worldye people, lerne gentylnesse of me,
Which though I am God, unto the father coequal,
I toke thys nature, with all dyscommodyte,
My selfe to humble, as a creature here mortall
To rayse ye to God, from your most deadlye fall.
Lete thys example, be grafted first in your wytt,
How I for baptye, to *Johan* my sylfe submytt.

Ioannes Baptista.

By the holy Ghost, assured I am thys houre,
That thys man is he, whych is of the hyghar poure,
Whom I haue preached, The lambe of innocenye.
Whose shoe to vnlose, my selfe is far unworthye.
From whens do ye come, I praye ye tell to me.

Iesus Christus.

From *Nazareth* thys houre, a cytie of *Galyle*,
From my mothers howse, the heauenlye father from hence,
To obeye and serue, with most due reuerence.

Ioannes Baptista.

Your intent or mynde, fayne wolde I understande.

Iesus Christus.

To receyue with other, the baptye of thy hande.

*Hic protensis manibus baptismo illum prohibet.**Ioannes Baptista.*

Requyre not of me, I desyre the instantlye,
 To presume so farre, for doubtlesse I am vnworthye.
 I a carnal synner, ought to have baptye of the,
 My Lorde and Sauer. And dost thou axe it of me?
 Perdon me swete Lorde, for I wyll not so presume.

Iesus Christus.

Without presumpcyon, that offyce shalt thou adsume.

Ioannes Baptista.

The baptye of me, is but a shaddow or type,
 Soch is thy baptye, as awaye all synne doth wye.
 I geue but water, the sprete Lorde thou dost brynge,
 Lowe is my baptye, thyne is an heauenly thyng.
 Now thou art present, it is mete my baptye cease,
 And thyne to florysh, all synners bondes to release.

Me thy poore seruauant, replenish here with grace,
 And require me not, to baptyse the here in place.

Iesus Christus.

Jehan, suffre me now, in this to have my wyll,
 For vs it behoueth, all righteousnesse to fulfill.
 That is to saye, me, as wele as these my seruantes,
 The great graunde captayne, so wele as his poore tenantes.
 I come not hither, to breake the lawes of my father,
 As thy baptye is one, but to confirme them rather.
 If I by the lawe, in yewth was circumcysed,
 Why shuld I dydayne, this tyme to be baptyfed?
 The *Pharysees* abhorre, to be of the common sort,
 But I maye not so, whych come for all mennys confort.
 I must go with them, they are my bretherne all,
 He is no good captayne, that from hys armye fall.

Ioannes Baptista.

They are synners Lorde, and from good lyuynge wyde.

Iesus Christus.

The more nede is theirs, to haue me for their gyde.

I wyll go afore, that they maye followe me.
 Whych shall be baptyfed, and thynke me for to be.
 Their mate or brother, hauynge their lyuerye token,
 Whych is thy baptye, as thy selfe here hath spoken.
 Take water therefor, and baptyse me this houre
 That thy baptye maye, take strength of hyghar poure.

The People to marke, vnto my kyngedome heauenlye.

Ioannes Baptista.

Then blessed sauer, thy seruauant here sanctyfye.

Iesus Christus.

The man whych haue fayth, lacketh no sanctyfycacyon
 Necessary and mete for hys helth and saluacyon.
 Thyne offyce therfor, now execute thou on me.

*Hic Ioannem subleuat Iesus, ac eius baptismo se submitit.**Ioannes*

Ioannes Baptista.

I baptyse the (Lorde) by soch autoryte,
A sthy grace hath geuen, to my poore symplenesse,
Onlye to obeye, the hygh request of thy goodnesse.

In terram procumbens Iesus, tunc dicit, Deo gratias.

Iesus Christus.

Thys offyce father, whych I in thys mortall nature,
Do take vpon me, at thy most hygh appoyntment,
For mannys saluacyon, here to appeyse thy hature,
So prospere forewarde, that it be to thy intent,
And to thy people, fytte and conuenient.
And that thu wytfaue, be thy most fatherly poure,
Thy sonne to commende, vnto the worlde thys houre.

*Descendit tunc super Christum spiritus sanctus in columbæ specie & vox patris de cælo audietur hoc-
modo:*

Pater cælestis.

Thys is myne owne sone, and only hartes delyght,
My treasure, my Ioye, beloued most inteyrlye.
Thys is he whych hath, procured grace in my fyght,
For man that hath done, most wylful trayterye.
Alone is it he, that me doth pacyfy.
For hys only sake, with Man am I now content,
To be for euer, at a full peace and agreement.

I charge ye, to hym, Geue dylygent attendaunce,
Heare hys monycyons, regarde hys heauenly doctryne,
In mennys tradycyons, loke ye have no affyaunce,
Nor in *Moses* lawe, but as he shall defyne,
Heare hym, beleue hym, drawe only after hys lync.
For he alone knoweth, my purpose towardes yow,
And non els but he, heare hym therefor only now.

Tunc cælum inspiciebat Ioannes, incuruat genua.

Ioannes Baptista.

O tyme most ioyfull, daye most splendiferus.
The clerenesse of heauen, now apereth vnto vs.
The father is hearde, and the holy Ghost is seane,
The sonne incarnate, to purifye vs cleane,
By thys we maye se, The Gospell ones receyued,
Heaven openeth to vs, and God is hyghly pleased.

Lete vs synge therfor, togyther with one accorde,
Praysynge these fame thre, as one God and good Lorde.

Et expansis ad cælum manibus canit Ioannes.

Glorye be to the Trynyte,
The father, the sonne and sprete lyuyng,
Whych are one God in persones thre,
To whom be prayse without endynge.

BALEUS PROLOCUTOR.

Thys vyfble sygne, do here to yow declare,
What thyng pleaseth God, and what offendeth hys goodnesse.
The worlde hath proude hartes, hygh myndes, with soch lyke ware,

God

God only regardeth, the sprete of lowlynesse.
 Marke in thys Gospell with the eyes of symplenesse.
 Adam, by hys pryde, ded paradyse vp speare,
 Christ hath opened heauen, by hys great mekenesse heare.

Iohan was a preacher, Note wele what he ded teache,
 Not mennis tradycions, nor hys owne holy lyfe.
 But to the people, Christ Iesus ded he preache,
 Wyllynge hys Gospell, amonge them to be ryfe,
 Hys knowledge heauenly, to be had of man and wyfe.
 But who receyued it? The sinful commynalte,
 Publicanes and synners, but no paynted Pharyse.

The waye that Iohan taught, was not to weare harde clothynge.
 To saye longe prayers, nor to wandre in the desert,
 Or to ate wilde locusts. No, he neuer taught soch thyng.
 Hys mynde was that faythe, shuld purysye the hart.
 My ways (sayth the Lorde) with mennys ways haue no part.
 Mannys ways are all thynges, that are done without fayth,
 God's ways is hys worde, as the holy scripture sayth.

If ye do penaunce, do soch as Iohan doth counsell,
 Forsake your olde lyfe, and to the true fayth applye.
 Washe away all fylth, and folowe Christes Gospell
 The iustice of men, is but an hypocresye,
 A worke without fayth, an outwarde wayne glorie.
 An example here, ye had of the Pharysees,
 Whom Iohan compared, to unfruteful wythered trees.

Geue eare unto Christ, lete mennys wayne fantasyes go,
 As the father bad, by hys most hygh commaundement,
 Heare neyther Frances, Benedyct, nor Bruno,
 Albert nor Domynyck, for thy newe rulers inuent,
 Beleue neyther Pope, nor prest of hys consent.
 Folowe Christes Gospell, and therin fructysye,
 To the prayse of God, and his sonne Iesus glorie.

Thus endeth thys brefe Comedy or Enterlude of Iohan Baptistes
 preachynge in the wyldernesse, openynge the craftye assaultes of the
 hypocrytes, with the gloryouse Baptyme of Iesus Christ.

Compyled by Iohan Bale, Anno M.D.xxxviii.

ORDERS set down by the Duke of *Medina*, Lord General of the King's Fleet to be observed in the Voyage toward *England*, Translated out of *Spanish* into *English*, by T. P.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin, for Thomas Gilbert, dwelling in Fleetstreet, near to the Sign of the Castel, 1588.

The wonderful Deliverance, which England commemorates on the following Occasion, is still more remarkable, from the due Consideration of the following Pamphlet; where, the Reader may observe, that not only the Strength, and exceeding great warlike Preparations, but the political and military Orders, to preserve good Harmony among the Soldiers and Sailors, and due Obedience from both to their respective Commanders; and to avoid all Confusion, in Case of a Storm, or other disastrous Accident, shew that our Enemies had taken all the Precautions that human Prudence could conceive, to accomplish their Intrigues, and to ruin our Establishment in Church and State. Therefore I have inserted these Orders, thereby to encourage us in the like Dangers, and to shew, that, when God is on our Side, neither the Power, nor Policy of Man is able to do us Harm.

Don Alonso Peres de Guzman, the good Duke of Medina, Sidonia, Count of Nebla, Marquis of Calheshe in Africa, Lord of the City Saint Lucar, Captain General of the Ocean Sea, of the Coast of Andalusia, and of this Army of his Majesty, and Knight of the honourable Order of the Golden Fleece.

I Do ordain and command, that the General Masters of the Field, all Captains, Officers of the Camp, and of the Sea Pilots, Masters, Soldiers, Mariners, and Officers, and whatsoever other People for the Land or Sea Service cometh in this Army, all the Time that it endureth, shall be thus governed, as hereafter followeth, viz.

First, and before all Things, it is to be understood by all the above named, from the highest to the lowest: That the principal Foundation and Cause, that have moved the King his Majesty to make and continue this Journey, hath been, and is, to serve God, and to return

unto his Church a great many of contrite Souls, that are oppressed by the Hereticks, Enemies to our holy Catholick Faith, which have them Subjects to their Sects, and Unhappinefs: And for that every one may put his Eyes upon this Mark, as we are bound, I do command, and much desire every one, to give Charge unto the Inferiors, and those under their Charge, to embark themselves, being shriven *, and having received the Sacrament with competent Contrition for their Sins: By the which Contrition, and Zeal to do God such great Service, he will carry and guide us to his great Glory: Which is that, which particularly and principally is pretended.

In like Manner, I do charge and command you, to have particular Care, that no Soldier, Mariner, or other, that serveth in this Army, do blaspheme, or rage against God, or our Lady, †, or any of the Saints, upon Pain that he shall therefore, sharply be corrected, and very well chastened, as it shall seem best unto us:

* Confessed his Sins to a Priest.

† The Virgin Mary.

And for other Oaths of less Quality, the Governors, in the same Ships they go in, shall procure to remedy all: They shall punish them in taking away their Allowance of Wine, or otherwise, as they shall think good. And for that the most Occasions come by Play, you shall publickly prohibit it, especially the Games that are forbidden: And, that none do play in the Night, by no Means.

And to avoid Inconveniences that might ensue in this Army and Force of his Majesty, if that the here written were not put for Remedy, by these Presents, I do command, that, particularly and generally, all Quarrels, Angers, Defiances, and Injuries, that are and have been, before this Day, and until the Publication hereof, of all Persons, as well by Sea as Land, of greater or less Qualities, be suppressed and suspended, so that none goeth in this Army for the Time that this Voyage continueth and lasteth, although they be old Quarrels: Yet for my express Commandment, shall break this Truce and Forbearance of Arms, directly, or indirectly, upon Pain of Disobedience, and incurring into high Treason, and die therefore.

In like manner I do give Charge, that aboard the Ships there be not any one Thing offered to the Disgrace of any Man.

Declaring herewithal, that there cannot be any Disgrace imputed to any Man, for any Thing, that shall be offered, nor yet be a Reproach, whatsoever happeneth aboard any Ship.

And for that it is known, that great Inconveniences and Offence groweth unto God, by consenting that common Women, and such like, go in like Armies:

I do ordain and command, that there be none embarked nor carried in the Army: And if that any will carry them, I do command the Captains, and Masters of the Ships, not to consent thereto: Who so doth, or dissembleth therewith, shall be grievously punished.

The Company of every Ship, one every Morning, at the Break of every Day, according to the Custom, shall give the good Morrow * by the Main-mast, and at Night the *Ave Maria* *: And some Days the *Salve Regina* *: Or, at least, the *Saturdays* with a Littany.

And forasmuch as it importeth for the Preservation and good Success of this Army, that there be between the Soldiers and Mariners

much confirmed Friendship, and such Amity, that there be not any Difference, nor other Occasions of murmuring, I command it to be published, that no Body do carry any Dagger, nor thwart one another, or give any Occasions, but that all do obey the superior Officers: And if any Scandal or Offence come, he that was the Beginner, shall straightly be punished.

When the Gallion *Saint Marten*, wherein myself go, Admiral of this Fleet, doth make a Sign with a Piece of Ordnance, it shall be a Sign of Departure for the whole Fleet, that, founding their Trumpets, shall follow without loosing Time, and without coming foul of each other, and cutting Sail, shall do the like: Having great Care of the Sands and Catchops, carrying their Boats and Skiffs, ready for any Thing that may happen.

Being from the Land a Sea-board, every Ship shall come to Leeward, saluting the Admiral to know what he will command: And demand the Word, without going a-head the Admiral, either in the Day or in the Night, but to have great Care to his Sailing.

Every Afternoon, they shall repair to their Admirals, to take the Word, and to know if there be any Thing to do.

And for that so many great Ships, and so great may be, cannot come every Day without Boarding one another: To avoid the Danger that may follow, the General of each Squadron shall have particular Care, to take the Word in Time, to give it unto the Ships under their Charge.

The Admiral shall be saluted with Trumpets, of them that have them: If not, with their Whistles: And the People to hallow one after another, and, answering them, shall salute again: And, if it be towards Night, to demand the Word, and, taking it, shall salute one another in time, and depart, to give Room to others that follow.

If it happeneth some Days, that the Wind will not suffer to take the Word of the Admiral or Admirals, they shall have, for every Day in the Week, the Words following:

Sunday,	<i>Jesus.</i>
Monday,	<i>The holy Ghost.</i>
Tuesday,	<i>The holy Trinity.</i>
Wednesday,	<i>Saint James</i>
Thursday,	<i>The Angles.</i>

* A Custom still observed in Spain, and some other Popish Countries, by Tolling a Bell three Strokes thrice, in all, nine Strokes.

Orders appointed for the Spanish Fleet.

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Friday,
Saturday,

*All Saints.
Our Lady.*

And for that it importeth, that all the Armies do go close together, I do command, that the General, and Wings, with great Care, do procure to carry the *Squadrons*, as nigh, and in as good Order, as is possible: And the Ship and Pinnaces, of the Charge of Don *Antonio de Hartado de Mendoza*, keep next unto the Admiral, except six: Whereof, two shall follow the Admiral Don *Pedro de Valdezi*, and two the Admiral of *Martin Bretendona*; the other two the Admiral of *Joan Gomes de Medina*: The which shall be appointed presently, and have great Care to repart themselves, without the one thwarting the other: And the *Squadron* of the Hulks shall go always in the Midst.

That no Ship of the Navy, nor any that goeth with them, shall depart, without my License: And I do command upon Pain of Death, and Loss of Goods, that if by Chance, with a Storm, any be driven to depart * before they come to the *Cape Finister*, that then they follow their Course to the said *Cape*, where they shall have my Order what to do; or else they shall sail to the *Groyne*, where they shall have it.

In departing from the *Groyne*, they shall set their Course for *Silley*, and procure to make the Southerfide of it, having great Care of their Sounding: And if by Chance in this Course any Ship, or Ships, do lose the Fleet, they shall not return into *Spain*, in any Manner, upon Pain of Death, and the Loss of Goods, and taken for Traytors, but follow the Course, and make to the Southward of the said Island. And if any such do think the Navy to be a-stern of him, he shall detain himself in the same Height, playing up and down, and not to depart from his Course.

And if it be thought, that the Navy is ahead, then shall you seek them in *Mont's-bay*, which is betwixt the Land's End and the *Lizard*, there shall you have the whole Navy, or Intelligence what he shall do; and yet for all this, if he do not meet with the Navy, yet shall he find Pinnaces, with Order what shall be done.

In the Night, there shall be great Vigilance for the Admiral, to see if she change her Course, or make about. Before she goeth about, she will shoot off a Piece; and being about, will

put forth another Light, upon the Poop a-part from the Lanthorn; who that doth see it, shall answer with another Light.

When he doth take away Bonnets or shorten the Sails, he shall shew Lights, one in the Poop, and other two throwed high.

When that for any Occasion he shall strike all Sails, he shall shew three Lights, one in the Top, another in the Shrouds, and the third in the Fore-castle; and the rest shall shew it, with putting forth a Light, each upon his Poop.

If any Ship have any Occasion to strike all her Sails in the Night, he shall shoot off a great Piece and put out a Lanthorn all Night, and those that are nighest unto him shall shew Lights, for that other may procure it, and shall take in the Sails till Day: And, if Necessity be great, shall shoot off another Piece, and those that do see it, shall answer with other two Lights, making the like Board.

When the Admiral will have any Communication, he will make a Sign, putting a Flag in the after Misen near the Lanthorn, and so they shall repair unto him to know what he would have. If (which God for his Mercy permit not) there happen any Ship to take Fire, the next unto her shall make from her, sending first their Boats and Skiffs, to succour and help, and so shall all the rest.

They shall have particular Care to put forth their Fire in every Ship, before the Sun go down.

In taking of their Allowance of Victuals, the Soldiers shall let them that have the Charge thereof, to deliver it, so that the said Soldiers shall not go down to take it, nor choose it perforce, as in Times they have done; and for this Cause, shall be present the Serjeant, or Corporal, of the Company or Companies, where they are, for avoiding Disorder, and that timely they have their Portions; so that before Night every Body may have supped.

That no Ship, nor other Vessel of this Navy, nor of any of those, that goeth subject under my Jurisdiction, shall not be so bold to enter into any Harbourough, anchor, nor go a Shore, without the Admiral doth it first, or with my special Leave, upon Pain of Punishment hereof.

The Colonels of the Field, Captains, Lieutenants, Ensigns and Officers, must have particular Care that the Soldiers have always their

* Between *Lisbon* and *Cape Finister*.

Armour clean, ready, and in Order, for Time of Necessity, causing them to make them clean, twice every Week, and using themselves with them in such Sort, that they may be expert at the Time of Need.

And for that, in the Way, Order shall be given, in what Form every Man shall put himself, if we do fight, I do command, that particular Care be had, advising the Gunners to have half Butts with Water and Vinegar, as is accustomed, with Bonnets and old Sails, and wet Mantles to defend Fire, that as often is thrown, as to have the like Care to have Shot made in good Quantity, and that Powder and Match be ready for Ship, and Soldiers of the Store, by Weight and Measure, and Length; according to the Order, that every Ship hath to deliver unto him, that hath the Charge thereof, according to Use and Custom.

Also I order and command, that there be a Care, that all Soldiers have their Room clean, and unpestered of Chests, and other Things, without consenting in any Case to have Cards; and, if there be any, to be taken away presently: Neither permit them to the Mariners; and, if the Soldiers have any, let me be advertised, that I may command them to be taken away.

And, for that the Mariners must resort unto their Work, Tackle and Navigation, it is convenient, that their Lodgings be in the upper Works of the Poop, and Fore-castle, otherwise the Soldiers will trouble them in the Voyage.

The Artillery must stand in very good Order, and reparted amongst the Gunners, being all charged with their Balls, and nigh unto every Piece his Locker, wherein to put his Shot and Necessaries, and to have great Care to the Cartridges of every Piece, for not changing, or not taking Fire; and that the Ladles and Sponges be ready at Hand.

Every Ship shall carry two Boats Lading of Stones, to throw to Profit, in the Time of Fight, on the Deck, Fore-castle, or Tops, according to his Burden; and shall carry two half

Pipes, to fill them with Water in the Day of Battle, and repart them amongst the Ordinance or other Places, as shall be thought necessary and nigh unto them, old Cloths, or Coverings which with Wetting may destroy any Kind of Fire.

That the Wild-fire be reparted to the People most expert, that we have for the Use thereof, at due Time; for that, if it be not overseen, giving Charge thereof to those that do understand it, and such, as we know, can tell how to use it, otherwise it may happen to great Danger.

By the Commandment that no Ship shall go a Head the Admiral, at least in the Night, none shall tarry a Stern the Vice-Admiral, and every one to have a Care to the Trimming of his Sails, according to the Charge he hath, and the Sailing of his Ship; for the much that it importeth that all our Navy do go close as possible as they may, and in this the Captains, Masters, and Pilots must have such great Care, as of them is hoped.

These my Instructions are delivered unto every Ship, and have their Copy, firm'd by my Hand, and registered by my Secretary, the which shall be read by every Purser of every Ship publickly, to come to the Note of all Soldiers and Mariners, whereby they may not pretend Ignorance: And to the said Purser I ordain and command, that, thrice in the Week, they be bound to read these my Instructions publickly, and that they take Witness of the Fulfilling hereof, upon Pain of him, that doth the contrary, shall receive Punishment to the Example of others.

All the above said, we command to be manifested, and be kept without any Breach for the Service of his Majesty, none to break them, or any Part thereof, in no Manner, upon Pain they shall be severely punished, every one according to his Estate and Offence; all others reserved to our Discretion. Made in the *Gal-lion Saint Marten*, at the Road of *Belline**, the twenty-eighth of May, 1588.

* A Village three Miles below *Lisbon*.

A Discourse, concerning the *Spanish* Fleet invading *England*, in the Year 1588, and overthrown by Her Majesty's Navy, under the Conduct of the Right Honourable the Lord *Charles Howard*, High-Admiral of *England*; written in *Italian*, by *Petrucchio Ubaldino*, Citizen of *Florence*, and translated for *A. Ryther*; to be sold at his Shop, being a little from *Leaden-hall*, next to the Sign of the *Tower*. MDXC.

The constant Attempts, which the Romish Powers have made upon our Religion and Liberties; the many Private Treasons they have fomented against our Establishment in Church and State; their vast Armaments that have been made from Time to Time, since we forsook the Superstition of Rome, and believed in the Gospel only; and especially the late combined Force of France and Spain, to ruin us by Sea and Land, calls upon us to be thankful to God, who still continues to fight for us, as he did in the Infancy of the Reformation; as will better appear by comparing our present State with the following Account.

The Pope had suffered so great a Loss in his Revenue by the utter Separation of England from his Authority, when Queen Elizabeth confirmed and established the Reformation begun and continued by her Father and Brother, that he tried all Means to take her out of the Way; and working more especially with the potent King, Philip of Spain they both determined either to cut her off by private Artifices, or, if those should fail, to subdue the Nation by open Force. The Pope leads the Way. For, it being so shocking to human Nature to contrive the Death, and to take away the Life of God's Anointed, or the Governor of his People, he, with his pretended dispensing Power, was to strive to quiet the Consciences of those Bigots to be made Use of on that Occasion. The first Step was to excommunicate the Queen and all her Council, and their Adherents; and then to absolve all those her Subjects, that were willing to be Rebels and Traytors, from their obligated Allegiance. Then He assumed a Right to dispose of the Crown of England; gave it to the King of Spain, and exhorted Philip, to reduce it to his Yoke by Force of Arms; engaged other States, and largely assisted him otherwise to enable him to make a successful Invasion and to conquer, and decreed it a Virtue and Merit, deserving of Heaven, in those English Subjects, that could be so cajoled to arm for Spain, and rebel against their lawful Sovereign. — Philip of Spain, thus prompted and supported, resolved upon the Execution of a Design that would, if successful, add so much Power and Riches to his Crown: But still he pretended Friendship, disavowed his Intention, and solicited Queen Elizabeth's Reconciliation to the Romish Religion, that he might the better cover the wicked Design of taking away her Life privately or by Treason. For, in the Year 1584, William Parry, whose Trial

is proposed to be printed at large in this Collection, instigated by Benedicto Palmio and Christophero de Salazar, Secretary to King Philip, undertook to murder her Sacred Majesty; and Hanibal Codreto, a Spanish Priest approved the same diabolical Design. But this was providentially detected; and so her Majesty escaped the bloody Hands of that Monster of Ingratitude, whom she had before saved from the Gallows; yet again in the Year 1586, Babington and Ballard agreed with Bernardin Menduza, then the King of Spain's Ambassador, to betray the Land to a Spanish Invasion, or to kill the Queen; but they were both preserved from their Wickedness by the Almighty Power and Goodness of God. Thus Philip hoping for no Success in this private Scheme, his Intentions being so often detected, and his Armaments already compleated, resolved to fight against God and his Servants, by the Help of the Pope and the whole Strength of his own Power; and, in Consequence of that Resolution, in the Year 1588 he sent from Lisbon, on the 19th of May, that Sea Armament, which he called, The invincible Navy, or, as the Pope Sixtus the Fifth termed it, The great, noble and invincible Army, and Terror of Europe, consisting of 134 Sail of tall towering Ships, besides Gallies, Galliaffes, and Galleons, stored with 22000 Pounds of great Shot, 40200 Quintals or Hundred Weights of Powder, 1000 Quintals of Lead for Bullets, 10200 Quintals of Match, 7000 Muskets and Calievers, 1000 Partizans and Halberts; besides double Cannons, Mortars, and Field-pieces for a Camp, upon Disembarking, and a great many Mules, Horses, and Asses, with six Months Provision of Bread, Bisquet, and Wine; 60500 Quintals of Bacon, 3000 Cheese, 12000 Pipes of fresh Water, besides a full Portion of other Sorts of Flesh, Rice, Beans, Pease, Oil, and Vinegar. To which he added a great Quantity of Torches, Lanthorns, Lamps, Canvas, Hides, and Lead, to stop Leaks, &c. according to some Accounts. The English Fleet gave them such a Reception, that, by the Blessing of God, it soon defeated and dispersed that invincible Navy, and made it vincible. In Memory of which great and miraculous Deliverance from the Spanish and Popish Tyranny, there was a Day set a-part, by Authority, to be kept holy, throughout all her Majesty's Dominions; and it is much to be regretted, that so great a Mercy and Duty should be now laid aside: For, as a certain great Writer observes, Doubtless all Men and Women, who would not have bowed the Knee to (Spanish) Baal, had then been put to the Sword; their Children had been tossed at the Pike's End, or else their Brains dashed out by some ill faced Dons or other. Strangers have not been wanting to commemorate that Time of England's Deliverance, amongst whom I shall only mention the reverend and religious Theodore Beza (of pious Memory) whose Pathetick Poem gratulatory on that Occasion, in Latin, inscribed to the Queen, I shall give you here translated by an excellent Pen into the Language of those Days:

Spain's King, with Navies huge, the Seas bestrew'd,
 T'augment, with English Crown, his Spanish Sway.
 Ask you, what caus'd this proud Attempt? 'Twas lewd
 Ambition drove, and Avarice led the Way.
 'Tis well Ambition's windy Puff lies drowned
 By Winds; and swelling Hearts, by swelling Waves.
 'Tis well the Spaniards, who the World's vast Round
 Devour'd, devouring Sea most justly craves.

But thou O Queen, for whom Winds, Seas, do war
O thou sole Glory of the World's wide Mass,
So reign to God, still from Ambition far,
So still, with bounteous Aids, the *Good embrace*,
That thou do *England* long, long *England* thee enjoy,
Thou Terror of all *Bad*, Thou every Good Man's Joy!

To the Reader.

*Who list to hear and see what God hath done
For us, our Realm, and Queen, against our
Foe,*

*Our Foe, the Spaniard proud, let him o'er-run
This little Book, and he the Truth shall know:
Which, when you read with Care, retain this
Thought,*

*That, howsoe'r the Means deserved well,
'Twas chiefly God, against our Foe that fought,
And sent them quick through Midst of Sea to
Hell.*

*Whither both quick, and thick, let them go
down,*

That seek to alienate the Title of our Crown.

T. H.

THE Queen's Majesty having divers Ways understood the great and diligent Preparation of the King of *Spain*, in divers Parts both by Land and Sea, not only of the strongest Ships of all Places within his Dominions, but also of all Sorts of Provision and Ammunition necessary for a mighty Fleet which was to come from *Spain* and *Portugal* (for the Furnishing and better Direction whereof he had drawn together, into the Places aforesaid, the most principal and antient Captains and Soldiers, as well of the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, as of *Lombardy*, and other Parts of *Italy*, and the more remote Parts of *India*, as by every one was long before very evidently perceived, by Reason that the Preparation of these Things together with the Number of the Ships, Mariners, and Soldiers, the divers Sorts and Quantities of Victuals, the great Number and divers Kinds of Artillery, with the Sum of every several Kind, were sufficiently specified unto all Countries, by certain Pamphlets, laying forth that large his whole Intent; the which Pamphlets were printed and published in *Spain* and *Portugal*, and other Provinces of Christendom, with this Title: *The most puissant and most happy Fleet of the King of*

Spain, against the Realm of England :) Her Majesty, I say, having in this Manner received so open and manifest Information hereof, as also certain Intelligence of Horsemen and Footmen, sent in so great Number, that they were sufficient for the furnishing of divers Camps in the *Low-Countries*, under the Government of the Duke of *Parma*, his Lieutenant-General for those Provinces, and withal knowing the Multitude of the Ships of War, and the Possibility that the said King had to transport his Soldiers out of *Flanders*, and land them in *England*, not sparing to give out thereupon open and free Report, that all that Provision was for the Invasion and Conquest of *England*: And for so much also as at the same Time the King himself, by Means of his aforesaid General, the Duke of *Parma*, pretended a certain Treaty of Peace to be made with her Majesty (albeit this Offer was in Truth known, in *England*, not to have been made, but only to take Advantage of the Time, and to make her Majesty negligent in preparing for her Defence, although she notwithstanding desirous openly to declare her good Inclination unto that, which is a just and Christian Commendation in a prudent Princess) refused not in any Point this Treaty and Offer of Peace, greatly desired of all Christian People; and, therefore, for that Purpose gave Commandment to certain Noblemen of her privy Council and others, with certain Governors of her Forces in *Flanders*, to deal in this Matter with the Commissioners that should be there appointed, in the Name and Behalf of the said King; and our Commissioners after their Departure and manifest Declaration, that they began to parley to some Purpose concerning this Treaty, being driven off a long Time to small Effect, and without any manifest Hope of Agreement likely to ensue, until such Time as the *Spanish* Fleet was not only discovered in the *English* Channel, but also with-held and bridled from their Purpose, in joining with the Forces of the Duke of *Parma* and transporting an Army into *England*; and, finally, until such Time as it was enforced to withdraw itself

self, and seek some better Fortune in the Northern Seas, being every where else unable to make any forceable Resistance. Therefore, her Majesty as well to declare her propense Readiness, if on their Part any sincere Intent of Peace had been, as her vigilant Providence not to be deluded by so subtle and malicious an Enemy, furnished herself by Sea with a mighty Fleet, and by Land with a no less Diligence to resist so great Forces, as by all Nations were reported to come against her. For it was never known in the Memory of Man *, that so great Preparation was ever heretofore at one Time made out, either by King *Philip* himself, or yet by the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, his Father, although his Power were much more, and his Occasions of War far greater.

The Diligence therefore of the *Englishmen*, answerable unto the Care of the Prince, was such and so great, that her Majesty was provided of a mighty Fleet to defend her by Sea from the Enemy, between the First of *November*, 1587, and the Twentieth of *December* next ensuing, a Time in Truth very short for such a Provision in Regard of so many Years spent by the said King in Preparing of his Fleet, which notwithstanding did shew of what Force it was, by Experience, afterwards made thereof against the *English* Navy gathered together within fifty Days, and provided and most excellently furnished of all Things necessary for such a Purpose. The Care and Charge of this Navy was commended unto the Right Honourable *Charles Lord Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, who, for his Place and Office, noble Courage, Experience in martial Affairs, and Nobility of Blood and Descent, was thought most fit and worthy to be employed in that Service. He had in his Company a sufficient Number of honourable, worshipful and valiant Personages, famous both in Respect, of their Birth and the Gifts of Mind, desirous to serve their Prince and Country in such a Cause as this, being judged of the whole *English* Nation both just and necessary; likewise of Sea-faring Men and private Soldiers so competent a Number, as might be answerable unto the Power of so great a Prince in so weighty a Cause. The Lord High Admiral, therefore, with these Forces, keeping for a Season the narrow Seas and Channel between *England* and *Flanders*, Sir *Francis Drake*, Knight,

mentioned here also in Honour of his good Deserts, was, by the Advice of the Lords of the Council and his Honour so commanding it, sent towards the West Parts with certain of the Queen's Ships and others from certain Ports of *England* thereabouts, being in all not above the Number of fifty Sail of all Sorts, there to attend the Lord high Admiral his Coming with greater Forces, if Occasion should so require. In the mean Season the Lord Admiral with his Vice-Admiral, the Lord *Henry Seymer*, kept the narrow Seas, accompanied with twenty Ships more, very well furnished at the Charge of the Citizens of *London*, besides many other from divers Parts on that Side of the Realm, that lieth from the Town of *Dover* up to the Northward, which met all together in good Order, and well appointed for the Wars.

And here the Lord Admiral understanding, for a Certainty, that the Fleet of the Enemy was already launched and at the Sea, he weighed Anchor, and leaving the Lord *Seymer* with sufficient Forces of the Queen's Ships and other Vessels to watch what the Duke of *Parma* would do, or was able to undertake by Sea, and parting from thence the Twenty-first of *May*, 1588, to the Westward with her Majesty's Navy, and twenty Ships of *London*, with some others, he arrived at *Plymouth*, the Twenty-third of the same Month, where Sir *Francis Drake*, with fifty Sail which he had under his Charge, met with the Lord Admiral in very good Order. And then, the two Navies being joined together into one, the Lord Admiral made Sir *Francis Drake* his Vice Admiral.

Arriving then at *Plymouth*, his Lordship presently gave Order for Provision of Victuals for the whole Navy, that it might want nothing, that should tend to the necessary Service ensuing. The whole Navy was at this Present about Ninety Sails of all Sorts.

This Provision being compleat, he resolved with himself to put forth to the Sea again about the Thirtieth of *May* aforesaid; but, the Wind not serving his Turn, he kept himself abroad, sailing up and down within the Sleeve between *Ushant* and *Silley*, attending some Sight or Report of the Enemies Fleet. Where having waited a certain Time, sometimes drawing near to the Coast of *France*, and sometimes to the Coast of *England*, he returned, being thereto inforced by a great Tempest, with his whole Navy into the

* See the Particulars above in the Introduction to this Tract, and in one of the succeeding Pamphlets.

Port of *Plymouth*, the Sixth of *June*, to refresh his Company there.

In the mean Season, there were discovered, between *Ushant* and *Silley*, certain Ships of the *Spanish* Fleet, not above the Number of fourteen, which, were known to be severed from the whole Fleet, by Violence of the aforesaid Tempest. But, before they could be encountered withal by any of the *English* Navy, the Wind came about, whereby they had Opportunity to return back again, saving themselves from all Perils in their Haven, called the *Croin*, into the which also the rest of the *Spanish* Fleet was put to provide themselves enough of other Things, which they wanted, and especially of fresh Water. Of this Thing, the Lord Admiral had Intelligence and Advertisment from sundry Parts, as also that the *Spanish* Fleet was, by great Fortune, dispersed and severed into divers Places, through Penury of many, and those necessary Things, through Diseases and Mortality of Men, although the Report hereof could not afterwards be verified, whereof the certain Truth was, that, being troubled with Tempest, they were commanded to come a Shore at the *Croin*.

The Lord Admiral therefore, seeing the Coast of *England*, and *France*, clear and free from all Danger, as, by diligent Search, it was understood, resolved, by the Advice and Opinion of his Council, to take the Advantage of the next Wind, that should blow from the *North*, that, passing to the Coast of *Spain*, he might find the Enemies Fleet so dispersed in the *Croin*, and in other Parts of *Gallitia*, where they had been driven by the Storm.

This was put in Execution, between the Eighth and Tenth of the same Month, the Wind being then at the *North*, which within a While changing unto the *South*, after that he was come within forty Leagues, -or thereabout, of the Coast of *Spain*, made him to cast a Doubt of that, which afterwards happened indeed. For laying this before him, as his principal Care, according to the Charge laid upon him by her Majesty, to be diligent and careful for the Defence of the Coast of *England*, and considering that, with the Wind, which was now changed, and very good, to make for *England*, the Enemy might set out, and pass for *England*, without Discovery of his Fleet, he returned back with the whole Navy, and the Twelfth of the same Month he arrived at *Plymouth*, there ac-

cordingly to provide himself of all that was necessary.

The Nineteenth of *June*, his Honour had Intelligence by a Bark or Pinnace, whose Captain was *Thomas Fleming*, amongst other behind him in the Sleeve for Discovery, that the *Spanish* Fleet was discovered near unto the *Lizard*, the Wind being then *South*, and by *West*. And therefore albeit, that, by Reason of the great Number of *English* Ships, which were in *Plymouth*, it was, with that Wind, very hard to bring them forth from thence (as the Military Art of the Sea, and the Condition of their Affairs required) yet was there such Diligence used by the Lord Admiral, and the rest by his Example, as they endeavoured therein, with such Advice and Earnestness, that many of the Ships at the Length warped out of the Haven, as if the Wind had been wholly favourable unto them: Which Thing could not have fallen out, but through the long and certain Skill, which the *English* Masters generally have in Marine Discipline. To the which Reason, this may be added, that they were all of one Nation, of one Tongue, and touched with a grievous and equal Hatred towards their Enemies, being mightily persuaded of their Forces. Whereupon we may in such Cases assure ourselves of what Importance it is, in Sea-faring Matters, for a Fleet of any Prince whatsoever, invading any foreign State or Kingdom, to encounter with a Fleet, ready for Defence in such a Manner, as the *English* Navy was, for so much as the Fleet invading being provided diversly of Masters and Officers, differing one from another in Custom, Language, and Conceit, cannot, in any Measure, give any assured Hope of certain Victory, how honourable soever the Commander be. Many of the Ships, therefore, came forth, by Reason that the Men were moved in the aforesaid Respects to labour diligently, and so much the rather, by how much the Captains and chief Officers, both by Counsel and Hand, shewed themselves more diligent and industrious.

By these Means, the Twentieth Day of *June*, the Lord Admiral, accompanied with fifty-four Ships, came forth with the same Wind that the Enemy had from the *South-west*: Which Thing certainly was not esteemed a small Thing to be done, in Regard as well of the Wind, as of the Narrowness of the Place itself.

The *Spanish* Fleet being manifestly discovered about a Hundred and forty Miles from *Edestone*,
and

and clearly seen of every one, towards the West, and so far off from *Foy*, as the *English* Fleet was, that is twenty-five ordinary *English* Miles: The next Morning, being the twenty-first of *June*, all the Ships, which were now come out of the Haven, had gotten the Wind of the *Spaniards*, and, approaching somewhat nearer, found that their Fleet was placed in Battle Aray after the Manner of a Mooncrescent, being ready with her Horns, and her inward Circumference, to receive either all, or so many of the *English* Navy, as should give her the Assault, her Horns being extended in Wideness about the Distance of eight Miles, if the Information given have not deceived my Pen. The Reason of their arranging, in this Order, arose upon the Foresight of the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* General of the *Spanish* Fleet, who, approaching the Coast, sent out a small Ship, to espy somewhat concerning the *English* Fleet, and hearing by certain Fishermen taken Prisoners, that our Fleet was in *Plymouth*, he prepared himself as aforesaid, for the Avoiding of all such Chances as might after befall. Whereupon, about Nine of the Clock before Noon, the Lord Admiral commanded his Pinnace, called the *Disdain*, to give the Defiance unto the Duke of *Medina*: After which, he himself, in the Queen's Ship called the *Ark*, went foremost, as was convenient, and began hotly to fight with a great Ship, which was Admiral of the *Spanish* Fleet in which Ship, he thought, by Reason of certain likely Conjectures, the Duke of *Medina* to be, considering also the said Ship was so well accompanied by others. The Fight with her continued so long, and so hot, that divers other Ships, yea, the most Part of the *Spanish* Fleet, came to her Succour.

In the mean Season, the Vice-Admiral Sir *Francis Drake*, with Master *John Hawkins* and Master *Marten Frobisher*, fought with a Galleon of *Portugal*, wherein they thought *Don Martin de Ricaldes* the Vice-Admiral to be.

This Fight was so well maintained for the Time it continued, that the Enemy was inforced to leave his Place, and to give Way, gathering towards the East. In the which Point of Removing, a great Galleon, wherein *Don Pedro de Valdes* went as Captain, falling foul with another Ship of their Fleet, was deprived of her Foremast, so that she could not follow the Body of the Fleet that forsook her, to the great Marvel of the *Englishmen* themselves, whereby *Don*

Pedro became Prisoner, as afterwards shall be declared.

Furthermore also, there was, at this Time, a great Ship of *Biscay*, about eight hundred Ton in Burthen, that was spoiled by Fire upon this Occasion: The Captain of the Soldiers that went in her, having small Regard (as is reported) of an orderly and civil Life, did insolently beat a certain *Flemish* Gunner: What Cause he had, I know not, whether upon Occasion of Words, touching his Charge, or by Means of the Gunner's Wife, whom he had abused, according to the Custom of that Nation. Whereupon, the perplexed Man seeing himself among such a Kind of People, as not only made him serve their Turns, at their own Pleasure, but disgraced him in as vile Manner, as if he were a Slave, despairing both of Life, Wife, and his young Daughter, and perchance rather moved with the Dishonour of them, than by his own Misfortunes (which Mind is many Times in Men, even of mean Condition) he set himself on Fire, in a Barrel of Gunpowder, procuring thereby, through the Loss of his own Life, and the extreme Hazard of those that belonged unto him, and the Loss of many Men's Lives besides, a cruel Revenge of his Injuries received by one only Man. This Example may serve to instruct such as command over others, how they ought to behave themselves, with less Insolency: Inasmuch as the Mind of Man is always ready to revenge, after the Custom of this our bloody Age, if he be not born utterly void of a quick Wit, and lively Spirit.

Through this Mischance of theirs, all the upper Decks were blown up, all her Furniture marred, and much other Spoil done, besides the Death and Maiming of her Men, so that, being utterly unable all that Night to help herself, she was succoured by the Galliaffes, and, for the Time, saved in the Body of their Fleet.

But to return unto our Purpose. This first Skirmish continued not above two Hours, because the Lord Admiral, considering, that he wanted as yet forty Ships, which could not so readily come forth of the Haven, thought he should do better Service, if he stayed their Coming, before he proceeded any further, beating behind upon the Enemy, lest he should bring the rest too much in Hazard, and, therefore, he thought it not profitable, too much, to embolden and prick those forward that he had with him, in a Matter, that was not greatly convenient,

convenient, either for the Honour of the Realm, or his own Person; neither did the military Discipline of the *English* Nation, purchased by long Experience at the Sea, give him Leave to do it. And, therefore, he put forth his Flag, to call the other Captains to Counsel; who, agreeing unto his Determination, received Instructions concerning the Order that they were to keep in following the *Spanish* Fleet. Then, having given Liberty to every Man to return to their Charge, he gave Order, likewise, to his Vice-Admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*, to appoint the Watch for that Night, and bear out the Light,

The same Night, the *Spanish* Fleet lay about fourteen Miles off from the *Start*. The next Day following, early in the Morning, it was under the Wind, not so far off as *Berry*.

In the mean Time, the *English* Fleet wanting Light, because, the Vice-Admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*, leaving his Place, to follow five Hulks, which were discovered in the Evening, very late, it came to pass, that all the other Ships staid behind, not knowing that they were to follow, or whether to direct themselves: So that there might have followed some great Inconvenience, had they had to do with an Enemy more practised in our Seas. But as it seemed, by Report, the said Vice-Admiral was moved to do this, by Means of a certain curious Diligence, and a military Suspicion, growing in his Mind upon certain and very probable Conjectures, grounded on Circumstances of Matter considered in his Mind: And, therefore, he gave them the Chace, thinking that they had been Enemies.

But being overtaken, and their Officers examined, and being known to be Friends, or, at the leastwise, not Enemies, he permitted them to go their Way, returning himself unto the Fleet the Day following.

The Lord Admiral, notwithstanding, accompanied with the *Bear* and the *Mary Rose*, coming a little behind his Stern, by Reason of the Clearness of the Air (which, at that time of the Year, is ordinarily very great throughout all *England*) followed the Enemy all that Night, within a Calverin-Shot. By Occasion whereof, the rest of the Fleet was cast so far behind, that, the Morning after, the nearest Part thereof could hardly descry the Tops of the other Ships, and many of them were clean out of Sight; So that with all the Force of their Sails, they could hardly come all together the whole Day following, until the Evening.

The next Day, the Vice-Admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*, being in the Queen's Ship, called the *Revenge*, having also the *Roebuck* and a Pinnace or two in his Company, took Don *Pedro de Valdes*, who, as was said before, had lost the Foremast of his Ship: And having received the said *Valdes*, as his Prisoner, and certain other Gentlemen of most Account that were therein, he sent the Ship, together with the Prisoners, unto *Dartmouth*, under the Conduct of the *Roebuck*, and he himself made toward the Lord Admiral under whose Lee he came that Night. The same Day, being the Twenty-second of the Month, a little before the Vice-Admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*, was returned unto the Fleet, the *Spaniards* forsook the Ship, which the Day before was spoiled by Fire. To the which Ship, the Lord Admiral sent the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and with him, Mr *John Hawkins* who, being in the Cockboat of the *Victory* went a-board her, and there found a lamentable Sight. For, all the uppermost Decks of her being torn and spoiled by the Fire, there were in her fifty Men miserably burnt with the Powder. The Stink in her was so great, and the Ship itself so filthy, that the Lord *Howard* departed presently from her: And returning, with Mr. *John Hawkins*, to the Lord Admiral, they informed him of that they found and saw there. For which Cause, there was presently Commandment given, that the little Pinnace of Captain *Fleming* should conduct her unto some Port of *England*, where they might most commodiously help themselves. Whereupon, it was carried to *Waymouth*, the next Day following. For all the Mishap that befel this Ship, they understood that the *Spaniards* had taken out of her all the best Things that they could, casting off the Bulk of her, together with certain gross Stuff therein as for that Time altogether unprofitable. About this Time, her Majesty, seeing that all Hope of Peace was frustrate, called Home again her Commissioners from *Flanders*, who were, by the Duke of *Parma*, most courteously dismissed, very honourably accompanied, and themselves and their Carriages safe conducted to the Marches of *Calais*, which Way they took their Journey.

But to the Matter: The Night last before mentioned, there befel a great Calm, and thereupon four *Spanish* Gallies severed themselves from the rest of their Fleet. This Thing made the *Englishmen* to doubt, that that Night they

had resolved to give the Onset upon some of their lesser Ships, imagining that they might annoy them the rather, for that they were the Rereward of the Fleet. But afterwards the Gallies (whatsoever the Occasion was) enterprised nothing, either for that they saw they could not safely do it, or else because their Minds were not thoroughly settled upon that which before they thought to do; a Thing many Times falling out in such Persons as are but poor in Counsel and Resolution, that they continue in their perplexed Conceits, without any Effect or Commodity ensuing thereof.

The Morning following being *Tuesday*, the twenty-third of the Month, the Wind was at North-East, whereupon the *Spaniards* came back upon the *Englishmen*, with the Advantage of the Wind, directing their Course toward the Land; the which Course was not profitable for the *Englishmen*. Therefore, to take the Advantage of the Enemy, they cast about toward the West, with a reasonable Compass, their Ships being very good both of Sail and Stirrage, that they might bring about their Purpose. Now the *Spaniards*, to hinder their Intent, after they perceived it, offered to come near a-board to fight with them, trusting in the huge Greatness and Height of their Ships. The which Offer of theirs the *Englishmen* refused not, but began presently to bring themselves into Battle Aray, which the Enemy perceiving, he also did the like.

In this Case the *Ark*, the *Lion*, the *Bear*, the *Elizabeth Jonas*, the *Victory*, and certain other Ships were content to follow the Ship, called the *Non Pariglia*.

In the mean Season the *Triumph*, with other five Ships of *London*, namely the Merchant *Royal*, the *Centurion*, the *Margery Joan*, the *Mary Rose*, and the *Golden Lion*, were so far to the Rereward, and so far severed from the rest of the Fleet, that the Gallies undertook to give them an hard Assault. But they were well entertained by the Ships, for the Space of an Hour and an Half, until at the Length, some of the Queen's Ships, coming to succour the *Triumph* and the *Londoners*, dealt so well in the Matter, that the Gallies were driven to retire. The Wind came about at this Present, to the South-east, and afterwards, to the South-west and by South, at which Time a certain Number, or Squadron of the Queen's, together with other Merchants Ships, gave Assault unto the *Spanish* Fleet, and that, so furiously to the Westward of them, that the *Spa-*

niards were all inforced to give them Way: For which Cause, the Lord Admiral considering both the Discommodity and Danger, wherein to the *Triumph*, and the other five Ships were come, he called other of the Queen's Ships that were not far off, and gave them straight Commandment to follow him, and to charge the Enemies which were to the Westward with all their Force; giving further Order to them all, not to discharge any one Piece of Ordnance, before they should come within a Musket-shot of the Enemy, inasmuch, as that was the only Way to succour the Ships of their Friends with the greater Damage of the Enemy. This was well performed by the *Ark*, the *Elizabeth Jonas*, the Galleon *Leicester*, the *Golden Lion*, the *Victory*, the *Mary Rose*, the *Dread-nought*, and the *Swallow*. Which Thing the Duke of *Medina* perceiving, he also came forth with sixteen of his best Galleons, to hinder and impeach the *Englishmen* in the Defence of the *Triumph*, seeming in this Case to pretend, that the Reason of the Fight did so require; whereas the Regard of his Honour did no less inforce him unto it; because it seemed inconvenient that he should in every Thing be inferior to the *Englishmen*; and therefore, he made large Promises unto those, by whose Means the *Victory* should be gotten. Howbeit that fell out in the End, that was prefixed by the Stars, that is, that the Success of the Conflict falling out on his Side, as hardly, as in such a Case might be, the *Spaniards*, in the End, were inforced to give Place, and to retire unto their Aray of Battle. In this Conflict, one *William Cocks*, Captain of a little Pinnace, called the *Violet*, belonging unto Sir *William Winter*, behaved himself very valiantly against the Enemy, in the greatest Heat of this Incounter; but, within a little While after, he lost his Delight, wherewith he was not very well acquainted, and his Life, by a great Piece of Ordnance, Fortune not being correspondently favourable unto his Courage, which, therefore, was no whit profitable to the Perfection of his Purpose.

Toward the Evening, four or five *Spanish* Ships came out from the rest of the Fleet, from the South-eastward, against whom, certain of the *English* Ships came, and namely, the *May-Flower* of *London*, which discharged certain Pieces upon the Enemy, with a very honourable Declaration of the Marine Discipline; and being accompanied by other Ships, that were there found, they all behaved themselves no less diligently

diligently (which Thing was not at the first hoped for) shewing their Desire tempered with a Wish of other Company. The Conflict continued from the Morning unto the Evening, the Lord Admiral being at all Times ready and vigilant, in all Adventures that might fall out: And, thereupon, he was sometimes more, and sometimes less eager in the Conflict, as Necessity required, giving thereby evident Example, how others should behave themselves. It might well be said, that, for the Time, it was not possible to see, before this Battle, in this Sea so hard a Conflict, nor so terrible a Spoil of Ships, by Reason of the *Pellets** that flew so thick every Way: To conclude, there was never seen so vehement a Fight, either Side endeavouring through an headstrong and deadly Hatred the other's Spoil and Destruction. For, albeit the Musquetiers and Harquebusiers were in either Fleet many in Number, yet could they not be discerned or heard, by Reason of the more violent and roaring Shot of the greater Ordnance, that followed so thick one upon another, and played so well that Day, on either Side, that they were thought to be equal in Number, to common Harquebusiers in an hot Skirmish. The Battle was not only long, but also near at Hand, within half a Musket-Shot, and that to the great Advantage of the *Englishmen*, who with their Ships, being (as was aforesaid) excellent of Sail and Stirrage, yet less a great Deal, than the *Spanish* Ships, and therefore, more light and nimble, fought not at all, according to their Manner otherwise, to board them, but keeping themselves aloof at a reasonable Distance, continually beat upon the Hull and Tacklings of their Enemies Ships, which being a great Deal higher, could not so conveniently beat the *English* Ships, with their Ordnance. This long Conflict being finished, and every one retiring unto his Part, the next Day following (which was *Wednesday*, the twenty-fourth of the Month) was passed without any Thing done, because, by Reason of the Fight that Day before, there was spent a great Quantity of Powder and Shot; whereupon, the Lord Admiral sent divers Barks and Pinnaces to the Shore, for a new Supply of such Munition. For her Majesty, prudently foreseeing each Thing necessary for her Men, ordained that there should be sufficient Provision made, according as should be needful, as well of Victuals as of Munition. It seemed more-

over that Day, that the *Spanish* Fleet was nothing grieved with that Day's Respite, but were all of them indifferently glad of that Breathing, inasmuch as, thereby, they had good Opportunity to look to their Leaks, whereof no Doubt they had a great Number, for they had carried away many shrewd Stripes from their Enemies, their Hurts being of great Likelihood so much the more, in that the *Spaniards* were penned up in a narrow Room. This Day, the Lord Admiral, for certain convenient Reasons, divided the whole Body of the Fleet into four Squadrons, by Means of which Division the Enemy might be greatly, and more continually troubled. The first Squadron he kept for himself, the second he assigned unto Sir *Francis Drake*, his Vice-admiral; the third to Mr. *John Hawkins*, the fourth to Mr. *Martin Frobisher*, and after Noon he gave Order, that in the Night six of the Merchants Ships in each Squadron (for that, as they were of fundry Parts of the Realm, so they were equally divided into each Squadron) should charge the *Spanish* Fleet in as many Parts, at one and the same Time, that at Midnight the Enemy might be kept occupied. This Order taken (as it was very likely) might have had as good Effect, as it was wisely given; but by Reason of a great Calm, which fell out, no Part of this Advise ment could be accomplished, Fortune interrupting good Counsel.

The next Day, being the twenty-fifth of the Month, and St. *James's* Day, there was a great *Spanish* Galleon left behind her Company to the Southward, near to the Squadron of Master *John Hawkins*; so that the Barks, belonging unto the greater Ships, were within Musket-shot of her. By Reason hereof, three of the Gallies, and another Ship, that was in Manner of a Galleon, and well appointed, came from the *Spanish* Fleet to succour this Galleon. Against whom went out the Lord Admiral in the *Ark*, and the Lord *Thomas Howard* in the *Golden Lion*, and drew so near, being towed by their Boats, that they did them much Harm, whereby one of them requiring the Help of the rest, being succoured by them returned unto the Fleet: And from another, by Means of a Shot coming from the *Ark*, there was taken away her Light, and thrown in the Sea; the third lost her Beck. Whereby these two Ships, the *Ark* and the *Golden Lion*, declared this Day to each Fleet, that they had most diligent and faithful

* i. e. Bullets.

Gunners, desirous as well of the common Good, as of the private Honour of their Leaders, the Lord Admiral and the Lord *Thomas Howard*, which went in them; which Commendation might rightly be imparted with them, concerning this happy Event, because the Calm was so great, that, albeit the two Fleets were well able to behold the Fortune of each of their Friends, yet, notwithstanding, they could not help them at all; at the Length, the Wind beginning somewhat to arise, the *Spaniards* took the Opportunity thereof, and put themselves forward to help those of their Side, and succoured them honourably. After this Time, the Gallies, in whose Puissance the greatest Hope of the *Spanish* Fleet was founded, were never seen to fight any more, such was their Entertainment that Day.

The two Fleets, notwithstanding, approaching nigh one unto another, began a Conflict, but they continued it but a While, except one Ship, called the *Non Pariglia*, and another, called the *Mary Rose*, which, having taken in their Topsails, staid themselves there, to make as it were a certain Experience of their Manhood, upon the *Spanish* Fleet, behaving themselves honourably for a Season. In which Time, the *Triumph*, being to the Northward of the *Spanish* Fleet, was so far off, that doubting, that certain of the *Spanish* Ships would assault her to the Windward, they succoured her with divers Boats, that got the Wind easily; for the *Bear* and the *Elizabeth Jonas*, even at one Instant, having Knowledge of the Danger, wherein the other were, drew near unto them, desiring both in Regard of the Honour of their Commonwealth, and also for the Preservation of their Friends and Countrymen, to be Partakers of the like Danger and Difficulty.

Whereupon each Ship doing her Duty, they jointly saved the *Triumph* from all Harm, and recovered the Wind. And thus this Day's Work ended; whereof I may say, that the Conflict was no whit shorter than the Day itself.

At this Present, the *Englishmen* considering the great Waste of Powder and Shot, that had heretofore been made, the Lord Admiral determined not to assault the Enemy any more, until he were come nigh unto *Dover*, in which Place, he knew, he should find the Fleet under the Charge of the Lord *Seymer* and Sir *William Winter*, who were ready to join with him, that thereby he might both fortify himself with a greater Number of Ships, and in this Manner

provide themselves of Munition, from that Part of the Realm. Upon *Friday*, therefore, being the twenty-sixth of the Month, ceasing from Fighting, the Lord Admiral (as well for their good Deserts and honourable Service, as also to encourage others to like Valour) was desirous to advance certain Personages to the Degree of Knighthood, for that, behaving themselves manfully as well with their Ships as their good Advice, they were worthy that Degree of Honour; and so much the more worthy, in that, being far separated from all courtly Favour, which many Times imparteth the chiefest Honours unto the least deserving Men, they declared their Valour in the Eyes of either Fleet.

Therefore the two Lords, viz. the Lord *Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*: *Roger Townsend*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Frobisher* were called forth, and the Order of Knighthood given them, by the Lord Admirals as their General.

This Day there came to the Service of her Majesty, in her Fleet, divers Gentlemen, honourable both by Blood and Place, but much more in Respect of their Courage and Virtue, for that, in these publick Affairs and so necessary Service of the Wars, they willingly offered their Service in the Defence of their Country and Honour of her Majesty.

This Day also, and the next, being the twenty-seventh, the *Spaniards* followed their Course quietly, before the *English* Fleet. In which Time the Earl of *Suffex*, the Lord *Buckhurst*, Sir *George Cary*, Knight, and the Captains of the Forts and Castles thereabouts, sent their Men with Powder, Shot and Victuals, to the Lord Admiral, to assist and help the Army. The same *Saturday* towards the Evening, the *Spaniards* drew nigh to *Calais* under the Coast of *Picardy*, and there suddenly cast Anchor, almost right against the left Hand of the Haven, to the Westward, a little less than five Miles from *Calais* Cliffs. The *English* Fleet also cast Anchor, within a Culverin-shot of the Enemy to the Westward.

In the mean Season, the Lord *Seymer* and Sir *William Winter* joined with the Lord Admiral, whereby the *English* Fleet increased to the Number of one Hundred and forty Ships, of all Sorts. But the *Spaniards*, with all Speed, sent Tidings unto the Duke of *Parma* of their Arrival, who at this Present was at *Bruges*; who, having retained with him all his Seafaring Men, many Days before to this Purpose, yet proceeded

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ed no farther, in the Matter, for that Time, although, for such Time, as the King had limited him, he for his Part took as much Care as might be looked for at his Hands. For, having already embarked a certain Number of his Soldiers, he was careful in like Manner to dispatch the rest, as soon as they should be ready, that they might take Opportunity to come forth, furnishing them abundantly with Victuals and Munition. But, in the mean Time, such a Chance fell out, as made frustrate, not only his, but the Conceit also of the Duke of *Medina*, and wholly overthrew their Enterprize, in that her Majesty was not a little careful and troubled in Mind, concerning the Success of these Affairs, albeit she herself had committed her whole Fortune into the Hands of Almighty God.

Moreover, also the Lord Admiral, having, by certain Notice, understood, that the Duke of *Parma* had prepared a great Number of Tuns of Water, and ten Thousand chosen Footmen, to be embarked for the Joining with the Fleet, which could not be avoided, if the Duke of *Medina* were not compelled to avoid that Place; knowing also the evident Peril, that was to be feared, if the *Spanish* Fleet should be suffered to refresh itself, and to be furnished with so many Soldiers, he applied his Wits so, in the Deliberation of these Matters of Weight and Importance, having the Consent of others more practised, that no Time might be lost, for the Furtherance of this Service; and, for so much as the Forces of the Enemy were not yet united and joined together, therefore the twenty-eighth of this Month, at Midnight, he provided eight small Ships, dressed with artificial Fire*, to the Intent to drive the same upon the *Spanish* Fleet. This Thing was diligently and effectually brought to pass, under the Charge of Captain *Young* and Captain *Prowse*, two valiant and courageous Men. By Reason hereof, the Enemy was not only enforced to break his Sleep, but, the Fire coming so suddenly upon him (not remembering himself, at the very instant Time, of any other Remedy, either more safe for himself, or more excusable) to cut his Cables, to let slip his Anchors, and to hoist up Sails, as the only Way to save his Fleet from so imminent and unexpected a Mischiefe. Furthermore, by Means of this Tumult and Confusion (which, in Truth, was very great) the chief Gallies fell foul with another Ship, up-

on the Cable of whose Anchor, her Stern was set so fast, that they could not loose her all the Night long, so that the next Day following she was enforced with her Oars to make towards the Land, and to draw nigh to the Haven's Mouth of *Calais*, to save herself in that Place; but, not knowing that Water, and having no profitable and convenient Counsel for the Time, she fell upon a Shelf. This Thing being, in good Time, espied by the Lord Admiral, he sent thither his greatest Boat, under the Charge of *Amicus Preston*, his Lieutenant, and together with him, *Thomas Gerrard* and Mr. *Harvie*, two of her Majesty's Gentlemen and Servants, and others of the Court, and of his own Servants, who fought with her, but unequally, for that the Ship, being gravelled, could, with her Force, prevail but little. In this Conflict it chanced that a Musket-shot struck *Hugo de Moncada*, chief Captain of the Gallies, a noble and valiant Man, in the Head. The which Mishap, joined with the Difficulty of stirring themselves in their Defence, bred such a Despair in every Man, that the greater Sort leaped into the Water, to save themselves by swimming into the Haven, although many of them perished in the Water. By this Disorder of the Enemy, the *Englishmen* being more secure, took her, and sacked her to their great Commodity, above an Hundred Men being entered into her, and their Company increasing more and more.

Whereupon *Monsieur Gordon*, Governor of *Calais*, a Man of good Estimation in Respect of his Prerogative in that Place, sent his Nephew, to give the *Englishmen* to understand, that they should content themselves with the ordinary Spoil, and that they should leave behind them the great Ordnance, as a Thing belonging unto him by Virtue of his Office. The which Embassage, sent the second Time unto Men more intentive unto their Prey than other Men's Reason, made the Gentleman to be evilly entertained by our Men, in such Sort, that they would have forceably taken from him some trifling Things about him, thinking him to be a *Spaniard*. Whereat *M. Gordon*, being offended, caused certain Pieces of Ordnance to be discharged from the Town, and then the *Englishmen* departed, leaving the Gallies at his Pleasure, after the Loss of some Soldiers, having, notwithstanding, sacked 22000 Ducats of Gold, appertaining unto the King, and fourteen Cof-

* This is the first Occasion on which we read that Fire-Ships were used in a Sea-Fight.

ters of Moveables of the Duke of *Medina*, with some other both Money and Moveables of other particular Men, and some Prisoners, among whom was Don *Roderigo* of *Mendoza*, and Don *John Gonzales de Sclerzano*, Under-captain of the Galliafs.

During the Time of surprising of which Galliafs, Sir *Francis Drake*, Vice-Admiral, being in the Ship called *The Revenge*, accompanied with *Tho. Fenner*, Captain of the *Non Pariglia*, with the rest of that Squadron, set upon the *Spanish Fleet*, giving them a hot Charge. Within a While after, Sir *John Hawkins*, in the *Victory*, accompanied with *Edward Fenton*, Captain of the *Mary Rose*, with *George Beeston*, Captain in the *Dreadnought*, and *Richard Hawkins* in the *Swallow*, with the rest of that Squadron, put themselves forward, and broke thro' the Midst of the *Spanish Fleet*; where there began a vehement Conflict continuing all the Morning, wherein every Captain did very honourable Service. Among the rest, Captain *Beeston* deserved special Praise. Unto this Fight came the Lord Admiral, accompanied with the Earl of *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*; and in that Place, where the Fight was made, and the Victory was gotten, they were publickly commended, that of their own Accord had made Shew of the Fruits answerable to the Hope before conceived of them. Not far from this Place there was a great *Spanish Galleon* seen, which was set upon on the one Side, by the Earl of *Cumberland* and *George Ryman*, in the *Bonaventure*, and on the other Side by the Lord *Seymer*, in the Ship called the *Rainbow*, and Sir *William Winter*, in the *Vanguard*, yet she saved herself valiantly, gathering into the Body of the Fleet, although with ill Success; for she was so beaten, and so terribly rent and torn with our great Ordnance, that the Night following, in the Sight of her own Fleet, she sunk, her Men, as is thought, being saved. After this, Captain *Fenton*, in the *Mary Rose*, and a *Spanish Galleon* met together, being East and West one of another, yet no nigher than that her Shot could play safely, and fly between them without any great Hurt. Captain *Fenton*, notwithstanding, and those that were with him, were worthily commended for their Service begun and accomplished with such prosperous Boldness. The same Day the Deeds of Sir *Robert Southwell* were evidently seen; for, being a Man born to Virtue and Commendation, and desirous to purchase Honour, to the

End that he might not make frustrate the Judgment of his Sovereign, who beforetime had made him a Knight, divining how much, in Time to come, he would further the Profit of the Commonwealth of *England*, he enforced himself not only to satisfy either in Counsel or Pains the publick Intent, but also the private Commodity of the Lord Admiral, his Father-in-Law, in that he had dutifully promised him sure and faithful Service, whereupon for the same he received condign Praise of every Man. There was also particularly praised *Robert Cross*, Captain, who in the Ship called, *The Hope*, gave a Sign of Fruit to be looked for in him, not inferior unto that which the Ship, wherein he went, did, by the Name it carried, cause us to hope for.

It fell out, also, the same Day, that the Lord *Henry Seymer* and Sir *William Winter* did so thoroughly beat two *Spanish Galleons*, although they were of the chiefest of them, and the best provided, that they were enforced to withdraw themselves to the Coast of *Flanders*; where, forasmuch as they were in a very evil Taking, as well in Respect of the Murder of their Men, as the manifold Leaks of their Ships, they were surprised, and, without Fight, rifled by the *Zee-landers*, and, with all the Men in them, carried as Prisoners unto *Flushing*. Among these, the Chiefest was *Don Diego Pimentello*, a Man very famous among his Country People.

It seemeth hereby that we may with Reason gather, that in these Conflicts many of the *Spanish Ships* perished, albeit that most Men think, that few of them miscarried. After this Battle, which was made the Twenty-ninth of the Month, the Lord Admiral the thirtieth Day ordained, that the Lord *Seymer* and Sir *William Winter* should return with their Fleet unto their appointed Office in the Channel, which was to keep the Coast from the Danger that the Duke of *Parma* seemed to threaten. The which Duke had already lost the Opportunity of being able to do any Thing for the Accomplishing of the common Intention of the *Spaniards*, or according to the Instructions received from the *Spanish King*, whatsoever they were; because the sudden and unlooked for Departure of the Duke of *Medina* with the whole Fleet, from the Coast of *Calais*, and his small Abode upon any other Coast, caused the whole Care of the aforesaid Duke, that he took upon the main Land, to become void, so that he did not embark the rest of his Men to join with the Duke of *Medina*.

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The Lord Admiral, therefore, determined to follow the *Spanish* Fleet only so long until they might be shut up to the Northward, whither the *Spanish* Fleet directed her Course, but to what End it was not known. And that he with the same Wind might come to the *Firth*, which is upon the Coast of *Scotland*, if so be that he saw the Enemy pass those Parts. Whereupon he thought moreover, that it was good to stay his Fleet from attempting aught upon the *Spaniards*, until he should have good Intelligence of their Purpose, thereby to work a Mean utterly to disperse and overthrow them. But the *Spaniards* kept their Course about the Islands of *Orkney*, declaring thereby, that they minded to return that Way into *Spain*, along by the North-coast of *Scotland*, which, as skilful Men conjectured, would be to their evident Danger, as it fell out afterwards. Perceiving, therefore, the Purpose of the Enemy, when he was shut up fifty-five Degrees thirteen Minutes to the Northward, and thirty Leagues off from *Newcastle*, the Lord Admiral resolved with himself to let the *Spanish* Fleet keep on her Way; albeit at the first he was minded to give them a strong Assault upon the Second of *August*; but, persuaded otherwise by a more safe Advice and Counsel, he wisely staid himself from that Action, leaving the Event that should ensue unto Fortune, who might work some farther Matter upon them, seeing the Enemy had taken that Way to save himself. Moreover, he considered the Scarcity of Munition, whereof at that Present he had but little, and that upon this Occasion, for that the Ships that lay on the Coast, appointed by Order from her Majesty to carry such Provision, knew not where to find our Fleet in Time convenient.

The *Spanish* Fleet, therefore, as for her own Welfare it was requisite, having gone on far before, the Lord Admiral resolved to put into the *Firth* of *Scotland*, as well to refresh himself, with new Victuals, as also to dispatch certain other Matters which he thought necessary. But, the Wind being much Westward and against him, the Day following he changed his Course, and returned to *England*, with his whole Fleet, the Seventh of *August*, although, by Reason of a Tempest which beset them, Part of the Ships put into *Dover*, Part into *Harwich*, and the rest into *Yarmouth*.

Hitherto I have described, according to the Instructions and Directions which I received of those Things that fell out between the *Englishmen* and the *Spaniards*, adjoining thereunto such

particular Discourses as I thought to be necessary, and such Ornaments of Speech as the Matter and the *Italian* Tongue did specially require: Now, therefore, it remaineth, for the Finishing of our former Discourse, briefly and evidently to set down the Issue of all the Things before-mentioned.

The *Spanish* Fleet, passing, as aforesaid, into those Seas, which, for the most Part, are quiet and calm enough, whether it were driven to and fro in them with contrary Winds, or by some other fatal Accident that fell out, it continued therein tossed up and down until the End of *September*, with fearful Success and deadly Shipwreck along the whole Coast of *Ireland*, so that the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* was enforced to leave there behind him about the Number of seventeen good Ships, besides those fifteen that were thought to be lost in the Months of *July* and *August*, and so to return into *Spain*.

The Persons, lost in *Ireland*, were esteemed to be about 5500. So that, all being accounted together, it is certainly avouched, that all the Ships that were lost amount unto the Number of thirty-two, and the Men accounted, one with another, arise to the Number of 13500 or more. The Prisoners also of all Sorts, in *England*, *Ireland*, and the *Low Countries*, arise to the Number of 2000 and more. As for the Loss of the Ordnance, and the common or private Treasure, or whether the Duke, after he was preserved from the former fearful and mortal Dangers lost any more Ships, or no, or last of all, how many he brought Home with him again into *Spain*, I mean not to occupy or trouble my Pen with any such superfluous Curiosities, being willing to leave that Matter unto such as have received certain Tidings thereof; because I study (so far forth as is possible) for Brevity, without procuring unto any Man either Hatred or evil Report.

And, therefore, to knit up this present Treatise, this is reported, that after her Majesty was thoroughly assured of the Return of the Duke into *Spain*, and that her Seas were free and clear from all her Enemies, and having called Home the Lord *Seymer* with his Fleet, it seemed good unto her, as a convenient Thing, that her People should render unto Almighty God as great Thanks as might be, for that it had pleased him thus to work and bring about the Deliverance of them all. And, therefore, the Nineteenth of *November*, by publick Edict and Order from her Majesty, there was generally made, throughout

throughout the whole Realm, a most frequent Assembly of all Sorts of People publickly to give Thanks unto God all the Day long, for so singular a Benefit received, with this Intention, that the Remembrance of the said Benefit should, upon the same Day of every Year to ensue, be renewed in the Mind and Eyes of all Men throughout the whole Nation, with an evident and religious Acknowledgment, that the common Safety of them all was accomplished by the special Favour of God, the Father of all good Things.

Her Majesty also, being afterwards desirous, to do the like in her own Behalf (as it was convenient) came into *St. Paul's Church*, in *London*, on *Sunday*, being the Twenty-fourth of the same Month, with a most decent Order, and Assemblies of all the Magistrates and Companies of the City standing in a Rank in the Street, replenished most abundantly with People,

through which her Majesty was to pass, being accompanied with such a princely Train of all those that had been Instruments of that notable Victory, that it seemed her Majesty, together with the rest, having gotten the Victory, was desirous in triumphing Manner to shew her thankful Mind unto the *Londoners* also, for the Charges and Pains they had undertaken all the Year before, in the Service of the Crown and the Commonwealth, together with the Increase of their own Reputation, being accounted the Foundation and chief Stay of all the other Parts of the Realm. Wherein her Majesty followed the Example of divers Kings, her Predecessors, who upon special Favour, according as good Occasions moved them thereunto, have given many large Privileges and Liberties unto the said City, which at this Day is, doubtless, more populous, more wealthy, more mighty, and more free, than ever it was heretofore.

Certain Advertisements out of *Ireland*, concerning the Losses and Distresses happened to the *Spanish Navy*, upon the West Coasts of *Ireland**, in their Voyage intended from the Northern Isles beyond *Scotland*†, toward *Spain*‡.

Imprinted at *London*, by *J. Vautrollier*, for *Richard Field*,
1588.

By the foregoing Account, it is visible, that the whole Power of Spain, and its Popish Allies, was sent against us. But as the Greatness of any Armament does appear more intrinsically, by the certain Proofs of its Losses; I shall, for the greater Satisfaction of the Reader, subjoin the following Testimonies. Yet, before I conclude this wonderful History, let me observe, that this invincible Armada, which had been some Years a preparing, with immense Labour and Cost, was, by God's Arm, overthrown within a Month, and chased away with the Loss of many, both Men and Ships; whereas the English lost but one Ship, and about one hundred Men only.

* Where some were killed by the *Wild Irish*, and others by the Deputy's Command; lest, coming on Shore, they should join with the Rebels against the State; and the Remainder, taking to their Wracks and Boats, were mostly drowned.

† Seven hundred Men were saved alive wrecked on this Coast, whom the King of *Scotland*, by the Queen's Consent, sent, at the Duke of *Parma's* Request, after one Year's Imprisonment, into *Flanders*.

‡ Without Glory.

In this Distress, they were past all Hopes of returning by the Way they had entered the Channel, and forced to secure a Retreat through the dangerous and unknown Coasts of Scotland, Orcades, and Ireland, which compleated their utter Ruin. This is not only testified by the ensuing Informations, but confirmed by very late Discoveries made of their Wrecks on those Coasts.

Upon this Occasion, a universal Joy overspread every true-born English Countenance; and, after publick Thanks to God, the State endeavoured to perpetuate its Happiness to Posterity, by a Medal, representing a Navy flying away, with the Inscription, Venit, Vidit, Fugit; and by another, bearing Ships on Fire, and a Navy routed, with this Inscription, Dux Foemina Facti; ascribing the first Invention of Fire-Ships to the Queen herself. For, as my Historian expressly avoucheth, "By her Commandment, the Admiral took eight of the worst Ships, and dressed them with a Wild-Fire, Pitch and Rosin, and filled them full of Brimstone, and some other Matter fit for Fire; and these being set on Fire were, secretly in the Night, by the Help, of the Wind, set full up on the Spanish Fleet, as they lay at Anchor. Which so surprised the Enemy, that each Ship, striving to secure itself from the Danger, broke loose, and threw them all into Confusion, and so separated the whole Fleet, that they never more united to any Purpose." And certainly, had not that gracious Queen been fired with divine Zeal, she could never have so effectually provided a Means to destroy that Part of the Enemies Fleet by Fire, of which God was determined to destroy the other Part by Water. Well then may we say,

This was the Lord's Doing, and it was marvellous in our Eyes. Psalm cxviii.

UPON Saturday, the Seventh of September, the Bark which was in Peril of Wreck in the Bay of Trayley, of between forty and fifty Tons, did render themselves, in which there were twenty-four Men, whereof two were the Duke's own Servants, and two little Boys.

On Tuesday the Tenth of this September, there was a Frigate cast off, as it seemeth, by this Name, which, as Sir William Herbert saith, wrecked upon the Coast of Desmond.

On the same Tuesday, there wrecked, in the Sound of the Bleskeys, a Ship, called, Our Lady of Rosary, of one-thousand Tons. In this Ship was drowned the Prince of Ascule, the King's base Son, one Don Pedro, Don Diego, and Don Francisco, with seven other Gentlemen of Account, that accompanied the Prince. There was drowned in her, also, Michael Oquendo, a principal Sea-men, chief Governor of the Ship, Villa Franca, of Saint Sebastians, Captain of the same Ship; Matuta, Captain of the Infantry of that Ship; Captain Suares a Portuguese; Garrionerie, Ropecho de la Vega, Monteneze, and one Francisco Castilian Captains; one John Ryse, an Irish Captain, Francis Roch, an Irishman, and about five-hundred Persons,

whereof one-hundred were Gentlemen, but not of that Reckoning as the former were; and only one John Anthonio de Monona a Genoese, being the Pilots Son of that Ship, saved.

The same Tuesday, it was advertised to the Vice-President of Munster, that there were lost, upon the Coast of Thomond, two great Ships, out of which there were drowned about seven-hundred Persons, and taken Prisoners about one-hundred and fifty.

About that Tuesday also, as appeareth by a Letter written to Stephen White, of Limerick, the Twelfth of this September, there was cast, upon the Sands of Ballicrabihy, a Ship of nine-hundred Tons; thirteen of the Gentlemen of that Ship, as he writeth, are taken; and so writeth, that he heard the rest of that Ship, being above four-hundred, have fought, for their Defence, being much distressed, to intrench themselves.

He writeth, also, of another Ship which was cast away at the Isle of Clarre in Irrise, and that seventy-eight of the Men of that Ship are drowned and slain.

He writeth also, that there was, about the same Time, another great Ship cast away in Tirawley, and that there are three Noblemen, a Bishop

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a Bishop, and a Friar, and sixty-nine other Men taken by *William Bourk*, of *Ardnerie*, and all the Residue of that Ship are slain and drowned; infomuch, as he writeth, that one *Meleghlen Mac Cabb*, a *Galloglas*, killed eighty of them with his *Galloglas* Ax. *Wednesday* the Eleventh of this *September*, seven of those Ships, that then remained within the *Shannon*, departed out of that Road with an Easterly Wind, and, before their Going forth, they set on Fire one other very great Ship of their Company, which was one-thousand Tons at least.

It was informed from the Vice-President at *Cork*, upon this Seventeenth of *September* last, that two other great Ships of that Fleet should be lost upon the Coast of *Connaught*.

The Admiral, called *John Martin de Ricalde*, came into the Sound of *Bleskeys* with one other great Ship, and a Bark, about the sixth Day of this *September*, and remaineth there with one other Ship, of four-hundred Tons,

and a Bark which came in since that Time, if they be not dispersed or lost, by the great Tempest that was the Seventeenth and Eighteenth of this Month: For the State of the Admiral, at his Coming in, was thus: The Ship had been shot through fourteen or fifteen Times, her Main-mast so beaten with Shot, as she durst not bear her full Sail, and now not sixty Mariners left in her, and many of them so sick, that they lie down, and the Residue so weak, that they were not able to do any good Service; and there are daily cast over the Board, out of that Ship five or six of the Company.

After this was printed thus far, as every Day bringeth more Certainty in Particulars of the Loss of the Spaniards in Ireland, these Reports, which follow, came from Ireland, being the Examinations of several Persons there taken and saved.

John Anthonio de Monona an Italian, Son to Francisco de Monona, Pilot of the Ship called, Sancta Marie de la Rose, of a thousand Tons, cast away in the Sound of Bleskey, September 2, 1588.

EXamined, the Eleventh of *September*, saith, that he, and the rest, parted from the *English* Fleet, as he thinketh, about the Coast of *Scotland*, and at that Time they wanted, of their whole Fleet, four Gallies, seven Ships, and one Gallias, which was the Captain Gallias; and there were then dead by Fight, and by Sicknes, eight-thousand Men, at the least. Where he left the Duke *, he knoweth not; but it was in the North Seas, about eighteen Days sithence; he saw then no Land, and therefore can name no Place; but they fevered by Tempest, the Duke kept his Course to the Sea: We drew towards Land to find *Cape Clare*, so did divers other Ships, which, he thinks, to amount to the Number of forty Ships. With the Duke there went twenty-five Ships.

Hither he came round about *Scotland*; he thinks the Duke is, by this Time, near *Spain*; the Duke's Desire was, after his Stay before *Calais*, to go to *Flanders*, but by Reason of the Contrariety of the Winds, the Shallowness of the Water (his Ships being great) he could not arrive there.

Besides the Ships beforementioned, he remembreth, that two Ships were sunk upon the Coast of *Scotland*, by Reason of Shots received from the *English* Ships; the one called *Saint Matthew*, of five-hundred Tons, wherein were drowned four-hundred and fifty Men; the other Ship, a *Biscayan* of *Saint Sebastians*, of four-hundred Tons, wherein were drowned three-hundred and fifty Men; and the Ship wherein he was, called *Saint Mary Rose*, of one-thousand Tons, wherein, of five-hundred, there escaped but himself; in which Ship, of principal Men, there were drowned these principal Men following: The Prince of *Ascule*, base Son to the King of *Spain*, Captain *Matuta*, Captain *Convalle a Portugese*, *Rupecho de la Vego* of *Castile*, *Suryvero* of *Castile*, *Montanese* of *Castile*, *Villa Franca* of *Saint Sebastians*, Captain of the said Ship. The General of all the Fleet of *Guipusque*, called *Don Michael d'Oquendo*, twenty other Knights and Adventurers upon their own Charges.

He saith, that the Fleet was in great Want of fresh Water; and being examined, what Ordnance, Wines or other Matters of Moment

* Of *Medina Sidonia*, the Chief Commander.

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were in the Ship here cast away, faith, there were fifty great brass Pieces, all Cannons for the Field, twenty-five Pieces of Brass and cast Iron belonging to the Ship; there are also in her fifty Tons of Sack. In Silver, there are in her fifty-thousand Ducats; in Gold, as much more,

much rich Apparel and Plate, and Cups of Gold.

He faith also, that the Duke of *Medina* appointed all the Fleet to resort and meet at the *Groyne*, and none of them, upon Pain of Death not to depart there hence, afore they should know his farther Pleasure.

The Examination of Emanuel Fremosa, a Portuguese, September 12, 1588.

HE faith he was in the Ship, called *St. John*, of the Port of *Portugal*, of one-thousand one-hundred Tons. In which *Don John Martin de Ricalde* is, who is Admiral of the whole Fleet, and is next under the Duke, who is General; in which Ship, at their Coming forth, there were eight-hundred Soldiers, and, for Mariners, sixty *Portuguese*, and forty *Biscayans*; this is the greatest Ship of the whole Navy.

He faith, they were in all, at their Coming forth, a hundred and thirty-five Sail, whereof four were *Galliaffes*, four *Gallies*, and nine of them were Victuallers.

They came from the *Groyne*, on the fifteenth Day, next after *Mid-summer* last past, by their Account.

He faith, they were directed to the Duke of *Parma*, and by him to be employed for *England*, at such Time as *Parma* should appoint.

He faith, after their Departure, from the *Groyne*, about eight Days, the Fleet came to the *Lizard*.

He faith, about that Place, the General struck Sail, whereupon, they all struck Sail all Night, and the next Morning they saw the *English* Fleet, whereupon they hoisted their Sails.

He faith, they were before informed, that the *English* Fleet was in *Plymouth* and *Dartmouth*.

He faith, on the North-east of the *Lizard*, the first Fight began between the Fleets, and, in that Fight, their Ship lost fifteen Men.

He faith, that there were other Fights, within four or five Days after, along the Coasts, in which the Ship, that this Examinant was in, lost twenty-five Men; what where lost in these Fights, out of the other Ships, he cannot tell; and, in these Fights, they lost two Ships, in the one of which *Don Pedro* was, and one other that was burned.

They anchored at *Calais*, expecting the Duke of *Parma*; where, thro' the *Firing of the English ships* *, they were driven to leave their Anchors, and to depart, so as each of the Ships lost two Anchors at that Place; the next Morning the Fight began about Eight of the Clock in the Morning, and continued, eight Hours, along the Channel to the North; all which Time, the *English* Fleet pressed the *Spanish* Fleet, in such Sort as if they had offered to board the *Spanish* Fleet; they saw their Admiral so fearful, that he thinketh they had all yielded.

He faith, that, in the said Fight, the *Spanish* Fleet lost one *Galliaff*, which ran a Shore about *Calais*; two *Galleons* of *Lisbon*, which were sunk, being the King's; and one *Biscayan* Ship sunk, of between four and five-hundred Tons, and one other Ship sunk also; after which Fight, the General took Account of the whole Navy, and found that they were left about a hundred and twenty Sails of the whole Fleet, as was delivered by those that came from the Top; but of his own Sight he saw not passing eighty-five Sail, or thereabout, but what was become of the rest he cannot tell.

He faith, that there were also in that Fight three great *Venetian* Ships, which were in Danger of sinking, being sore beaten, and shot through in many Places, but were for that Time, helped by the Carpenters, and as he hath heard, for that they were not able to keep the Seas, took themselves towards the Coast of *Flanders*, but what is become of them he cannot tell.

He faith, they were pursued by some of the *English* Fleet about five Days after this Fight, Northward out of the Sight of any Land, and as he thinketh of the North-part of *Scotland*.

He faith, that, about four Days after the *English* Fleet left them, the whole Fleet remaining

* *Viz.* The eight Fire-Ships. See the Introduction to this Tract.

being towards one hundred and twenty Sail, as it was said, came to an Island, as he thinketh, of the North Part of *Scotland*, where they stay-ed not, nor had Relief; but at this Place the General called all the Ships together, giving them in Charge, that they should, with the best they could, haste them to the first Place they could get to, of the Coast of *Spain* or *Portugal*, for that they were in such great Distress, through their great Wants of Victuals, and otherwise. He saith they came forth the worse furnished thereof, for that they expected to be relieved of those Things more amply by the Duke of *Parma*; he saith, out of this Ship there died four or five every Day, of Hunger and Thirst, and yet this Ship was one that was best furnished for Victuals, which he knoweth, for out of some of the other Ships some People were sent to be relieved in this Ship.

After this, for ten Days, the whole Fleet remaining held together, holding their Course the best they could towards *Spain*.

He saith, that at the same Time, which is, now about twenty Days or more past, they were severed by a great Storm, which held from Four of the Clock in the Afternoon of one Day, to Ten of the Clock in the Morning the next Day; in which Storm the Admiral came away with seven and twenty Sail, which this the Examinant did tell, and that one of them was a Gallias of eight and twenty Oars on a Side; what is become of the rest of the Navy he cannot tell.

He saith also, that about ten Days past, they had another great Storm with a Mist, by which Storm, they were again severed, so as, of those twenty-seven Sail there came into the Coast, by *Dingle Cushe*, but the Admiral, and another Ship of four-hundred Tons, and a Bark of about forty Tons; and what is become of the rest of the twenty-seven Sail, he cannot tell, but of one great Hulk, of four-hundred Tons, which was so spoiled, as she cast towards the Shore, about twenty Leages from *Dingle Cushe*, he knoweth not who was Captain of this Hulk; he saith, that of all Sorts, there be now remaining in the Admiral near about five-hundred, of which there be twenty-five *Biscayans*, seventy *Portuguese*, which are Mariners, the Master being very sick, and one of the Pilots.

He saith, there be eighty Soldiers, and twenty of the Mariners in the Admiral, very sick,

and do lie down and die daily; and the rest, he saith, be all very weak, and the Captain very sad and weak; he saith, this Admiral hath in her fifty-four brasse Pieces, and about four-score Quintals of Powder.

He saith, they were so near the Coast, before they found it, that, by Means of the strong Westerly Wind, they were not able to double out from it.

There are in the Admiral left but twenty-five Pipes of Wine, and very little Bread and no Water, but what they brought out of *Spain* which stinketh marvellously, and their Fleish-meat they cannot eat, their Drought is so great.

He saith, no Part of the Navy, to his Knowledge ever touched upon any Land, until such Time as they came to this Coast at *Dingle Cushe*, nor hath had any Water, Victuals, or other Relief, from any Coast, or Place, sithence the *English* Fleet left them.

He saith, that, when they lay before *Calais*, there came a Pinnace to their Fleet, from the Duke of *Parma*, who told them the Duke could not be ready for them, until the *Friday* following, but, by Reason of this Fight of the *English* Fleet with them, they were not able to tarry there so long.

He saith, that the Admiral's Purpose is, upon the first Wind that serveth, to pass away for *Spain*.

He saith also, that it is a common Bruit amongst the Soldiers, if they may once get *Home* again, they will not meddle again with the *English*.

He saith, there be of principal Men, in the Admiral's Ship, *Don John de Lina* a Spaniard, who is chief Captain of the Soldiers of that Ship; *Don Gomes* a Spaniard, another Captain; *Don Sebastian* a *Portugal* Gentleman, an Adventurer, and a *Marques* an *Italian*, who is also an Adventurer, and one other *Portugal* Gentleman whom he knoweth not, but that they are principal Men, that have Crosses on their Garments*; other mean Gentlemen there be also in the same Ship: He saith, all the Soldiers in this Ship were *Spaniards*; he saith there are in the small Bark, that is with them, about five and twenty Persons; how many are in the Hulk, that is there, he knoweth not.

* Knights of the *Cruzado*, or *Sancto Christo*.

He saith, he thinketh that the Duke is past towards *Spain*, for that he was some twelve Leagues more Westerly, than the Admiral was, in the first Storm.

He saith, that the great Galleon which came

from the Duke of *Florence*, was never seen since they were in the Fight at *Calais*: He saith, the People of the Galliaffes were most spoiled by the *English* Fleet.

The Examination of Emanuel Francisco, a Portugese, September 12, 1588.

Emanuel Francisco, a Portugese, saith, in all Things, as the former Examinant, till the Fight at *Calais*; in which Fight, he saith, he knoweth there was lost a Galliaff, that ran a-shore at *Calais*; two Galleons of the King's, the one called *St. Philip*, of the Burden of seven-hundred, and the other called *St. Matthew* of eight-hundred; a *Biscayan* Ship, of about five-hundred, and a *Castilian* Ship, of about four-hundred Tons, all sunk. This he knoweth, for that some of the Men of those Ships were divided into the Admiral's Ship, in which this Examinant was.

He saith, after this Fight ended, it was delivered by him, at the Top, that there were one hundred and twenty Sail left, of the *Spanish* Fleet; and saith that those were very sore beaten, and the Admiral was many Times shot through, and one Shot in their Mast, and their Deck at the Prow spoiled, and doth confesse, that they

were in great Fear of the *English* Fleet, and doubted much of boarding.

He saith, the Admiral's Mast is so weak by Reason of the Shot in it, as they dare not abide any Storm, nor bear such Sail, as otherwise he might do; and for the rest he agreeth, in every Thing, with the former Examinant, saving that he saw not, or understood of any Pinnace, that came from the Duke of *Parma*, nor doth remember that he saw above twenty Sail with the Admiral, after the first Storm; and saith, that those in the Ship, that he is in, do say that they will rather go into the Ground themselves, than come in such a Journey again for England; and saith, the best that be in the Admiral's Ship are scarce able to stand, and that if they tarry where they are any Time, they will all perish, as he thinketh; and for himself he would not pass into *Portugal* again, if he might choose, for that he would not be constrained to such another Journey.

The Examination of John de le Conido, of Lekit in Biscay Mariner, September 12, 1588

JOHN de le Conido, of Lekit in Biscay Mariner, saith he was in the Ship that the Admiral is in, and that he told the Navy, after the Fight ended at *Calais*, and that there were then remaining not passing a hundred and ten, or a hundred and twelve of the whole *Spanish* Navy; and saith, that a Leak fell upon one of the Galliaffes about fifteen Days past, which he taketh to be fallen upon the North Coast of this Land; he saith, he doth not remember, that there were above twenty Sail left in the Company of the Admiral, after the first great Storm, which fell on them about thirty Days since; he saith, the Duke did give them express Commandment, that they should not go on Land in any Place, without his Order; he confesseth, that the Navy, that remained after the last Fight, were marvellously beaten and

shot through, and their Tackle much cut and spoiled with the Shot, and, for the rest of the Matter, agreeth with the former Examinant, in every Point in Effect, and saith, there was an *English* Pilot with the Duke. He saith, that the *Scot*, that is taken, was taken in the North Part, after the *English* Fleet parted from them, in a Ship of fifty Tons, in which were about seven Men, which the Fleet hath carried with them, both the Ship and People, six of which *Scots* were a-board the Admiral, whereof one is he that is taken.

He saith, after the *English* Fleet parted from them, the *Spanish* Fleet cast out all the Horses and Mules into the Sea, to save their Water, which were carried in certain Hulks provided for that Purpose.

The

The Re-examination of John Anthonio, of Genoa, Mariner, September 15, 1588

HE saith his Father and himself with others came into *Lisbon* in a Ship of *Genoa*, about a Year sithence, where they were embarked by the King of *Spain*, that Ship was of about four-hundred Tons.

He saith his Father after this was appointed Pilot in the Ship called our *Lady of the Rosary*, of the Burden of a thousand Tons, being the King's: He saith the Prince of *Ascule* the King's base Son came in the Company of the Duke in the Duke's Ship called the *Galleon of St. Martin*, of a thousand Tons, but at *Calais*, when the *English* Navy came near them, this Prince went to the Shore, and, before his Return, the Duke was driven to cut off his Anchors, and to depart, whereby the Prince could not recover that Ship, but came into the said Ship called our *Lady of the Rosary*, and with him there came in also one *Don Pedro*, *Don Francisco*, and seven other Gentlemen of Account, that accompanied the Prince. He saith the Captain of this Ship was *Villa Franca* of *St. Sebastians*, and *Matuta* was Captain of the Infantry of that Ship. There were also in her Captain *Suares*, a *Portuguese*, and one *Garrionero*, a *Castilian* Captain, *Lopicho de la Vega* a *Castilian* Captain, Captain *Montanese*, a *Castilian* and one Captain *Francisco*, a *Castilian*; and *Michael d'Oquendo*, who was General of this Ship. There was also in her one *Irish* Captain, called *John Rife*, of about thirty Years of Age, and another *Irishman*, called *Francis Roche*. The Prince was of about eight and twenty Years of Age. He saith, there were other Gentlemen Adventurers in the Ship, but not of that Reckoning as the former were. He saith there were in all seven-hundred Men in this Ship at their Coming forth; he saith there were about five-hundred in this Ship at such Time as she sunk, the rest perished by Fight and by Sicknes. He saith this Ship was shot through four Times, and one of the Shot was between the Wind and the Water, whereof they thought she would have sunk, and the most of her Tackle was spoiled with Shot; this Ship struck against the Rocks in the Sound of the *Bleskies*, a League and a half from the Land, upon *Tuesday* last at Noon, and all in the Ship perished, saving this Examinant, who saved himself upon two or three Planks that were

loose: the Gentlemen thinking to save themselves by the Boat, it was so fast tied as they could not get her loose, whereby they perished; he saith, as soon as the Ship struck against the Rock, one of the Captains slew this Examinant's Father, saying he did it by Treason. He saith there came in their Company a *Portugal* Ship of about four-hundred, who, coming into the same Sound, cast Anchor near where they found the Admiral of the Fleet at Anchor called *St. John*, in which *Don Martin de Ricalde* the Admiral was; he saith that, about two and twenty Days past, the Duke departed from them, and about five and twenty Ships in his Company, and about forty Ships were with the Admiral, but this Ship was not able to follow the Admiral, by Reason her Sails were broken, and for the rest of the Navy that remained, they were so dispersed, as he cannot tell what is become of them. He saith the Duke, being better watered than the others were, held more Westerly into the Seas, and willed the Admiral with his Company, being in worse Estate for Water, to see if he could touch with any Coast, to get fresh Water; sithence which they have been severed by the Nights and by Tempest; he saith this Ship nor any other of the Ships touched upon any Land, nor had any Release of Water or Victuals at any Place, sithence they parted, but from two *Scots*, which they took upon the Coast of *Scotland*, whose Fish and Victuals the Duke took, but paid them for it.

He saith their Ships were so beaten, and the Wind so contrary, and the Shoals upon the Coast of *Flanders* so dangerous, as the Pilot, that was in the Duke's Ship, directed them this Course Northward as their safest Way. He saith, that, in one of the Days in which the Fight was between both the Navies, the Duke, seeing the *English* Fleet so hardily to pursue them, willed his Fleet, seeing no other Remedy, to address themselves to fight. He saith, that in that Day of the Fight at *Calais*, they lost four-thousand Men in Fight, one-thousand were drowned in four Ships; he saith, the Master of the Cavalry of the *Tercii* of *Naples* and *Sicily* was slain in this Fight, by a great Piece that broke his Thigh, his Name he remembered not; at which Time also the Master of the Camp of the Horsemen, and

and the Master of the Camp of the Footmen, were both slain, but their Names he remembreth not. He saith, the four Galliaffes were of *Naples*. He saith, the four Gallies left the Fleet, before they came to the *English*, by well near forty Leagues. He saith, the *Florentine* Ship is gone with the Duke. He saith, there were fourteen *Venetian* Ships in this Fleet; two of the said are drowned, what is become of the rest

he knoweth not, they served they King only by Arrest. He saith, there be three *Englishmen* Pilots in the Duke's Ship.

He saith, this Ship that is drowned hath in her three Chests full of Money. He doth not know what moved the Duke to command, that the whole Navy that remained should repair to the *Groynes*, and not depart without his Direction, upon Pain of Death.

The Examination of John Anthoni de Moneko, thirty Miles from Ganna, September 17, 1588.

HE saith, the Prince of *Ascule* was a slender made Man, and of a reasonable Stature, of twenty-eight Years of Age, his Hair of a brown Colour stroked upwards, of a high Forehead, a very little Beard, marquesotted, whitely-faced with some little Red on the Cheeks; he was drowned in Apparel of white Sattin for his Doublet and Breeches, after the *Spanish* Fashion cut, with Russet-silk Stockings. When this Prince came into their Ship at *Calais*, he was apparelled in black raised Velvet laid on with broad gold Lace. He saith, that this Prince's Men, for the most Part, were in the Ship that this Examinant was in, from their Coming out of *Spain*; and, when they were at *Calais*, the Prince passeth in a little Felucca with six others from Ship to Ship, to give Orders to them, and some said he went to the Shore at that Time.

He saith, it was thought to be about sixty

Leagues West from the Northwest Part of *Ireland*, that the Duke departed from the rest of the Company. He saith, they parted by a Tempest growing in the Night, and that, about six Days after, a *Portugal* Galleon overtaking this Ship told unto those of this Ship, that there were twenty-five Ships of the whole Navy passed away with the Duke, and that the rest, then remaining of the whole Navy, were dispersed by this Tempest, some eight in one Company, and four in another; and thus dispersedly passed on the Seas. But how many Ships remained after their Departure from the Coast of *Scotland*, of the whole Navy, this Examinant cannot tell. He saith, that after this first Tempest, which was about twenty-five Days now past, growing of a South-west Wind, they had sundry Tempests, before they were lost, with variable Winds, sometimes one Way, and sometimes another.

The Re-examination of Emanuel Fremosa, September 17, 1588

EMANUEL Fremosa, Mariner, examined the same Day, saith that the Day next before the great Tempest, in which the Duke was severed from them, being a very calm Day, himself counted the Navy then remaining, which then were but seventy-eight Sail in all; when they were farthest off in the North, they were at sixty two Degrees Northward, and were then about four-score Leagues and somewhat more from any Land, and at the North-west Part of *Scotland*, Cape *Clare* being then from them South and by West; and this was about four or five Days before the said great Tempest; and, from that Time until

the same Tempest, they had the Wind most West, and West South-west, and sometimes West North-west, but that not very long; he saith that it was known to very few of the Navy that the Prince, the King's base Son, was in this Navy, until they came unto *Calais*, where this Prince, about the Time of the Fight, was said to take himself into a little Boat upon the Coast of *Calais*; but before that he kept himself as private in the Duke's own Ship, as it was said, and not noted or spoken of in the Navy until then. But he saith, there was a great Prince, an *Italian*, that was a chief Man in a great *Argosy*, very well furnished

nished, who, before their Coming to the *English* Coast, did very often banquet the Duke and the other great Men of the Navy. This *Argosy* was called the *Ratte*. He saith, he did not perceive if this Ship were in this Fleet the Day before the said Tempest or not, but he saith, this being a famous Ship, it was often demanded, if she were in their Company,

and it was answered, that she was. He saith, the chiefest of the Treasure, that served for the Pay, was, as he heard, in the Gallies that drove on the Shore at *Calais*, and in a Ship of *Sevil*, made in *Galicia*, called the *Gallega*, of about seven-hundred Tons, in which Don *Pedro de Valdez* was, which was taken on the South Coast.

The Examination of pierre Carre a Fleming.

HE saith, that in the Ship that he came hither in, called *St. John*, a Galleon of nine-hundred Tons, besides *John Martin de Ricalde*, there are five Captains, Don *John de Lune*, Don *Gomes de Galanexar*, Don *Pedro de Madri*, the Count of *Paredes*, Don *Felice*, and there is also an *Italian* Marquess of *Piedmont*, called the Marquess of *Faruara*.

He saith also, that the Admiral, after such Time as the Fight was at *Calais*, came not out of his Bed, until this Day Sen'night in the Morning that they ran upon the Shore. He saith, his Admiral is of *Biscay*, either of *Bilboa* or *Allerede*, and of sixty-two Years of Age, and a Man of Service. He saith, that there were in this Navy of the old Soldiers of *Naples*, under the Conduct of Don *Alonso de Sono*, and of the old Soldiers of *Sicily*, under the Conduct of Don *Diego de Piementelli*, whose Ship was lost near *Calais*. There was also Don *Alonso de Leva*, Master of the Camp of the Cavalry of *Milan*. He saith, there is a Bastard Son of King *Philip*, of twenty-eight Years of Age in this Fleet in the Ship with the Duke, called the Prince of *Afcule* in *Italy*, who passed from them in a Pinnace about *Calais*, as he took it.

By other *Advertisements* of the Fourteenth of September, it is certified to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, from the Earl of Tyrone, being at his

Castle of *Dongannon*, that, upon Intelligence brought to him of the Landing of certain *Spaniards* in the North of *Ireland*, he sent two *English* Captains with their Bands towards them, to the Number of one-hundred and fifty; who found them at Sir *John Odoghertie's* Town, called *Illagh*, and there, discovering their Number to be above six-hundred, did that Night incamp within a Musket-shot of them, and about Midnight, did skirmish with them for the Space of two Hours, in which Skirmish the *Spanish* Lieutenant of the Field and twenty more of the *Spaniards* were slain, besides many that were hurt.

The next Day following they did offer Skirmish again to the *Spaniards*, whereupon they all yielded, and so, as Prisoners, were carried to *Dongannon* to the Earl, who meant, to send them to the Lord Deputy, being judged to be Men of good Value, and one thought to be a Man that hath had some great Charge and Conduct of Men for many Years, whereof the Lord Deputy will give Knowledge, as soon as they shall be brought to *Dublin*.

There may be some Errors in the Spanish Names in English, because the same are written by Way of Interpretation, but there is no Error in the Numbering of the Persons that are either dead or alive. Sept. 26, 1588.

Ships and Men sunk, drowned, killed, and taken upon the Coast of Ireland, in the Month of September, 1588

In Tyrconnel In Loughfoyle — 1 Ship — 1100 Men, of that Ship and others that escaped.

In Connaught	{	In Sligo Haven	3 great Ships	1500
		In Tirawley	1 Ship	400
		In Clare Island	1 Ship	300
		In Finglass	1 Ship	400
		In Oflarty	1 Ship	200
		In Irrise	2 Ships	
		In Galway Bay	1 Ship	70

The Men fled into other Vessels.

The Losses of the Spanish Navy, upon the Coast of Ireland.

137

In Munster	In the Shannon	2 Ships	—	600	The Men embarked in another Ship.
	In Traylie	—	1 Ship	—	
	In Dingle	—	1 Ship	—	
	In Desmond	—	1 Ship	—	
	In the Shannon	1 Ship	burnt	300	
Total 17 Ships				5394 Men.	

Before the Loss of the aforesaid seventeen Ships in Ireland, there perished, in July and August, fifteen other great Ships in the Fight betwixt the English and Spanish Navies in the narrow Seas of England.

First Gallies	—	—	4 Ships	1622 Men	These two remain in England.
Near Ediston, by Plymouth, at the first Conflict	1	—	—	0000	
The same Time was distressed and taken Don Pedro de Valde's Ship	1	—	—	422	
At the same Time by Fire a great Biscay Ship	1	—	—	289	
Before Calais, spoiled the principal Gallies of Naples	1	—	—	686	
In the Conflict was sunk a great Biscayan	—	1	—	000	These two forced into Flushing being fore beaten by the English great Shot.
The Galleon St. Philip	—	—	1	532	
St. Matthew	—	—	1	397	
A Biscayan wrecked before Ostend	—	—	1	000	
The Day after the Fight there sunk two Venetians	2	—	—	843	
A great Biscayan forced by two of the Queen's Ships to perish at Newhaven	1	—	—	000	
Total 15 Ships				4791 Men	
The above Loss 17				5394	

Total of both these Losses 32 Ships 10185 Men, whereof there are Prisoners in England and Zeland at least 1000, besides a great Multitude of Men not here accounted, that were slain in the Fight, and that have died of Famine, as by the Examinations aforesaid appeareth.

Besides many Ships not yet heard of, thought to be lost

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The

The Copy of a Letter sent out of *England* to Don *Bernardin Mendoza*, Ambassador in *France* for the King of *Spain*, declaring the State of *England*, contrary to the Opinion of Don *Bernardin*, and of all his Partisans, *Spaniards* and others; found in the Chamber of one *Richard Leigh*, a *Seminary Priest*, who was lately executed for High-Treason; with an Appendix.

Imprinted at *London*, by *J. Vautrollier*, for *Richard Field*.
MDLXXXVIII.

In this Letter we not only find a Confirmation of the foregoing History; but we also learn the Sentiments of our Enemies concerning the most likely Methods to enslave us, and the only Means to preserve our present Establishment.

The Author, a Papist, and in the Spanish Interest, informs the King of Spain, that the Hopes of a foreign Invasion did not only depend on a large Army to be transported, but on a strong Party ready in England to join the foreign Forces at their Landing.

He advises to act more politically than by Excommunication of the Prince, and the Pope's usurped Power to absolve Subjects from their Allegiance, and to dispose of Kingdoms by Violence, Blood, Slaughter, and Conquest; as also to conceal their Intentions, till the Time came of striking the Blow effectually. For, says he, when these Things were published without Reserve, the Queen endeavoured to strengthen her Kingdom. The Militia of the Inland-towns provided for their own Safety, and the Places on the Coast, where a Landing might be suspected, were well guarded. Besides, every Nobleman, Knight, and Gentleman of Fortune, immediately took the Alarm, and thought it Time to provide for their own and the publick Safety, by arming their Servants and Dependents.

He shews the Error of the Popish States, who confide on the Number of those that profess Popery in England, and clears the Laws of the Land from the Imputation of punishing any Priest, or Jesuit, or other Recusant for his Religion only.

He blames and explodes those lying Accounts published in France, of Victories gained over us when we at the same Time have intirely routed the Enemy; yet this, as well as many other of their stale Politicks, is constantly practised in the same Place. And then dissuades them from the like Attempt, and proposes the best Means to maintain Popery in England.

MY Lord Ambassador, though at the Time of my last large Writing to you of the State of this Country, and of our long desired Expectation of Succours promised, I did not think to have had such a sorrowful Occasion of any second Writing, as now I have, of a lamentable Change of Matters of Estate here; yet I cannot forbear (though it be with as many Sighs as Lines) to advertise you of the Truth of our miserable Condition, as now to me and others of our Party the same appeareth to be; that by comparing of all Things past in Hope, with the Present now in Despair, your Lordship, who have had the principal Managing, hitherto, of all our Causes of long Time, both here and there in *France*, betwixt the Catholick King assisted with the Potentates of the holy League, and all our Countrymen which have professed Obedience to the Church of *Rome*, may now fall into some new and better Consideration, how our State, both for ourselves at Home, and our Brethren Abroad, now at this present fallen, as it were, into utter Despair, may be revived and restored to some new Hope, with better Assurance of Success, than hath happened hitherto. For which Purpose I have thought it necessary to advertise you in what Terms this Country now standeth, far otherwise than, of late, both we at Home, and others Abroad, did make Account of.

You know, how we have depended in firm Hope of a Change of the State of this Country, by the Means of the devout and earnest Incitations of the *Pope's Holiness*, and the *Catholick King*, and of other *Potentates* of the *Holy League**, to take upon them the Invasion and Conquest of this Realm; and, by your Assurances and firm Promises, we were now of a long Season past persuaded, that the *Catholick King* had taken upon him the same glorious Act, and thereof, from Year to Year, we looked for the Execution, being continually fed and nourished from you to continue our Hope, and sundry Times solicited by your earnest Requests, and Persuasions, to encourage our Party at Home not to waver, as many were disposed, by Sight of continual Delays, but to be ready to join with the outward Forces that should come for this Invasion. Nevertheless, the Delays and Prolongations of Times appointed for the Coming

of the King's Forces, especially by Sea, have been so many, as, until this last Spring, we were in Despair; at what Time you advertised us with great Assurance, that all the King's Preparations, which had been in making ready these three or four Years together, were now in full Perfection, and without Fail would this Summer come into our Seas with such mighty Strength, as no Navy of *England*, or of Christendom, could resist or abide their Force; and for more Surety, and for avoiding of all Doubts, to make the intended Conquest sure, the same should also have joined to it the mighty Army, which the Duke of *Parma*† had made ready and kept in Readiness in the *Low Countries* all this Year past, wherewith he should land, and so, both by Sea and Land, this Realm should be invaded, and a speedy Conquest made thereof, to the which were always added sundry Reasons; whereupon was gathered, that, neither by Sea nor by Land, there would be any great Resistance found here, but a strong Party in this Realm to join with the foreign Force. For otherwise than with such Helps, to be assuredly had from hence, I know, it was always doubted, that no foreign Force could prevail against this Realm, being, as it is, environed by Sea, and notably replenished with more mighty and stronger People than any Country in Christendom. But with the Hope of the Landing of these great Armies, and our Assistance in taking Part, we here continued all this Year past in assured Hope of a full Victory, until this last Month. But, alas! and with a deadly Sorrow, we must all, at Home and Abroad, lament our sudden Fall, from an immeasurable high Joy, to an unmeasurable deep Despair; and that so hastily fallen out, as, I may say, we have seen in the Space of eight or nine Days, in this last Month of *July*, which was from the Appearance of the Catholick great Navy upon the Coast of *England*, until it was forced to fly from the Coast of *Flanders* near *Calais*, towards the unknown Parts of the cold North, all our Hopes, all our Buildings, as it now appeareth but upon an imagined Conquest, utterly overthrown, and, as it were, with an Earthquake, all our Castles of Comfort brought to the Ground, which now, it seemeth, were builded but in the Air, or upon Waves of the Sea; for they are all perished, all vanished away from our Thoughts.

* So called by the *Papists*, because combined to destroy all *Protestants*.

† The King of *Spain's* General.
And

And herewith I am astonished what I may best think of such a Work, so long Time in Framing, to be so suddenly overthrown, as by no Reason could proceed of Men, or of any earthly Power, but only of God. And if so it be (as no body can otherwise impute this late Change and Fall from our expected Fortune, but to God Almighty) then surely our Case is either dangerous or doubtful how to judge thereof, whether we have been these many Years in the Right or not. For I do find, and know, that many good and wise Men, which of long Time have secretly continued in most earnest Devotion to the Pope's Authority, begin now to stagger in their Minds, and to conceive that this Way of Reformation intended by the Pope's Holiness is not allowable in the Sight of God, by leaving the ancient Course of the Church by *Excommunication*, which was the Exercise of the spiritual Sword, and in Place thereof to take the temporal Sword, and put it into a Monarch's Hand to invade this Realm with Force and Arms, yea to destroy the Queen thereof, and all her People addicted to her; which are in very Truth now seen, by great Proof this Year, to be in a Sort infinite, and invincible, so as some begin to say that this Purpose by Violence, by Blood, by Slaughter, and by Conquest, agreeth not with Christ's Doctrine, nor the Doctrine of *St. Peter*, or *St. Paul*. And to tell your Lordship truly, I find presently a great Number of wise and devout People, though they continue in their former Religion, yet do they secretly condemn this intended Reformation by Blood and Force. Infomuch that I heard a good Divine alledge a Text out of *St. Gregory* in these Words, * *Quid de Episcopis, qui Verberibus timeri volunt, Canones dicunt, bene Paternitas vestra novit, Pastores sumus non Percussores, Nova enim est Prædicatio quæ Verberibus exigit Fidem*. This Sentence I obtained of him, because it seemeth to be charitably written. But, leaving this Authority among Doctors, I must needs say that, in very Truth, no one Thing hath done at this Time more Hurt to the Action, than the untimely hasty Publishing abroad in this Realm, before this Army of *Spain* was ready to come forth to the Seas, of sundry Things written and put in Print, and sent into this Realm, to notify to the People, that all the Realm should be

invaded and conquered, that the Queen should be destroyed, all the Nobility, and Men of Reputation, of Honour, and Wealth that did obey her, and would defend her, or that would withstand the Invasion, should be with all their Families rooted out, and their Places, their Honours, their Houses and Lands bestowed upon the Conquerors: Things universally so odiously taken, as the Hearts of all Sorts of People were inflamed; some with Ire, some with Fear, but all Sorts, almost without Exception, resolved to venture their Lives for the Withstanding of all Manner of Conquest, wherewith every body can say this Realm was not threatened these five-hundred Years and more.

These Reports were brought to this Realm, with good Credit, not in secret, but in publick Writings and Printings, and took deep Root in all Kinds of People of this Land; and indeed was of the more Credit, *first*, by Reason of a new *Bull*, lately published at *Rome*, by the Pope's Holiness, which I have seen, with more Severity than other of his Predecessors, whereby the Queen here was accursed, and pronounced to be deprived of her Crown, and the Invasion and Conquest of the Realm committed, by the Pope, to the *Catholic King*, to execute the same with his Armies both by Sea and Land, and to take the Crown to himself, or to limit it to such a Potentate as the Pope and he should name. And, *secondly*, there followed a large Explanation of this *Bull*, by sending hither a Number of *English* Books printed in *Antwerp*, even when the Navy of *Spain* was daily looked for, the Original whereof was written by the Reverend Father *Cardinal Allen*, in *April* last, called in his own Writing the *Cardinal of England*; which Book was so violently, sharply, and bitterly written, yea (say the Adversaries) so arrogantly, falsely, and slanderously, against the Person of the Queen, against her Father King *Henry* the Eighth, against all her Nobility and Council, as in very Truth I was heartily sorry to perceive so many good Men of our own Religion offended therewith, in that there should be found in one accounted a Father of the Church, who was also born a Subject of this Crown (though by the Adversaries reported to be very basely born) such foul, vile, irreverent, and violent Speeches,

* What say the *Canons* of those Bishops, who would force themselves to be feared, you know right well: *We are Shepherds, and not Strikers*. For it is a new Way of Preaching, that would convert us by Blood and Force.

such ireful and bloody Threatenings, of a Queen, of a Nobility, yea of the whole People of his own Nation.

Sorry, and most sorry, I am to report the general evil Conceit of those unordinate and unadvised Proceedings of this Cardinal, of whose rash Choice to such a Place, the World speaketh strangely, as though he came to it, through Corruption of the Pope's Sister, without Liking of the College of Cardinals, where, otherwise, the blessed Intention of our holy Father, and the Desire also of the said Cardinal, might, without such fatal bloody Premonitions and Threatenings of future Invasions and Conquests by the *Catholick* King's noble Forces, have taken better Place.

There was also, to add the more Credit to these terrible Prognostications, such Kind of other Books printed in *Spain*, and translated into *French*, (as it is said by your Lordship) containing particular long Descriptions and Catalogues of *Armadas* of *Castile*, of *Andalusia*, of *Biscay*, of *Guipusque*, of *Portugal*, of *Naples*, of *Sicily*, of *Ragusa*, and other Countries of the *Levant*, with a Mass of all Kinds of Provisions, beyond Measure, for the said *Armadas*, sufficient, in Estimation, to be able to make Conquest of many Kingdoms or Countries. And one great Argument is published by the Adversaries to stir up the Minds of the Nobility of *England*, against the *Spaniards*, which is very maliciously invented, to shew the Intention of the Conquest not only of *England*, but of the whole Isle of *Britain*; moving all Men especially to mark by the Description of the *Armada*, that there are especially named such a Number of Noblemen, as Princes, Marquisses, Condes and Dons that are called *Adventurers*, without any Office or Pay, and such another Number also of Men with great Titles of Honour, and many of them named Captains and *Alferes**, without Office, but yet in *sold*†, and therefore called *Entertenidos*‡; as all those, being for no Service in the *Armada*, may be well presumed (say they) to have come to have possessed the Rooms of all the Noblemen in *England* and *Scotland*: And this Fiction hath taken more Place than it is worth. And, though these Armies were, indeed, exceeding great and mighty, yet they were so amplified, beyond all Measure, in these Books, as in no Preparation of Christendom, in former Times, against the *Saracens* or *Turks* could be

greater. By this Means, this Queen and her Realm, being thus forewarned and terrified, took Occasion with the Aid of her People, being not only firmly (as she was persuaded) devoted to her, but thoroughly irritated, to stir up their whole Forces for their Defence, against such prognosticated Conquests; as, in a very short Time, all her whole Realm, and every Corner were speedily furnished with armed People on Horseback, and on Foot, and those continually trained, exercised, and put into Bands, in warlike Manner, as in no Age ever was before, in this Realm. Here was no sparing of Money to provide Horse, Armour, Weapon, Powder, and all Necessaries, no nor Want of Provision of Pioneers, Carriages, and Victuals, in every County of the Realm, without Exception, to attend upon the Armies. And to this general Furniture every Man voluntarily offered, very many, their Service personally, without Wages; others Money for Armour and Weapons, and to wage Soldiers; a Matter strange, and never the like heard of, in this Realm or elsewhere: And this general Reason moved all Men to large Contributions, that to withstand a Conquest, where all should be lost, there was no Time to spare a Portion.

The Numbers made ready in the Realm I cannot affirm, of mine own Knowledge; but I have heard it reported, when I was grieved to think the same to be so true, that there was, through *England*, no Quarter *East*, *West*, *North* and *South*, but all concurred, in one Mind, to be in Readiness to serve for the Realm: And, that some one Country was able to make a sufficient Army of twenty-thousand Men, fit to fight, and fifteen-thousand of them well armed and weaponed; and in some Countries the Number of forty-thousand able Men.

The maritime Countries from *Cornwall*, all along the Southside of *England* to *Kent*; and from *Kent* Eastward, by *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk* to *Lincolnshire* (which Countries, with their Havens, were well described unto you, in perfect Plots, when *Francis Throgmorton* first did treat with your Lordship about the same) were so furnished with Men of War, both of themselves, and with Resort of Aid from their next Shires, as there was no Place to be doubted for landing of any foreign Forces, but there were, within eight and forty Hours, to come to the Place above twenty-thousand fighting Men

* Ensigns.

† Part of the Corps.

‡ Volunteers.

on Horseback, and on Foot, with Field Ordnance, Victuals, Pioneers and Carriages, and all those governed by the principal Noblemen of the Countries, and reduced under Captains of Knowledge.

And one Thing, I heard of, that was very politickly ordered and executed, at this Time, as of many late Years was not used: That, as the Leaders and Officers of the particular Bands were Men of Experience in the Wars, so, to make the Bands strong and constant, Choice was made of the principal Knights of all Countries, to bring their Tenants to the Field, being Men of Strength, and landed, and of Wealth, whereby, all the Forces, so compounded, were of a resolute Disposition to stick to their Lords and Chieftains, and the Chieftains to trust to their own Tenants. And to remember one strange Speech, that I heard spoken, may be marvelled at, but it was avowed to me for a Truth, that one Gentleman, in *Kent*, had a Band of one hundred and fifty Footmen, which were worth in Goods, above one hundred and fifty Thousand Pounds sterling, besides their Lands: Such Men would fight stoutly before they would have lost their Goods, and, by Likelihood at this Time, many other Bands were made of such principal Men, both of Wealth and Strength. Of these Things, I am sorry to have Cause to write in this Sort: Because you may see how heretofore you have been deceived with Advertisements of many, which had no Proof to know the Truth thereof, and so I confess myself in some Things to have erred, namely, in imagining that, whenever any foreign Power should be seen ready to land in any Part of this Realm, there would have been found but a small Number resolute to withstand the same, or to defend the Queen, but that the same would have been very unable for the Wars, untrained, raw, and ignorant in all warlike Actions, without sufficient Armour and Weapons: And that also the Noblemen and Gentlemen that were in this Realm of our Religion, whereof, you know, we made Account when you were here in *England* of very many, although many of them be dead since that Time, but at this Time there are not so many Tens, as we accounted Hundreds, whom we thought would have shewed themselves like Men of Courage for our common Cause, and would have suddenly surpris'd the Houses, Families, and Strength of the *Hereticks* and Adversaries.

But now, such is our Calamity, that it hath pleased God, as I think, for our Sins, or else for confounding of our bold Opinions, and Presumptions, of our own Strength, to put in the Hearts of all Persons here one like Mind, and Courage to withstand the intended Invasion, as well in such as we accounted Catholics, as also in the Hereticks; so as it hath appeared manifestly that for all earnest Proceeding for Arming, and for Contributions of Money, and for all other warlike Actions, there was no Difference to be seen betwixt the Catholic, and the Heretic. But in this Case to withstand the threatened Conquest, yea, to defend the Person of the Queen, there appeared such a Sympathy, Concourse, and Consent of all Sorts of Persons, without Respect of Religion, as they all appeared to be ready to fight, against all Strangers, as it were with one Heart and one Body. And, though some few principal Gentlemen, of whom heretofore you have had the Names in such Catalogues of Catholics, as you have been acquainted withal, were lately, upon the Report of the Coming out of the Army to the Seas, sent to the Isle of *Ely*, there to remain restrained of their former Liberty, during the Expectation of this intended Invasion; yet, it hath appeared, that they were not so restrained for any Doubt, that they would, with their Powers, have assisted our Army, but only thereby to make it known to all our Friends and Countrymen in *Spain*, and *Flanders*; yea, even to yourself (for so I heard it spoken, as accounting you to have been the most principal Author and Persuader of this Action) that there should be no Hope to have any of them, or of their Friends, to assist these great Armies. And, in very Truth, I see now, whosoever of our Friends in *Spain*, or in *Flanders*, or elsewhere, made any such Account of any Aid against the Queen, or against her Party here, they should have been deceived, if the Army had offered to have landed. For I myself have heard, that the best of those, that were sent to *Ely*, did make Offers, yea, by their Letters to the Council here, signed with their Hands, that they would adventure their Lives, in Defence of the Queen, whom they named their undoubted *Sovereign Lady* and *Queen*, against all foreign Forces, though the same were sent from the Pope, or by his Commandment: Yea, divers of them did offer, that in this Quarrel, of invading the Realm with Strangers, they would pre-

present their own Bodies, in the foremost Ranks, with their Countrymen against all Strangers. Whereupon I heard also, by a secret Friend of mine in the Court, that it was once in some Towardness of Resolution amongst the Counsellors, that they should have been returned, and put to their former Liberty. But the Heat of the War being kindled, with the Knowledge of the King's *Armada*, being at that Time come to the *Groyne*, and the Duke of *Parma's* Readiness with so great an Army and Shipping in *Flanders*, daily looked for to land in *England*, yea to come to *London*, and a general Murmur of the People, against such *Recusants* of Reputation, was the Cause of the staying of these Gentlemen at *Ely*, notwithstanding their Offers of their Service to the Queen; and so they do remain in the Bishop's Palace there, with Fruition of large Walks about the same, altogether without any Imprisonment, other than, that they are not suffered to depart into the Town, or Country: and yet, for their Religion, I think surely they do, and will, remain constant to the Obedience of the Church of *Rome*; for the which, nevertheless, they are not impeached to any Danger of their Lives, but only charged with a Penalty of Money, because they will not come to the Churches; whereby, by the Law, a Portion of their Revenue is allotted to the Queen, and the rest left to the Maintenance of them, their Wives, and Children.

By which Kind of Proceedings our Adversaries here do pretend, that both these Gentlemen, and all other of their Qualities, are favourably used, that they are not pursued to Death for their Religion, as, they say, it was used in Queen *Mary's* Time, and as it is daily used (as they say) most rigorously and barbarously in *Spain*, against the *Englishmen* that come thither, only in Trade of Merchandize. And yet, I and others sometimes, privately speaking with such our Adversaries, as we think are not maliciously bent to have Men prosecuted to Death, only for their Religion (for to say the Truth, and as the Proverb is, *not to bely the Devil*, very many of our Contraries are, in that Point, not uncharitable) we do object to them the Executions, by cruel Torments and Deaths, of very many, both here about *London*, and other Parts of the Realm, whom we account as Martyrs, in that they do witness, by their Death, their Obedience to the Pope, and the Catholic Church of *Rome*.

To which, these our Adversaries, pretending some small Drops of Charity, do answer us, that no Execution hath been of any, to their Knowledge, for their Religion, or for Profession thereof; but, for that they, which have been executed, have been found to have wandered in the Realm secretly, and in a disguised Manner, which the Adversaries scornfully term as *Ruffians*, with Feathers, and all Ornaments of light-coloured Apparel, like to the Fashion of Courtiers, and do use many Means to entice all People, with whom they dare adventure to speak, not only to be reconciled to the Pope, and Church of *Rome*, but to induce them by Vows and Oaths to renounce their Obedience to the Queen; to deny her to be their Sovereign, and themselves to be discharged of their Allegiance; and to repute all Magistrates under her to be unlawful, and in Conscience not to be obeyed, with many more such Matters (which I nevertheless count to be very vain Calumniation) tending to make the Facts of all such holy Priests, as are sent with Commission to win Men's Souls, to be direct Treasons against the Queen, and the State of the Realm.

These Defenders of these Judgments and Executions, contend, and do most earnestly maintain, that all such Priests, Jesuits, Seminaries, and others, so persuading the People against the Queen, the Laws, the Government, and State of the Realm, and all others, that are so persuaded by them, are manifest Traytors; and so they say, that their Indictments, and all Process of Law, extended and pursued against them, do manifestly declare the same. Wherein, these our Adversaries do sometimes, for Maintenance of their Arguments, shew the very Copies of their Indictments and Judgments, wherein there is no Mention made of charging them with their Religion, but that they have attempted to persuade the Queen's Subjects to forsake their Allegiance, and consequently to be Rebels to their Queen and Sovereign.

In this Sort, these Men, for their Advantage, do at all Times, with these and many like earnest Arguments, maintain their Proceedings against the holy Priests and Jesuits, that have suffered Death for their Consciences, as just and necessary. And though, where I and others may reply, without Peril to ourselves (as surely in some small Companies we may, using modest Words) we object the Confession of the Catholic Faith, by the Parties, at their Death, and that

that with great Constancy, which our Adversaries cannot deny, so as it may seem they die for their Religion, yet is it on the other part against us alledged, and maintained, that they are neither indicted, condemned, nor executed, for their Religion; or for offering of themselves to die for their Religion, but only for their former Treasons in conspiring against the Queen, and State of the Realm; no otherwise, than of late Time *Babington* and all his Complices, who were condemned for their Attempt to have raised War in the Realm, and to have murdered the Queen, and to have set up the Queen of Scots, all which the said *Babington* and all his Complices voluntarily confessed, and were condemned and executed, only for those their great Treasons; and yet divers of them, at the Place of their Execution, did make Confession of their Catholick Faith, with Offer to die for the same, and yet (say our Adversaries) it ought not to be affirmed, that *Babington* and his Complices were put to Death for Religion, but for their Treasons.

And, for further Maintenance of the coloured Arguments, wherewith I, and others my good, faithful, and Catholick Brethren, are often troubled how to answer them, it is alledged, that the great Number of Gentlemen, and Gentlemen, yea, some of honourable-Calling, and of other meaner Degrees, are known manifestly to be of a contrary Religion to the Laws of the Realm, both near the Court and far off, and yet they are never pursued by any Form of Law, to put their Lives in Danger, or questioned, or imprisoned, for their Opinions in Religion, whereby to bring them in any Danger. Only such as are presented or complained of, by the Parishioners where they dwell, for never coming to any Church, by the Space of certain Months in a whole Year, are therefore indicted, and afterward being called to answer thereto, if they can shew no such lawful Excuse, as the Law hath provided, they are then condemned to pay a Penalty, out of their Goods and Lands, if they have any, and not otherwise punished, nor yet, by Inquisition, any of them examined of their Faith. But yet say these Defenders, if they shew themselves, by their open Deeds and Facts, to be reconciled from their Allegiance and Obedience to the Queen, and that they will therein persist, then they are therewith charged, and punished according to the Laws, therefore provided.

These Arguments in their Defence I do not repeat as allowing of them, but yet surely they do move me, and some others that are wise, to think, that, indeed, the Rashness of divers coming secretly into the Realm, and professing themselves to be Priests, many of them being both very young, unlearned, and of light Behaviour, hath done great Harm to the Goodness of our common Cause; and if they, and such others, could have temperately and secretly instructed the People, and used more Circumspection in their own Living and Behaviour, there would have been a greater Increase of Numbers, persuaded in Conscience to have joined with us in our Profession. Whereof I am the bolder to write to you, my Lord, that you may confer with our Countrymen, that have Access unto you, and that they also may deal with the Fathers of the *Jesuits*, that more Care and Choice be had of such *Englishmen*, as are hereafter to be sent into *England*, and not to send every young Man, that hath more Boldness, than Learning and Temperance, for such a Function.

In the former Part of this my Declaration to you, of the universal Concurrence of all Men of Value, Wealth, and Strength, in the Body of the Realm, to serve and defend the Queen and the Realm, I forgot to report unto you the great Numbers of Ships of the Subjects of the Realm; as of *London*, and other Port-towns, and Cities, that voluntarily, this Year, were armed, able to make a full Navy of themselves for an Army, and all at the proper Costs of the Burgeses, for certain Months, with Men, Victuals, and Munition, which did join with the Queen's own Navy, all this Summer; a Thing never in any former Age heard of, otherwise than, that such Ships were always hired, waged, and victualled by the Kings of the Realm; which argued, to the Grief of me and some others, a most vehement and unaccustomed Affection and Devotion in the Cities and Port-towns, such, as they shewed themselves therein ready to fight, as it had been, *pro aris & focis*; i. e. *For their Religion and Liberties*.

Of the Number and Strength of the Queen's own Ships of War, I think you have been sufficiently informed many Times heretofore. But yet I will make you a true Report of the State of them this present Summer, what I have credibly heard thereof; because I have been very sorry to hear how you and others have been therein

therein abused, and that not only in this Matter of the Queen's Ships, but in some other Things also of late, whereof some Part hath been here, by very many, maliciously, and in common Speeches, imputed to your own Invention and Publication: Whereof, in a few Words I will make some Digression, before I shall shew the Estate of the Queen's Navy.

In this Summer past, there was printed in *Paris*, by your Direction (as it was reported) a notable Untruth, which I did see, and read: That the King of *Scots* had besieged *Berwick*, and had won it by Assault, and possessed it quietly: Whereof no Part was true, nor any Cause to imagine the same, though I wish it had so been: But not for any good Will that I now bear to that King, but for the Trouble to this Queen. For, in Truth, there is no Good for us to be hoped for from the King of *Scots*, howsoever the *Scottish* Bishops in *France* have fought to make you believe otherwise, who is rooted in the *Calvinist* Religion, as there is never Hope that he can be recovered to the Church of *Rome*: And so I think you are of late duly informed, and by his violent Actions against divers Catholics, and against all that favour the *Spaniards*, may certainly appear.

And, likewise, another great Untruth was lately printed (as your Enemies say) by your Direction also, in *Paris*, that now in *July* last, when the *Spanish* Fleet and *English* had met and fought, betwixt *France* and *England*, the *Spaniards* had then a great Victory, wherein they had sunk the Lord Admiral of *England*, with sixteen of the Queen's great Ships, into the Bottom of the Sea, and that all the rest were driven to fly with the Vice-Admiral *Francis Drake*. Upon these two so notable Untruths, which the Adversaries spitefully called *Don Bernardin Mendoza's Mendacia*,*, many who honour you were right sorry, that you should give so hasty Credit to publish the same, as your Enemies say you did: Though I have to my Power, for Clearing of your Honour, given it out, that these, and such like, have proceeded of the Lightness of the *French*, who commonly print more Lyes than Truths, in such doubtful Times, and not of you, whose Honour and Wisdom I thought would not be justly touched with so great Untruths and Lyes: Considering always, a small Time will discover Things that are in Facts reported untruly, and bringeth the Authors to Discredit and Infamy. There hath been a Speech also reported here, to have pro-

ceeded from you in *France*, that hath caused a great Mislaking of you in *Scotland*; which is, that you should, in open Assembly, and in a Bravery say, that the young King of *Scots* (whom you called, in your Language, a Boy) had deceived the King your Master: But, if the King's Navy might prosper against *England*, the King of *Scots* should lose his Crown: And of this the King of *Scots* hath been advertised out of *France*, and useth very evil Language of you, which I will not report.

But now to leave this Digression, and to return to let you know the Truth of the State of the Queen's Navy this Summer: The same was in the Beginning of the Year, when the Bruit was brought of the Readiness of the King's Armada in *Lisbon*, and of the Army by Land, upon the Sea Coasts in *Flanders*, with their Shipping, divided into three Companies: The greatest under the Charge of *Charles Lord Howard*, High Admiral of *England*, whose Father, Grandfather, Uncles, Great Uncles, and others of his House, being of the noble House of the Dukes of *Norfolk*, had also been High Admirals afore him, whereof both *France* and *Scotland* have had Proof.

Another Company were appointed to remain with the Lord *Henry Seymour*, second Son to the Duke of *Somerset*, that was Protector in King *Edward's* Time, and Brother to the now Earl of *Hertford*: And these Companies, for a Time, continued in the narrow Seas, betwixt *England* and *Flanders*, under the Charge of the said High Admiral, to attend on the Duke of *Parma's* Actions.

A third Company were armed in the West Part of *England*, towards *Spain*, under the Conduct of Sir *Francis Drake*; a Man by Name and Fame known too too well to all *Spain*, and the King's *Indies*, and of great Reputation in *England*: And this was compounded, partly of some of the Queen's own Ships, and partly of the Ships of the West Parts.

But, after that it was certainly understood, that the great Navy of *Spain* was ready to come out from *Lisbon*, and that the Fame thereof was blown abroad in Christendom, to be invincible, and so published by Books in Print; the Queen and all her Council, I am sure (whatsoever good Countenance they made) were not a little perplexed, as looking certainly for a dangerous Fight upon the Seas, and after that, for a Landing and Invasion. Whereupon, the Lord Admiral was commanded to sail with the greatest

* i. e. Sir Bernardin Mendoza's Lyes.

Ships, to the West of *England*, towards *Spain*, to join with *Drake*, whom he made Vice-Admiral, and to continue in the Seas betwixt *France* and *England*, to stop the Landing of the Navy of *Spain*. And, with the Lord Admiral, went in certain of the Queen's Ships, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, second Son to the last Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Lord *Sheffield*, Son to the Admiral's Sister, who is Wife to the Queen's Ambassador in *France*, with a great Number of Knights of great Livelode: And at that Time the Lord *Henry Seymour* was left with a good Number of Ships in the narrow Seas, upon the Coast of *Flanders*, to attend on the Duke of *Parma*.

While these two Navies were thus divided, I confess to you, that I, and others of our Part, secretly made full Account that none of all these *English* Ships durst abide the Sight of the *Armada* of *Spain*: Or, if they would abide any Fight, yet they should all be sunk at the first Encounter. For such constant Opinion we had conceived, by the Reports of the World, that the Greatness and Number of the Ships, and the Army of *Spain*, being the chosen Vessels of all the King's Dominion, was so excessive monstrous, beyond all the Navies that ever had been seen in Christendom (not excepting the *Armada* at *Lepanto*) that no Power could abide in their Way. But how far deceived we were therein, a very short Time, even the first Day, did manifestly, to the great Dishonour of *Spain*, discover. For when the Catholick Army came to the Coast of *England*, which, indeed, the *English* confess, did seem far greater than they looked for, and that they were astonished at the Sight of them: Yet the Lord Admiral and *Drake*, having but only fifty of the *English* Ships out of the Haven of *Plymouth*, where the rest remained for a new Revictualling, without tarrying for the rest of the Navy that was in *Plymouth*, they did offer present Fight, and furiously pursued the whole Navy of *Spain*, being above one-hundred and sixty Ships: So as the same with the furious and continual Shot of the *English* one whole Day, fled without any returning. And after, the *English* Navy, being increased to an hundred great and small, renewed their Fight with terrible great Shot all the whole Day, getting always the Wind of the *Spanish*

Navy. And as I am sorry to remember the Particularities, which the *English* have largely written to their own Praise: So to speak all in one Word, for nine Days together, they still forced them to fly, and destroyed, sunk, and took, in three Day's Fight, divers of the greatest Ships: Out of which, especially out of the principal great Ship of *Andalusia*, and out of the *Admirantia* * of *Guipusque*; and thirdly, out of the principal great Gallies of *Naples*, great Numbers were brought (beside many more killed and drowned) to *London*, and to sundry other Ports of the Realm, to the great Dishonour of *Spain*: Amongst which Prisoners were a great Number of Captains, both for Land and Sea. And besides that, which deeply blemisheth the Honour of *Spain*, and vexeth me at my Heart, to consider the Inequality of Fortune, it is vaunted by our Adversaries, that, in all the Time of these Fights so many Days, the *Spaniards* did never take, or sink, any *English* Ship or Boat, or break any Mast, or took any one Man Prisoner. A Matter, that, indeed, these *Spaniards*, which are taken, do marvel at greatly, and chafe thereat: So as some of them, in their Anguish of Mind, let not to say, that, in all these Fights, Christ shewed himself a *Lutheran* †.

And though such Speeches be unadvised, and not to be regarded, yet surely it is most manifest, that in all this Voyage, from the Coming of the Navy out of *Lisbon*, even to this Hour, God did shew no Favour to ours any one Day, as he did continually to these *Lutherans*: Which, perchance, may be done for our Good, to correct us, as putting our Trust wholly in our worldly Strength; and to the Confusion hereafter of the *Lutherans*, by puffing them up, being his Enemies, with Prosperity for a Time, to be afterwards the Cause of their Ruin. And amongst other Things reported, to the Dishonour of the Duke of *Medina*, who, it is said, was lodged in the Bottom of his Ship for his Safety, and to a great Touch to the Commanders of the *Spanish* Navy, that they never would turn their Ships, nor stay them, to defend any of their own Ships that were forced to tarry behind, but suffered divers to perish, as are good Witnesses thereof the three great Vessels, one wherein Don *Pedro de Valdez* was taken; another Gallion of *Guipusque*, that was spoiled by Fire, and

* Admiral's Ship. † Note, that all the foreign *Papists* scarce know any other Distinction in the Reformed Churches, than *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* and generally suppose the Church of *England* to be a *Lutheran* Church.

the noble Gallias, wherein *Hugo de Moncada* was slain: Of which Lack of Care, by the Duke of *Medina*, these Spaniards, that are taken, give very evil Report. The like is said in *Zeland*, by the Spaniards there, that were saved with *Diego de Pimentelli*, though the Galleon, wherein he was, being beaten with the *English* Shot, and not succoured by the Navy of *Spain*, did there perish in their coming to *Flushing*, and so also did another likewise perish for Lack of Succour before *Ostend*.

And now I must needs think that you are stricken with some Grief of Mind, or rather with some Anger towards me, to hear from me so much of those adverse Things, although they are too true: And, therefore, I also imagine you may be desirous, for your better Contentation, to understand what Opinions we that are here have, being thus frustrate of our expected Delivery, by the Defeat of this Enterprize: Whether we do comfort ourselves with a Conceit that this Action may be, by any Probability, once again renewed this next Year, for the Recovery of our lost Hope this Year, famously spoken of by the Number of *Eighty-eight*, and so verified, to the Loss of all Catholics. Wherein, surely, for our own Parts, as by secret Conference, I find, with many with whom I have secretly of late, upon this unfortunate Accident, conferred, we cannot judge of any Likelihood of good Success for any long Time: And if there should any be hoped for, surely the Sea Forces of the Catholick King must of Necessity be more increased, and better also governed than they were this Year. For this we here do consider, that this Enterprize of Invasion and Conquest, was always principally grounded upon many probable Opinions of the evil State of the Realm*.

First, of the Weakness of the *English* Navy; for so, you know, you were divers Ways this last Year advertised from hence; and so, also, many of us here did conceive the same: Wherein we see, by all this Year's Service with these Ships, we did all notably err.

Next, of a supposed evil Contentment of a Number of People in this Land to serve the Queen, and her Government, against her Enemies.

Lastly, and most principally, of a great, strong Party that would be found here in the Favour of us for the Catholick Religion, that should take

Arms against the Queen, upon the first Sight of the Catholick Navy on the Coasts of *England*. Of all which Opinions, settled in good Men's Minds, in Manner of Judgments, we know that none in the World did more constantly assure the King thereof, than you: Which, as the Matters have evil succeeded, may, I fear, bring you in Danger of his Indignation, altho' I know you meant very well therein.

And as these three Opinions have all failed this Year, so I assure you, though some of ours on that Side the Seas may persist in their former Opinions against the Experience lately seen (as it is likely they may be forced to do, to maintain themselves in Credit, for continuing their necessary Relief from the Pope, and the King, having no other Means to keep them from Starving or Begging) yet, because I would not have you further deceived by them, who have not been present in the Realm, to see such contrary Proofs against all their Conceits, as I and others have done: I will shew you a great Number of manifest Arguments, though I am sorry at my Heart to remember them, whereby you, in your Wisdom (if you be not blinded by others) shall see it most certain, that these former Opinions, for Comfort to be had from hence, will prove the next Year as strong against us, and, in some Part, more strong than they proved this Year, if any Account should be made thereof.

First, for the Navy of *England*, which hath this Year, to the Sight of the World, proved to be of great Force and Value, for those Seas, and able to overmatch, in their Manner of Fight, double to their Number, of the great Galleons, Carracks, Gallias, or Gallies, it is certain that it will be greatly increased this next Year: For, I know, that, within these few Days, Bargains are already made, and Imprest of Money delivered, and certain sent into the *Estlands*, for great Store of all Maritime Provisions. And, as for the Increase of the Number of good Ships for the Queen's proper Use, there is already a great Quantity of Timber ready, and Order given to fell more in *November* and *December* next, in the Countries near both to the Sea, and to the *Thames*, to build a Number of Ships of War, equal to those whose Service was seen this Year, to have overmatched the great *Armadas* and Castles of *Spain* and *Italy*. And, furthermore, to join with the

* This ought to be well remarked; and it is upon these Suppositions, that the Enemy did ever attack us.

Navy of *England*, this Year following, not only the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, but also Ships of *Denmark*, and other Parts of *Estland*, will certainly be had in great Numbers, whereof there was none at all required this Year past, to join with the Navy of *England*; only certain *Hollanders* and *Zelanders* offered their Service (according as they are bound) in the End of this Summer, since the Conflict near *Calais*, to join with some of the *English* Navy in the narrow Seas, to defend the Issuing of the Duke of *Parma* out of the Ports of *Flanders*: And in that Service, at this Time, there are above forty and six good Ships of War, with the Vice-Admiral *Justinian*, of *Nassau*, a Man that agreeth too well with the *English* Nation, and is a sworn Enemy to all *Spaniards*, and *Catholics*: And as it is reported for certain, there are threescore more coming out of *North-Holland* to the Seas, for the same Purpose: So as it is to be doubted, that this Realm, this next Year, will be double as strong as it was this last Year.

As to the *second* Branch of our Hope depending upon Opinion of some great Miscontentment of sundry Persons against the Queen, the Proof of the contrary so appeared this Year, both of her Actions to maintain the Liking of all her People, and of the general earnest Devotion shewed to her by all Estates, Noble and Mean, Rich and Poor, as I think no Prince christened ever had greater Cause of Comfort in her People; which I may judge to breed a Pride in her. And, to recompense the same, she did most notably shew herself in this Time, even when most Danger was threatened, in all her Actions towards her People, as careful for their Weal, and for the Safety of her Realm, without any special or particular Provision, or Regard to her own Person, as ever any Prince could do. First, to let her People understand what Care she had to make her Realm strong against Invasion, she politically, yea most carefully, by her own frequent Directions, caused her whole Realm to be put in Arms; she took Account thereof herself by Monthly Certificates, from such as were made her Lieutenants, in every Shire of her Realm; she caused Armour, Powder, Weapons, to be sent to all Countries, and Ordnance to all Maritime Countries: There were also sundry Armies described, to defend every Coast of the Sea, and as I heard it reported, by some that did know the Secrets of the Court, was importunate with her Council to leave no

Day unoccupied, to bring these Services to Effect; and yet she did still continue her Commissioners, in the *Low Countries*, to treat of Peace, which surely, she desired to have obtained, so that she might have had the same, with certain Conditions. So as to content her People, she did both treat and desire Peace, and did not, in the mean Time, neglect to make her Realm strong for Defence, if Peace could not be gotten. But in the End, when her Demands were wholly refused (whereof we and all *Catholics* were most glad) and that she understood very certainly, that the Army of the Duke of *Parma* should come first to destroy the City of *London*, she revoked her Commissioners, approached *London* in Person, and did lie, as it were, in the Suburbs of the same, whereby they of the City took great Comfort, having daily in Shew and Muster of their own Ten-thousand Men armed and trained of very able Men of the City, and in Readiness Thirty-thousand more, able to fight.

She caused also an Army to be brought to incamp near the Sea-side, upon the River of *Thames*, betwixt the Sea and the City, twenty Miles beneath the City; and, after the Army was come thither, she would not by any Advice be stayed, but for Comfort of her People, and to shew her own Magnanimity of Heart (as she said she would so do, though she was a Woman) she went to that Army lying betwixt the City and the Sea, under the Charge of the Earl of *Leicester*, placing herself, betwixt the Enemy and her City, and there viewed her Army, and passed through it divers Times, lodged in the Borders of it, returned again, and dined in the Army: And first, saw the People as they were, by their Countries, lodged and quartered, in their several Camps, which she viewed from Place to Place. Afterward, when they were all reduced into Batties, ready, as it were, to fight with any Enemy, she rode round about them, and did view them curiously, being accompanied only but with the General, and three or four others attending on her: But, yet to shew her State, I well marked it, she had the Sword carried before her by the Earl of *Ormond*.

There she was generally saluted with Cries, with Shouts, with all Tokens of Love, of Obedience, of Readiness and Willingness to fight for her, as seldom hath been seen, in a Camp and Army, considering she was a Queen; and all tended to shew a marvellous Concord, in a mutual Love, betwixt a Queen and her Subjects; and

and of Reverence, and Obedience of Subjects, to a Sovereign; all which she acquitted with very princely Thanks, and good Speeches. I could enlarge this Description, with many more Particularities of mine own Sight, for thither I went, as many others did; and all that Day, wandering from Place to Place, I never heard any Word spoken of her, but in praising her for her stately Person, and princely Behaviour; and in praying for her Life and Safety, and cursing of all her Enemies, both Traytors, and all Papists, with earnest Desire to venture their Lives for her Safety.

And, besides such particular Acclamations, the whole Army, in every Quarter, did devoutly at certain Times sing in her Hearing, in very tunable Manner, divers *Psalms*, put into Form of *Prayers* in Praise of Almighty God, no ways to be misliked, which she greatly commended, and with very earnest Speech thanked God with them. This that I write, you may be sure, I do not with any Comfort, but to give you these manifest Arguments, that neither this Queen doth discontent her People, nor her People do shew any Discontentation, in any Thing that they be commanded to do, for her Service, as heretofore hath been imagined. She had also an Army of about Forty-thousand Footmen, and of Six-thousand Horsemen, under the Charge of the Lord *Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlain, as Lieutenant of that Army, made ready from the Inland Parts of the Realm, to be about her own Person, without disarming the Maritime Countries; so as many marched out of sundry Countries, towards her, at the very Time that she was in the Camp; some came to the Suburbs, and Towns, near *London*, whom she remanded to their Countries, because their Harvest was at Hand, and many of them would not be countermanded, but still approached onward on their own Charges (as they said) to see her Person, and to fight with them that boasted to conquer the Realm. But, though the greatest Number of the said Soldiers were compelled to return, yet the Captains, Leaders, and the principal Knights and Gentlemen came to the Court, to offer their Service; and those were graciously accepted of her, with many Thanks, and are now for the more Part returned with a full Determination, and firm Promise to continue their Bands in such Readiness, as, upon a

few Hours Warning, they will assuredly return with them in good Array.

Beside these foresaid Arguments to disprove the Opinion of Discontentment of the People, which heretofore hath been thought a great Furtherance to this honourable Action, I will also remember you some other more notable Actions, to prove both Contentation and Readiness, in all the Nobility of the Realm at this Time, that were not tied to abide in their Countries by Reason of their Offices, as Lieutenants and Governors there, for martial Services. For, as soon as it was heard that the Queen was come near *London*, and that the Armies were in gathering to come out of the Countries, for Defence of all Invasions, and Reports brought from the Sea Coasts of the Appearance of the *Spanish* Navy, all the Noblemen in the Realm, from East and West, from North and South, excepting only such great Lords as had special Governments in the Countries, that might not lawfully be absent from their Charge, and some few that were not able to make Forces according to their Desire, came to the Queen, bringing with them, according to their Degrees, and to the uttermost of their Power, goodly Bands of Horsemen, both Lances, Light-horsemen, and such other as are termed *Carbines* or *Arquebuses**, lodging their Bands round about *London*, and maintaining them in Pay at their own Charges all the Time, until the Navy of *Spain* was certainly known to be passed beyond *Scotland*. And of these Noblemen, many shewed their Bands of their Horsemen, before the Queen, even in the Fields afore her own Gate, to the great Marvel of Men of good Judgment (as I heard reported) for that the Number of them was so great, and so well armed, and horsed, as knowing that they were no Parcel of the Numbers of Horsemen limited in every Country, and put into Bands with the Armies described, it was thought, before they were seen, that there had not been so many spare Horses of such Valour in the whole Realm, excepting the North Part of *England*, towards *Scotland*, whose Forces consist chiefly of Horsemen.

The first that shewed his Bands to the Queen, was that noble, virtuous, honourable Man, the Viscount *Mountague*, who, howsoever Men do judge of him for Opinion in Religion, yet, to tell you the Truth, he is reported always to

* Troopers.

have professed, as now also at this Time he did profess and protest solemnly, both to the Queen, and to all her Court, in open Assemblies, that he now came, though he was very sickly, and in Age, with a full Resolution to live and die in Defence of the Queen, and of his Country, against all Invaders, whether it were Pope, King, or Potentate whatsoever; and, in that Quarrel, he would hazard his Life, his Children, his Lands and Goods. And, to shew his Mind agreeably thereto, he came personally himself before the Queen, with his Band of Horsemen, being almost Two-hundred; the same being led by his own Sons, and with them a young Child, very comely seated on Horseback, being the Heir of his House, that is, the eldest Son to his Son and Heir: A Matter much noted of many, whom I heard to commend the same, to see a Grandfather, Father, and Son, at one Time on Horseback, afore a Queen, for her Service; though, in Truth, I was sorry to see our Adversaries so greatly pleased therewith. But I cannot conceal it from your Lordship's Knowledge, because I think this Nobleman is known unto you, having been used as an Ambassador to the Catholick King many Years past by this Queen (as I have heard) to require Confirmation of the Treaties of Amity, betwixt both their Fathers. And of this Nobleman's Conditions, I think, there be some others, of whom there is no Account to be made, that they will give Favour to any Attempt against the Queen, or to any Invasion of the Realm.

There were also many, at the same Time, that made Shews of great Numbers of serviceable Horses, whereof, though it be no Comfort for you to hear, yet it is good that you be not abused for Lack of Knowledge, how the present State is here; that you may better judge hereafter, what may be done to recover this late Loss and Dishonour. At this Time the Earl of Lincoln, and the Lord Windsor, with some Knights and Gentlemen with them, shewed their Bands, as the Lord Montague had done; and, after them, the Lord Chancellor shewed goodly Bands of Horsemen and Footmen at his own House, very many and strong. And within one or two Days after, the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Burleigh, Lord Treasurer, the Lord Compton, and, in the End of the Day, the Earl of Leicester, and the Lord Rich, besides sundry Knights of the Realm, shewed every of them several strong Bands of Horsemen,

to the great Liking of the Queen, and of all the People that were there, being many Thousands. And within two Days after that, the Earl of Essex, being Master of the Queen's Horse, with certain principal Gentlemen, his Servants, Friends, and Followers, shewed before the Queen above Three-hundred Horses of all Service, and a great Number of Carbines, and a fair Band of Footmen, all Musqueteers.

This Shew exceed in Number any other particular Band, and the Earl himself, with a great Number of Lances, horsed and armed, did run very many Courses, and especially with the Earl of Cumberland, as they call it, the *Course of the Field*, which I had never seen before; and did also himself, and his Company, *tourney* on Horseback a very long Time, and caused also his Carbines, and his Footmen, to make many Skirmishes there, to the great Liking of the Queen, and of the Multitude of People, which were many Thousands. Amongst whom I heard many vehement Speeches against all *English* Papists, calling them all Traytors, wishing also, that the *Spaniards* had been there in that Field with treble the Number, to make Proof of the Valour of *Englishmen*; all which I heard to my great Grief, with many Curses against all their Countrymen, saying, that they, as arrant Traytors to their native Country, had villainously sold, as far as in them did lie, the Liberty of their own Country to *Spaniards* and other Papists. It behoved me not there to have contraried any of them, for surely, if I had, their Rancour was so stirred up by the Comfort of these fair Shews of Horsemen, as they would there in the Field in their Rage have killed me, and cut me in a thousand Pieces.

Besides these Lords above-named, there were brought to the Town other fair Bands, by the Earl of Worcester, the Earl of Hertford, the Lord Audley, Lord Morley, Lord Dacres, Lord Lomley, Lord Mountjoy, Lord Sturton, Lord Darcy, Lord Sands, Lord Mordaunt, and by every one that were of the Privy Council; so as by Estimation, there were about London, at that Time, above Five-thousand Horses ready to serve the Queen, besides all the Horsemen that were raised in all other Countries for the Armies and the Sea Coasts. And besides these, I heard in a very good Place, where I was silent, that there were, by Account, twice as many in Readiness, with the Noblemen that were absent, attending on their Charges in their several Lieutenancies. As the Marquis of Winchester, one counted

counted to be the strongest Man of his own Furniture for Horse and Armour, who is Lieutenant of *Hampshire*, with the Earl of *Sussex*, Captain of *Portsmouth*, and Lieutenant also of *Dorsetshire*. Next to him is in Account the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Earl Marshal of *England*, Lieutenant of a great Number of Counties, and of great Power of his own, both for Horsemen and Footmen, besides the Power of the Lord *Talbot* his Son. The Earl of *Darby* also, though he was in *Flanders*, from whence he came lately, yet his Son, the Lord *Strange*, Lieutenant of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*, in his Absence, is said to have raised a great Power of Horsemen. And to shew the popular Affection to this Earl in his Country, I heard it for certain reported, that, when the Earl continued longer in *Flanders* than they liked, and doubting of his Return, for that they supposed the Duke of *Parma* would stay him, and the other Commissioners there, the People of his Country, in a Generality, did amongst themselves determine, that the Lord *Strange*, the Earl's Son, and all the Manhood of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*, would go over the Seas and fetch the Earl home. A Matter for no Purpose to be spoken of, but to note the Force of the Love which the People do bear to the Earl, who, with his Son, is firmly bent against the Pope.

The Earl of *Bath* also, Lieutenant of *Devonshire*, had, as is said, great Forces of his own ready to have impeached the Landing of any Strangers in *Devonshire*. The Earl of *Pembroke* also, being Lieutenant of *Somersetshire* and *Wiltshire*, and Lord President of all *Wales*, was ready to have come to the Queen with three-hundred Horsemen, and five-hundred Footmen, all of his own Retinue, leaving all the Countries under his Charge fully furnished.

I omit here to speak of the Bands of Horsemen, belonging to the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, which though they were ready to have been shewed at the same Time; yet the Earls, hearing of the *Spanish* Army approaching, went voluntarily to the Sea-side in all Haste, and came to the Queen's Navy before the Fight afore *Calais*. Where they, being in several of the Queen's Ships, did, with their own Persons, valiant Services against the King's *Armada*. And to shew the great Readiness in a Generality of sundry others at the same Time, to adventure their Lives in the said Service, there went to the Sea at the same Time divers Gentlemen of good Reputation, who voluntarily

without any Charge, and without Knowledge of the Queen, put themselves into the Queen's Navy in sundry Ships, wherein they served at the Fight before *Calais*; of which Number, being very great, I remember that the Names of some of them were these: Mr. *Henry Brook*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Cecil*, Son and Heir to the Lord Treasurer, Sir *William Hatton*, Heir to the Lord Chancellor, Sir *Horatio Pallavicino*, a Knight of *Genoa*, Master *Robert Cary*, Son to the Lord *Hunsdon*, Sir *Charles Blunt*, Brother to the Lord *Mountjoy*. But much Speech is of two Gentlemen of the Court that went to the Navy at the same Time, whose Names are *Thomas Gerard*, and *William Hervey*, to me not known, but now here about *London* spoken of with great Fame. These two adventured out of a Ship-boat, to scale the great Gallies, wherein *Moncada* was, and entered the same only with their Rapiers; a Matter commonly spoken, that never the like was hazarded before, considering the Height of the Gallies compared to a Ship-boat.

And yet, to make it more manifest, how earnest all Sorts of Noblemen, and Gentlemen, were to adventure their Lives in this Service, it is reported that the Earl of *Oxford*, who is one of the most antient Earls of this Land, went also to the Sea to serve in the Queen's Army. There went also, for the same Purpose, a second Son of the Lord Treasurer, called, as I can remember, *Robert Cecil*: There went also, about that Time, to the Seas, the Lord *Dudley*, an antient Baron of the Realm, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a Gentleman of the Queen's Privy Chamber, and in his Company a great Number of young Gentlemen, amongst whom I remember the Names of the Heir of Sir *Thomas Cecil*, called *William Cecil*, of *Edward Darcy*, *Arthur George*, and such others; with the Remembrance of whom I do not comfort myself, but only to shew you, how far we have been deceived, to think that we should have had a Party here for us, when, as we see both by Land and Sea, all Sorts of Men were so ready of their own Charges, without either Commandment or Entertainment, to adventure their Lives in Defence of the Queen and the Realm.

And for the Earl of *Huntingdon*'s Forces, being Lieutenant General in the North, it is reported, that he hath put in Readiness for an Army in *Yorkshire*, and other Counties commonly limited to serve against *Scotland*, to the Number of forty-thousand well armed Footmen, and near

Hand

Hand ten thousand Horsemen, to come to him, if any Occasion of Invasion should be in the North Parts, to whom are joined with their Forces three Lords in the North, the Lord *Sirrop*, Lord *Darcy*, and Lord *Evers*.

There are also divers other Lords that are Lieutenants of Countries, that have in Readiness of their proper Charges good Numbers of Horsemen: As the Earl of *Kent*, Lieutenant of *Bedfordshire*, the Lord *Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlain, Lieutenant of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Lord *Cobham*, Lieutenant of *Kent*, the Lord *Gray* of *Buckinghamshire*, the Lord *North* of *Cambridgeshire*, Lord *Chandos* of *Gloucestershire*, Lord *St. John* of *Huntingdonshire*, Lord *Buckhurst* of *Sussex*; and so, by this particular Recital, not unmeet for your Knowledge, it is to be noted what Disposition the Nobility of the Realm had, at this Time, to have withstood all Invasion. And, if perchance you shall peruse your ordinary Catalogue of the great Lords of the Realm, you shall find, that these are the Substance of all the great Lords, saving three young Earls within Age, *Rutland*, *Southampton*, and *Bedford*; all three brought up in perverse Religion. And so remaineth to be spoken of the Earl of *Arundel*, who is in the Tower, for attempting to have fled out of the Realm, by Provocation of him that now is Cardinal *Allen*; who, howsoever he may be affected to the Catholick Religion, yet I hear most certainly, that he offereth his Life in Defence of the Queen against all the World.

And where Account was made to have a Party in this Realm, which by these former Relations appear could not be possible, the whole Nobility being assured to the Queen, and the Force of the People not violently bent that Way; in this very Time was offered to the Queen as great a Party for her, to come to her Service, and Defence of the Realm, as, out of all Christendom, she should not have to all Respects a stronger: Which was the King of *Scots*, who, hearing of the intended Invasion of the Realm, sent a Gentleman to the Queen, with his Letter, as I credibly heard, to offer her all the Power that he had to defend her and her Realm; and, if she so would, he would come in his own Person and hazard his own Life to defend this Realm against all Invaders for Religion, or any other Pretence whatsoever. So by this you may see, what Account may be made of any vain Promises, made in the Name of this King.

And, because you shall perceive that I have good Means to have Intelligence of any other Forces of the Realm for Defence thereof, it is most certain, as I hear, and I have seen a List or Roll of a great Number both of Horsemen and Footmen, which the Bishops of the Realm have of their own Charges, with the Contribution of the Clergy, raised up in Bands of Horsemen and Footmen, which are to be led by noble Gentlemen at the Queen's Nomination; and these Bands must be vainly termed, *Milites Sacri*; i. e. *Holy Knights*.

As to the last Point of the three Foundations of the principal Hope conceived, whereupon the Invasion was chiefly grounded and taken in Hand, which was most certainly and generally believed, that there should be found here in the Realm a strong Party of Catholicks, against the Queen, to join and assist the Invaders, upon the appearing of the *Spanish Navy*; by my former Relations of the general, great, and fervent Love of the People towards the Queen, and of the great Offers of Service now made by the whole Nobility of the Realm, this their Foundation may appear to have been wrong laid, only by vain Imaginations, as it were, upon a Quick-sand, or rather as flying in the Air. And yet it appeareth very truly, that no small Account was made hereof by the King of *Spain*, and by his principal Ministers; for there is nothing at this present more universally, with one lamentable Voice, spoken of, by all the Multitude of the *Spaniards*, now here Prisoners, yea by the chiefest of them, than that they now evidently see, that the King their Master was with such Informations greatly abused, yea rather betrayed. For they say, there was no Man of Value in all this Army, but he heard it constantly affirmed, and so delivered for Comfort of all that served therein, before they were shipped, that they should not be afraid of any Resistance to land in *England*, for that there was good Assurance given to the King, that they should find a strong Army of Catholicks ready in their Favour, as soon as ever their Navy should be seen upon the Sea-coast, and so they all here say they were encouraged to come to this Journey; otherwise, many of them swear, they would never have come of Ship-board; so unlikely, they say, it was, and against all Reason, to invade a Realm, with Opinion to conquer it, without both some Title of Right, and a Party also, but especially without a good sure Party.

And,

And, therefore, now finding this Report very false, many of these Prisoners do by Name curse you, as being the King's Ambassador; as him, they say, who, upon the Opinion of the Knowledge which you had gotten in *England*, was therein more credited than any other, and had these many Years together tempted the King, their Master, upon Hope, and other such like Persuasions, to attempt such a Matter as this was; being utterly in all Wisdom to have been condemned, without some Certainty of this latter Part, especially to have had a strong Party here. They also curse all such *Englishmen*, as have fled out of this Country, whom they spare not to call *arrant Traytors*, for offering the Sale of their Country to the Pope, and the King of *Spain*. And these Prisoners add also, that they were borne in Hand, that this Country was so open to march in, and so weak to withstand any Force, and the People so miserable, as they thought the Conquest thereof had been of no more Difficulty, than the Overcoming of a Number of naked *Indians* was at the Beginning of the Conquest thereof by King *Ferdinand*.

And now, for Strength of this Country and People: Many of these Prisoners having been brought from the Sea-coasts hither to *London*, whereby they have observed the Country and the People, do speak marvellously thereof, counting the same invincible, otherwise than by Treason of some great Party within the Realm. But whether all these Speeches, which are commonly reported of them, proceed from their Hearts, or that they speak thus to please the *English*, because they are well used by them, who also are easily deceived with Flattery, I know not; but sure I am they do thus speak daily, with outward Shew of great Passions against such as have been Persuaders to the King for this Journey. Divers of them also which are of good Judgment, and have heard of such of the *English* banished Men as have been in *Spain*, and have known some of them there (as of long Time, Sir *Francis Englefield*, and of late, the Lord *Paget* and his Brother) have curiously inquired, of what Power they were and Credit here, to have a Party. They also inquired of the Earl of *Westmoreland*; although of him they confess he is a Man but of small Government. But our Adversaries here have so abased these and all the rest, to have been of no Credit to carry any Numbers of Men, but by the Queen's Authority, when they were at their best; as their Prisoners wonder how the

King could be so deceived to give them Pensions, otherwise than for Charity, because of their Religion. But they confess they have often heard in *Spain*, how the King was once notably deceived, when one *Thomas Stukeley*, a private *Englishman*, who fled out of *Ireland* for Debt, and other lewd Actions, into *Spain*, not being worth one Penny his Debts being paid, and but the second Son of a mean Gentleman, pretended, and was believed in *Spain* (by so intitling himself) to be a Duke, a Marquis, and an Earl of *Ireland*, and so was a long Time entertained, as a Man that could do great Service against the Queen of *England*; until, at length, the King understood his Falshood, and banished him out of *Spain*. And after, repairing to *Rome*, was by the Pope also maintained for a Time, until he was discovered even by some good Catholics, that could not endure the Pope's Holiness to be so grossly mocked; of whom, some of the Prisoners, using merry Speeches, how both the Emperor *Charles*, and afterwards this King and the Pope, were so notably deceived by this *Stukeley*, do conclude merrily, that they think some of these *English*, that have thus abused the King, have followed *Stukeley's* Steps. And, in very Truth, I and many others have been very often ashamed to hear so broad Speeches of the King and of the Pope, yea of the Emperor *Charles*, whom such a Companion, as *Stukeley* was, could so notably deceive; and it was the more to be marvelled, how he could deceive the Catholick King, considering he was known to many of his Council, at the King's being in *England*, to have been but a vaunting Beggar, and a Ruffian, and, afterwards, a Pirate against the *Spaniards*.

Now, my Lord Ambassador, by these my large Relations of the evil Things past, and of the Opinions of such as I have lately dealt withal, with mine own Conceit also, which I do not vainly imagine, your Lordship may see, in the first Part, our present Calamity, and miserable Estate: In the second Part, the State of this Queen, her Realm, her People, their Minds, their Strength, so far contrary to the Expectation of the Pope's Holiness, the King Catholick, and especially of you (my Lord) and all others that have been in Hand these many Years with this Action, as I know not what Course shall, or may be thought meet to take, seeing it is seen by Experience, that by Force our Cause cannot be relieved. Neither will any Change amend the Matter, when this Queen shall end her Days,

as all Princes are mortal. For both the Universality of the People, through the Realm, are so firmly and desperately bent against our Religion, as nothing can prevail against their united Forces: And whosoever shall by Right succeed to this Crown, after the Queen (who is likely to live as long as any King in Christendom) if the Crown should come to the King of Scots, or to any other of the Blood Royal, as there are very many, within this Realm, descended both of the Royal Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, there is no Account to be made, but every one of them, that now live at this Day, are known to be as vehemently disposed to withstand the Authority of the Pope, as any of the most earnest Protestants or Hereticks in the World. So as to conclude, after all Circumstances well considered, for the present, I know no other Way, but to commit the Cause to Almighty God, and to all the Saints in Heaven, with our continual Prayers; and in Earth, to the holy Counsels of the Pope; and his Cardinals, with our Supplications to relieve the afflicted Number of our exiled Brethren, and to send into the Realm discreet, holy, and learned Men, that may only, in secret Manner, without intermeddling in Matters of Estate, by teaching us, confirm us in our Faith, and gain, with charitable Instruction, others that are not rooted in Heresy.

And for Relief of such as are forced to pay yearly great Sums of Money out of their Revenue, because they forbear to come to the Church, it were to be charitably considered, whether

there might not be some Dispensation from the Pope's Holiness, for some few Years, to tolerate their Coming to the Church, without changing of their Faith: Considering a great Number do stand therein, not for any Thing (as they say) used in this Church, that is directly contrary to God's Law, but for that the Rites and Prayers (though they are collected out of the Body of the Scripture) are not allowed by the Catholick Church, and the Head thereof, which is the Pope's Holiness: And for that Cause justly, all true Catholicks account this Church to be schismatical: By which Remedy of Toleration, a great Number of such, as will be perpetually Catholicks, might enjoy their Livings and Liberty; and, in Process of Time, the Catholick Religion (by God's Goodness) might, with more Surety be increased, to the Honour of God, than ever it can be by any Force whatsoever. For so did all Christian Religion, at the first begin, and spread itself over the World; not by Force, but only by Teaching, and Example of Holiness in the Teachers, against all human Forces. And so I will end my long Letter, with the Sentence which King *David* used four Times in one of his Psalms. *Et clamaverunt ad Dominum in tribulatione eorum, & de angustia eorum liberavit eos* *: And so must we make that for our Foundation to lay our Hope upon, for all other Hopes are vain and false.

At London, the of
August, 1588.

* And they cried unto the Lord in their Trouble, and he delivered them out of their Distress.

The

The A P P E N D I X.

AFTER that I had made an End of this my Letter, which I found, by Perusal thereof, to have been at more Length, than I looked for, although the Matters therein contained, did draw me thereto, and that I had made Choice of a Friend of mine, who had more Knowledge in the *French* Tongue, than I, to turn the same into *French*: My Mishap was, that when he had done some Part thereof, he fell sick of a burning Fever, whereby my Letter remained with him, upon Hope of Recovery, for ten or twelve Days: And seeing no Hope thereof, I intreated another very trusty and sound Catholick, having perfect Knowledge in the *French* Tongue, who took upon him to put it into *French*, wherein was also longer Time spent: So as my Letter being written in the Midst of *August*, I am forced to end it in *September*. And, thereupon, I thought good, whilst my former Letter was in Translating, to add some Things happened in the mean Time, meet for your Knowledge.

About the Seventh of *August*, the Lord Admiral returned with the Navy, having followed the *Spanish* Navy (as they reported) as far as the 55th Degree Northwards; the *Spanish* Navy taking a Course either to the furthest Parts of *Norway*, or to the *Orcades*, beyond *Scotland*; which, if they did, then it was here judged that they would go about *Scotland* and *Ireland*: But if they should go to *Norway*, then it might be, that if they could recover Provisions of Mafts, whereof the *English* Navy had made great Spoil, they might return. But I, for my Part, wished them a prosperous Wind to pass Home about *Ireland*, considering I despaired of their Return, for many Respects, both of their Wants, which could not be furnished in *Norway*, and of the Lack of the Duke of *Parma's* Ability, to bring his Army on the Sea, for Want of Mariners. Nevertheless, upon Knowledge from *Scotland*, that they were beyond the *Orcades*, and that the King of *Scots* had given strict Commandment upon all the Sea-coasts, that the *Spaniards* should not be suffered to land in any Part; but that the *English* might land, and be relieved of any Wants: Order was given to discharge all the Navy,

saving twenty Ships, that were under the Lord *Henry Seymour's* Charge, to attend upon the Duke of *Parma's* Attempts, either towards *England*, which was most unlikely, or towards *Zeland*, which began to be doubted. But within three or four Days after this, suddenly there came Report to the Court, that the *Spanish* Navy had refreshed itself in the Islands beyond the *Orcades*, both with Water plentifully, and with Bread, Fish, and Flesh, as for their Money they could get; and would return hither once again, to attend on the Duke of *Parma's* Army, to conduct it by Sea into *England*. Whereupon grew some Business here, wherewith, I know, the Queen and her Council were not a little perplexed what to do; but, in the End, Order was given to stay the Disarming of her Navy, and so the whole Navy was very speedily made ready again, only upon the former Reports; wherewith I, and many others, were very glad, to see them thus newly troubled, and, upon every light Report, put to great Charges. But this lasted not past eight or ten Days; for, upon more certain Knowledge, by two or three Pinnaces that were sent to discover where the *Spanish* Fleet was, which certified, that they were beyond the *Orcades*, sailing towards the West, in very evil Case, having many of their People dead in those North Parts, and in great Distress for Lack of Mafts, and also of Mariners, a new Commandment was given to dissolve the Navy, saving that which should attend on the Duke of *Parma*: And so the Lord Admiral returned, with the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Henry Seymour*, Lord *Sheffield*, Sir *Francis Drake*, with all the Captains to the Court, saving such as had Charge of the Fleet that was under the Lord *Henry*. And, upon the Return of these Seamen to the City, there are spread such Reports to move the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ladies, Gentlewomen, and all other vulgar People of all Sorts, into a mortal Hatred of the *Spaniards*, as the poor *Spanish* Prisoners were greatly afraid to have been all massacred: For that it was published, and of many believed, that the Lords of *Spain*, that were in the Navy, had made a special Division, among themselves, of all the Noblemen's

men's Houses in *England*, by their Names, and had, in a Sort, quartered *England* among themselves, and had determined of sundry Manners of cruel Death, both of the Nobility, and the rest of the People. The Ladies, Women, and Maidens, were also destined to all Villainy: The rich Merchants Houses in *London* were put into a Register, by their very Names, and limited to the Companies of the Squadrons of the Navy for their Spoil. And to increase more Hatred, it was reported, that there were a great Number of Halters brought in the *Spanish* Navy, to strangle the vulgar People, and certain Irons graven with Marks, to be heated, for the Marking of all Children in their Faces, being under seven Years of Age, that they might be known hereafter to have been the Children of the conquered Nation. These were commonly reported by those that came from the *English* Navy, as having heard the *Spaniards* confess the same; so, as for a Time, there was a general Murmur, that these *Spanish* Prisoners ought not to be suffered to live, as they did, but to be killed, as they had purposed to have done the *English*. But the wiser Sort of Men, and such as had the Charge of the Prisoners, having no Commandment from the Council, did straightly look to the Safety of the Prisoners, as a Matter not to be so rashly suffered. But, to content the People with some other Matter, there was, upon *Sunday* last, at the Request of the Mayor and his Brethren, a great Number of Banners, Streamers, and Ensigns, which were won from the *Spanish* Navy, brought to *Paul's* Church-yard, and there shewed openly in the Sermon-time, to the great Rejoicing of all the People. And afterwards they were carried to the Cross in *Cheap*, and afterwards to *London-Bridge*; whereby the former Rage of the People was greatly asswaged, the Fury generally con-

verted into Triumph, by boasting in every Place, that this was the Act of God, who had heard the fervent Prayers of the People, and was pleased with their former Prayers and Fastings, to have such Banners and Streamers, which the *Spaniards* meant to have brought and set up in all Places of the City, as Monuments of their Triumphs, by his good Providence, in punishing the Pride of the *Spaniards*, now to be erected by the *English*, as Monuments of their Victories, and of perpetual Shame to the *Spaniards*. Upon these Shews, great Rejoicing followed: And as in *June* and *July* past, all Churches were filled daily with People exercised with Prayers, and Shews of Repentance, and Petitions to God for Defence against their Enemies: And in many Churches, continually thrice in the Week, Exercises of Prayers, Sermons, and Fastings, all the Day long, from Morning to Evening, with great Admiration to see such general Devotion (which I, and others, do judge to proceed more of Fear than of Devotion) so now, since the *English* Navy is returned, and the *Spanish* Navy defeated, and Intelligence brought of the Disorders in *Flanders*, of the Diffensions betwixt the *Spaniards* and the other Soldiers, of the Contempt of the Duke of *Parma* by the *Spaniards*, being hereto maintained by a Duke, called the Duke of *Pastraw*, the Catholick King's Bastard, and of the Departure and Running away of the Duke's Mariners, here is a like Concourse of the People to Sermons in all Churches; wherein is remembered the great Goodness of God towards *England*, by the Delivery thereof from the threatened Conquest, and Prayers also publicly, to give Thanks to God for the same.

At *London*, this of
September, 1588.

An Exhortation, to stir up the Minds of all Her Majesty's faithful Subjects, to defend their Country, in this dangerous Time, from the Invasion of Enemies. Faithfully and zealously compiled by ANTHONY MARTEN, Sewer of Her Majesty's most Honourable Chamber.

M E L I O R A S P E R O.

Imprinted at *London*, by *John Windet*, and are to be sold in *Paul's Church-Yard*, at the *Brasen Serpent*. MDLXXXVIII.

The following Tract was written, immediately after the Nation's Deliverance from the Spanish Invasion, in the Year 1588, with that Judgment, Justice, Zeal, and Elegancy of Stile, that at once it perpetuates the just Commendation of the Author, displays his Eloquence, and confirms his seasonable Loyalty to his Sovereign, his Religion, and his Country.

The several Branches of this Exhortation are so well united in the most solid Reason, that neither Time, nor deceitful Politicks, are able to withstand their Force; and so well adapted to the general Foible of Mankind, that it may be accounted a standing Exhortation on the like Occasions, whenever God permits any such Calamities to befall us. For here every one may see his Duty, and are instructed as well to avoid the Misfortunes that ruin a Nation, as the Means, which, by God's Blessing, frustrate and rout our Enemies, and maintain our just Rights and Religion, Laws and Liberties.

Albeit (my dear Countrymen, and well beloved in the Lord) your faithful and willing Minds were lately shewed, by an earnest Desire of venturing your Lives for Defence of your Country; yet, because the same then happened in a Fury against your Enemies, and, as it were, in the Fear of final Destruction; and that the Trial of your valiant Courages, and Proof of your warlike Furnitures, was prevented by the great Mercy of God, and the provident Foresight of her excellent Majesty; so as God himself hath stricken the Stroke, and ye have but looked on, I am not now to speak of any late Acts, atchieved by your Prowess and Courage, but to set before your Eyes the great and won-

derful Causes you have, to arm your Bodies, to prepare your Minds, and to sharpen your Swords against your Enemies. Not as your Forefathers, against some one particular Prince in *France*, in *Spain*, or in *Scotland*. Neither for Lands, for Honour, or Conquest, which by Battles one or twain might be decided, and the Quarrel ended; but ye must strengthen yourselves against that horrible Beast*, who hath received Power from the Dragon; against the Princes of the Nations*, which have entered into League with the Whore of Babylon†, who hath sworn your Destruction; and will not be satisfied with the Blood of many Days Battle, nor with the Lands which you hold; nor with the Goods which ye possess, nor with the fair Houses which ye have

* The whole Power of Popery uniting to destroy the Protestant Interest.

† The Pope.

builded.

builded. Neither are they minded to carry you away, as the *Assyrians, Egyptians, and Romans* did the *Israelites*, into Captivity. But, after they have taken their vile Pleasure of your Wives, your Sons, and Daughters, they will utterly destroy you, that the Name of our Nation shall be no more remembered upon the Earth. *Who-so-ever*, say they, *falleth not down and worshipeth that Golden Image **, *shall be cast the same Hour into the hot fiery Furnace †*. They will no more suffer you to try the Truth by Testimony of the Scriptures, nor to plead for yourselves the most antient Fathers. But, having prevailed against you, they will execute their Malice upon you without Judgment, and destroy you without Mercy. They have already cast Lots for your Inheritance, and have given Sentence upon the sacred Person of the Queen ‡. They will make no Difference of Degrees, but the Queen and the Commons, the Noble and Ignoble, the Learned and Unlearned, the Priest and the People, the Poor and the Rich, the Old and the Young, have all one Punishment allotted unto them. Was there ever any Nation in the World so barbarous, or People so bloody, or Prince so cruel before this Time, whether he warred for Greediness, or Malice, or Revenge, or Conquest; but he satisfied himself with the Blood and Captivity of them that offended him; sparing the Nation, and them that were innocent in the Action.

Again, was there ever any King or Prince, or Magistrate, whether he were godless or religious, whether *Idolater* or *Christian*, but, if he minded to revenge against any other Nation, he would plead the Cause by Messengers ||, according to the Law of Nations; and not purpose a sudden Destruction before a perfect Examination? What *Barbarian, Turk, or Tyrant*, would seek to conquer his Neighbour by Fraud, to gain to his Sect by Falshood, to bereave a Princess of her Kingdom, by Villainy; of her Subjects, by Disloyalty; of her Life, by Treachery; and of all their Lives and Souls, by Hypocrisy? Is this the Spirit of him that rebuked his Disciples when they would have called for Fire from Heaven to have consumed them, which would not receive him? *No*, saith he, *ye must be of another Spirit; I am not come to destroy Men's Lives, but to save them.*

Good King *David*, albeit he were already appointed King of *Israel*, in the Life-time of *Saul*, and had his said Enemy many Times alone, where he might have slain him, and so have possessed the Kingdom quietly, would not attempt so great a Treachery.

What shall we say of the *Roman* Captain, *Camillus*, that, while he lay at the Siege of a City, called *Falliscus*, there came secretly to him, out of the City, a Schoolmaster with his Scholars, offering him to betray the Town into his Hands. *No*, saith *Camillus*, I will win it honourably, and thou shalt be sent Home with Shame; and, so delivering Rods into the Hands of his own Scholars, they whipped their Master Home into the City.

Is it not that Beast of the bottomless Pit that worketh all these Tragedies? Hath he not made drunk the Princes of the Earth, with the Cup of his Fornication, even the bloody Woman, that sitteth on the bloody-coloured Beast? That exalteth himself above all the Princes, and maketh himself equal with God?

Was there ever any Prince or Monarch of the World before this petty God sprang up; nay, did ever all the Princes of the World seek to deprive any one absolute Prince of his Kingdom, and entitle the same unto another, without an express Commandment of God, unless it were by honourable Conquest or just Victory? *By me*, saith God, *Kings reign, and Noblemen of the Earth do bear Rule*. Where is there any Example in the Old Testament, that any Priest did ever depose any Prince? For (*Athaliah* was but an Usurper, and was slain by Consent both of Priest and People as a Murdres of her own Children; and *Joash* the right Heir was established in the Kingdom) Was not *Peter*, in the New Testament, greater than any Pope on the Earth? And yet so far from deposing of Princes, as he himself of all other was most obedient to secular Power, and gave the same Lesson unto others? But was not *Christ* himself the Prince of all Princes; and yet, seeing his Kingdom was spiritual, was he not obedient to all Government, commanding all Manner of Obedience and Humility to all his Disciples?

Now let us see more at large, by whom, against whom, and for what Causes this War, or rather cruel Proscription, groweth. That, these Things being plainly set down before your Eyes, not

* Popery. † Persecuted with Fire and Sword. ‡ See Pope *Sixtus V's* Bull of Excommunication against the Queen, and his Letter to the King of Spain.

|| Ambassadors.

only they that be of the poorer Sort (which, having excellent Courages, will set to their Hearts and Hands to defend their *Prince*, their *Country*, and *Religion*, if they may be enabled thereunto) but chiefly those that have Substance, Lands, and Living, which God hath given them, not to consume in their own Pleasures and Vanities, but especially to these Ends and Purposes, may be persuaded with a full and perfect Resolution (forsaking the Poms and Vanities of this Life) to live frugally, honestly, and temperately, as shall best become the loyal Servants of so godly a Prince, and the valiant Defenders of so *Christian* a Commonweal; and henceforth be ready, not alone with their Lands and Goods, but also with their Bodies and Lives to defend so just, so godly, and so holy a Cause.

What Time as it pleased our most merciful and heavenly Father, in this our Age, to discover unto his Church, by certain Preachers of great Courage and Magnanimity, the manifold Abuses and Heap of Traditions, which the Bishops of *Rome*, by their Letters, Decrees, and Canons, have brought into the Church, by little and little, from the second Age of *Christ* unto that Time: (Whereby the sincere and plain Religion of *Christ*, pronounced, written, and established by his Apostles over all the World, was so corrupted and overshadowed, as even unto this Day, unless it be those, whose Minds God hath lightened with the bright Beams of his Spirit, Men can hardly remove that Vale of Vanities from their Heart :) Even then also, it pleased his fatherly Goodness, to open the Eyes of that noble Prince of everlasting Memory, King *Henry the Eighth*, Father to her excellent Majesty; that he plainly saw how long the Princes and People had been abused, and, as it were, bewitched, with that ungodly *Antichrist* of *Rome*. Who being puffed up with certain liberal Donations of some well-minded Princes, by little and little, became, of the poorest of all human Creatures, the most mighty *Pope* and Primate and Commander of all *Christian* Princes. Wherefore, by the Advice of his most prudent and godly Council, with the Assent of the whole Realm in Parliament, he discharged himself of the *Romish* Yoke, which many of his Progenitors, the Kings of *England*, for Fellowship of other Princes had so long submitted themselves unto. And therewithal, delivering to all his

Subjects the Law of the Lord * in their own Mother Tongue, so many Years excluded from them, gave Power unto godly Preachers to publish the Truth, maugre all the Enemies of the same.

Whose godly Example, his virtuous and prudent Son, King *Edward the Sixth*, faithfully following, utterly chased away in one Moment all the Remnant of Traditions, that Men had been so long in devising, and restored Religion to the self-same Form, that the holy Apostles left the same.

According whereunto our most gracious Sovereign, leading us out of the Captivity of *Babylon* (where God for our manifold Sins made us by the Space of six Years, or thereabout †, to serve under Antichrist, till we were returned unto him by Prayer and Amendment of Life) perfectly restored us again to all those heavenly Gifts which her Royal Father and Brother had bestowed upon us.

Wherefore, these Things being thus godly and sincerely taken in Hand, the Pope in his Greatness fore appalled; fearing at the very first, that, if these Things should prosper and have good Success, he and his whole Religion should be overthrown, and himself cast down from that high Dignity of a Pope, to the poor Degree of *Peter*, from being carried on Men's Shoulders, to be sent abroad to preach in his own Person; from the wearing of *Paul's* Sword, to be obedient to Princes Laws; from being served as a King at his Table, to serve as a Minister in the Church; and from being an *universal Head*, to be content with his own City of *Rome*. He at the very first, in a great Fury, persuaded the *Christian* Princes, that were taking in Hand a noble Action against *Infidels*, to turn their Forces against such their own Neighbours as were Enemies to his Superstition.

So, then, it is the *Romish Antichrist* that hath blown the Trumpet of this cruel Sedition. It was that Man of Sin, which caused the Commotion of the North against King *Henry the Eighth*. It was he that raised up divers Rebelions against that virtuous young Prince, King *Edward the Sixth*, and also against her Majesty. It was he that cursed the Queen our Sovereign, and, in his own fond Imagination, deposed her Royal Person from her Crown and Dignity; and of his own free Gift (forsooth) bestowed

* The Holy Bible.

† During the *Papish* Reign of Queen *Mary*.

the same upon others, but never durst give *Livery and Seisin* of the same himself. He it is that flatly against the Word of God (wherein it was said: *Let every Soul submit itself to the King as to his Head:**) discharged all her Majesty's Subjects of their due Obedience towards her, and sent in Swarms of false Hypocrites to steal away the Hearts of the simple People from her, and to carry away their Consciences Captive unto Satan. He it is, that hath sundry Times laid Plots for the Destruction of her Royal Person; and, so far as in him lay, committed cruel Murder, by assenting unto vile Persons to slay her, and by giving them Pardons beforehand for their Villanies. Finally, he it is, that hath sown Sedition in the Kingdom; that hath driven Men, Women, and Children, from true Religion to Perdition; from sincere Worshipping to damnable Superstition. And he it is, that hath made not the Holy, but the Hellish League, with the great and mighty Princes of his Religion, to devour, and consume us. But God be blessed for evermore, which hath lately delivered us, and turned some of their own Weapons, prepared against us, into their own Bowels, and hath drowned *Pharaoh* and his Horsemen in the Sea. For, though the Spanish King lately approached to the Kingdom with wonderful Force and Preparation to have conquered the same, yet was he but a Deputy therein to the Pope, and should have taken Possession but of that which he gave unto him, and have held the same of him, much like as *Charles the Earl of Anjou* and *Provence* held from him the Kingdom of both *Sicilies*. Ye see, therefore, who is Author, Deviler, and Maintainer of all these Mischiefs.

Now let us consider, against whom this holy Father and his Adherents have raised up so ungodly and so unnatural a War.

This famous and noble Kingdom of *England* (as testify all the best Writers old and new) was not the slackest among other Nations that received the Gospel. For if *Paul* himself, or some other of the Apostles, were not the first that planted *Christian* Religion in *England*, yet it is certain, that *Joseph of Arimathea*, with his Fellows, preached the Gospel unto us within less than eighty Years after *Christ*. And, in the One-hundred and eightieth Year of our Lord, *Lucius*, the King of *England*, received new Preachers; and not only was himself the first or the second King that received Baptism in all the *Christian*

World; but he also caused all his Kingdom to do the like, and publickly to receive the Gospel. A principal Testimony hereof may be, that the Kings of *England* have either the first or the second Place in general Councils.

Afterwards, about the six-hundredth Year of *Christ*, they received *Augustine* and his Fellows, sent from *Gregory* the Pope, and rather left the more sincere Worship of *Christ*, taught them by *Fugatius* and *Damianus*, in the Time of King *Lucius*, and to make no Commotion for the Loss of four-hundred *English* Christians, cruelly murdered at *Bangor*, by the Procurement of the same *Augustine*, than to raise any Schism or Division in the Church.

If none of all these most antient Merits (for the which *England* might both be called and reputed the most *Christian* † Kingdom of all other) will move them to take Pity upon us, because Antiquity of Time breedeth Coldness and Oblivion. Let them remember, that though we be here removed in a Corner from the rest of the World, and may be measured with a Span, in Comparison of all Christendom besides; yet, have we been ever as ready, as any other of the mightiest and richest Kingdoms, to travel over Sea and Land, to spend our Lives, Lands, and Goods, to resist the Fury and Invasion of the *Turks*, and other *Heathen* Nations: Whereas we ourselves, being an Island, and defended by the Ocean Sea, had less Cause than any other to fear the Infidels, being so far remote from us.

An Example hereof may be *Richard the First*, who behaved himself so nobly in Service against the Pagans, that he obtained the Name of *Cieur de Lion*, that is, *Richard with the Lion's Heart*. Is this then the Reward that we receive for so great a Desert? Is there no other City, nor Kingdom, nor Country, that is fallen from them but we? Or be we the first that must be sacrificed by the Leaguists, in Example of all others; because we most sincerely profess the Truth, and most defend them that are oppressed for the Gospel?

But is it our Queen, the Lanthorn and Light of true Religion, that they so much envy, because she hath reformed the Church in her own Kingdoms? Hath she done any Thing else than did those good Kings of *Israel*, *David*, *Hezekiah*, and *Jehoshaphat*? Hath she sought any other Way than her most Royal Father, and her

* 1 Pet. ii. Rom. xiii.

† The Title assumed by the French King.

virtuous Brother, as an Inheritance left unto her, together with the Kingdom? Or any other Way than Queen *Mary* her Sister sometimes followed, and, no doubt, but would have so continued, if she had not been seduced by certain Parasites of that sinful Man; and, perhaps, by some corrupt Pool*, that came from the River *Tiber*? Let them shew me, if it be not the self-same Way, that the most Christian King *Lucius*, her antient Predecessor, received from *Eleutherius*, fourteen-hundred Years past; which *Eleutherius* had received the same from them which heard the Apostles? Have not we shewed and proved, a thousand Times a Thousand, by Writing, by Disputation, by Preaching, by Conference, and many other Ways, the Persons by whom, the Times wherein, and the Matters whereof, every particular Piece and Patch of their Religion is framed? Which Things (with the presumptuous Affirmation of their vain Opinions lately devised, either by curious Heads, or by Emulation of the Learned, or of a fond Zeal without Knowledge, or for the Increase of Pomp and Riches) laid a-part from our Religion, they shall find themselves unawares, in the self-same Truth which we profess.

Wherefore, then, are they of the *Holy League* † so deeply offended with the Government of so excellent a Princess, that they should seek to bereave her of her Kingdom, before they have well examined the Question, and to repute her as a Schismatic, before they well know her Religion? No Doubt, but she daily speaketh unto God, and saith: *Plead thou my Cause (O Lord) and fight thou with them that fight against me.* For she carrieth the Testimony of a good Conscience, that she seeketh no Glory nor Praise unto herself, but Peace and Tranquillity unto the Church; she seeketh not the Dominions of other Princes, but a just Defence of her own; nor to shed any *Christian* Blood, but to save the poor afflicted Souls which cry unto her. Hath she ever broken any League with Christians, or made any Covenant with Infidels? Hath she not always laboured for Peace between Christian Princes, and travailed therein to her exceeding Charges? She never endeavoured, by any secret or subtle Means, to

circumvent her Neighbours, but what she meant to execute, in Deed, that she professed unto the World. She bare not Men in Hand that she prepared against the *Turk*, or for the *Indies*, when she meant to invade her Neighbours; neither did she make any Semblance of Peace, till she might be fully prepared unto Battle: But she hath always dealt plainly and valiantly, and honourably with all Promise. She never omitted any good and friendly Means to Pacification, while any Hope of Friendship remained. But, when all Hope of Intreaty was quite extinguished, she fled unto the next Remedy, trusting that the mighty God of *Jacob*, which had many Times delivered her, would now also be her Defender and Keeper.

Alas! What Honour shall it be for so great and mighty a Princess, to bend their Force against so godly and peaceable a Queen, that confesseth, as much as they, one and the self-same God in Trinity of Persons, and Unity of Substance; that hath one and the self-same Baptism; that looketh to be saved by one and the self-same Death; that hopeth for the same Resurrection of the Body; that confesseth one and the same Gospel; and that believeth in the self-same Book of Canonical Scriptures? It had been far more for their Honour and Credit, and for the Profit of all Christendom, they having such Store of Men and Wealth, if they would have sought first to enlarge the Kingdom of Christ, by compelling *Turks* and *Infidels* to the Faith, rather than to spoil themselves of their Riches, and their Dominions, of Christian Soldiers, by making War against a maiden Queen. By the Charges and Blood of which unnatural War, they might, perhaps, have gained many thousand Infidels to the Faith of Christ. No, forsooth, They would not seem to war with a Woman, but to prepare so invincible ‡ Force against her, as might devour her and her whole Kingdom in one Day, without any War at all. But God, who sitteth above, casteth out the Counsels of Princes, and bringeth their Devices to none Effect. For he hath destroyed their Forces, and sunk in the Sea their huge and strong Vessels; seeing there is no Wisdom, no Policy, no Counsel, no Strength, against the Lord of Hosts.

* Cardinal *Pole*, who was sent from *Rome*, which is situate on the River *Tiber* in *Italy*.

† Those Popish Princes, who had combined with the *Pope*, to extirpate Protestants.

‡ Alluding to the fore-mentioned *Armada*.

We see now, by whom, and against whom, this War is made. It remaineth to declare briefly the Causes thereof. Which, though they have in some Part been touched, yet will I more expressly set forth the same. That it may appear, what are the lawful Causes of War, and how justly we take in Hand to defend ourselves.

Wars (saith Cicero) must be taken in Hand, to the End we may live in Peace, without taking Wrong. Which Rule, no Doubt, is very good, and agreeable to our Religion, and to the Law of Nature.

For why else did the Lord promise Victory unto *Ahab*, by the Prophet, in Defence of *Samaria*, and to many other Kings of *Israel*, when they were assailed and besieged by their Enemies? Neither have we, in any of our Actions, stepped one Jot from the same Rule. For when the greatest Princes of Christendom had, with one Consent, conspired with the See of *Rome*, to make War upon all the Professors of the Gospel, and to reduce them again to their abominable Idolatry, or else so to destroy them, that their Name should be no more remembered upon the Earth, but especially perceiving the Queen's Majesty to be most zealous of the Truth, and the principal Pillar, on whom the Church of *Christ* did depend, they devised many Ways how to deprive her of her Life and Kingdom. *Come (say they) this is the Heir, let us slay her, and the Inheritance shall be ours.* Then, her Majesty, knowing from whence the chief Cause of their Malice proceeded; and that the Matter, most of all, concerned the Glory of God, and next unto that, the Life of her own self, and of infinite thousands of her Subjects: She hath, since that Time taken into her Possession (though not the hundredth Part of that, which she might, and hath been offered her) yet some Part of her Enemies Weapons, as lawful was for her to do, for the better Defence of her Kingdom, and more Safety of the Church of *Christ*: Since, without those Helps, she had no safe Way to defend herself. Yet have these Things been done of her Majesty, with such Deliberation, Advise-ment, and long Protracting of Time, as it might be evident unto all the World, that she sought nothing more, than to have her Enemies, by some Means or other, reconciled unto her, before she would enter into any new Action, for her own

Defence. And undoubtedly, but that it so much concerned the Cause of God, and the Kingdom of her antient Allies; all which, she was born to defend, when she took upon her the *Imperial* Crown; and that she saw, that, if she did take whole Kingdoms from her Enemies by Violence, they could never have enraged more against her, than before; she would rather have lost a thousand Lives, in her own Person, than to have touched any Thing, that should offend her Neighbours, or might seem to belong to another. But when she saw that no good ordinary Means would prevail; when her Highness perceived, that *Turks*, *Jews* and *Infidels*, were suffered to live quietly among them, without Compulsion of Conscience, but her poor Subjects brought into Servitude, unless they would submit their Souls to the Power of *Antichrist*; when, for a most courteous Entertainment of all their Subjects, within her Dominions, all hers, among them, were either made Gally-Slaves, or else brought within the Compass of their cruel Inquisition, when neither her own friendly Letters might be received, as they should, nor her Messengers of Account, regarded as they ought: Finally, when they had decreed, that *no Faith* * *was to be kept with us*, and made us worse than *Infidels*, because we have fled from their Superstition, and followed the sincere Faith of *Jesus Christ*: Then her Majesty, with all princely Courage and Magnanimity, began to stretch forth her Power to defend the Cause of God, and her own Right. And, these be the strong Cause of their tragical Dealings against us!

Awake now, therefore, my Countrymen; Pluck up your Spirits, ye that have Courage in you: Advance yourselves, which have so long lain in Security. If ever you were forced but for a Season to shew the Strength of your Bodies, now have you Cause to join therewith the Courage of your Minds. They have sounded their Trumpet, and made ready unto Battle. What they have, these many Years, devised against you, now they do put in Practice. Their Standard is advanced, they are in Arms to assail you. Be ye valiant to resist, and prepare you to the Fight. It must be no more with you now, as it was in Times past, when you had sudden Expeditions against the *French* and *Scottish* Nations; when you thought it sufficient to prepare for forty Days Victuals and Muniti-

* Or solemn Promises, Treaties, or Engagements.

on, and for one Day's Action, and so to return Home to your wonted quiet Rest, and careless Custom; fearing no more till a new Alarm.

For ye deal not now with such Nations, which either for their Poverty could not, or for Lack of Courage durst not, or for Want of stayed Minds would not; but ye encounter with them that are rich, hardy, resolute, and frequented with daily Victories; which neglect no Opportunity nor Advantage; which desire not to be Lords To-day, and Loiterers To-morrow; which, if they set in one Foot, are ready to enter in with both. But on the other Side, *We*, of all Nations, have been noted *invincible*, if we encounter with our Enemies, *while our Spirits be sharpened* against them, while *the Cause is yet fresh in our Memory*: And that we, at the first, run unto all great Attempts with greedy Desire, but after a While grow cold, negligent and careless: That, which we, now willingly enterprise with the Loss of our Lives, within few Days, we let slip by a careless Negligence. And this Report (no doubt) hath been too much verified by us in *France, Normandy, Gascoyne, Aquitain*, and in innumerable other Places; gained in some Time, with wonderful Honour, and lost upon the sudden, with great Dishonour.

But far be these *old* careless Minds from *new English* Hearts; and when we have the true Knowledge of God, Experience of our Enemies, Riches, Munition, and more Means to defend than ever before. When we know our Enemies to be so many, so mighty, so rich, and so resolute: When we are so well advised of our former Faults; when our Cause is so rare, so great, and concerns, not only, our Lives and Goods, our Wives and Children, our Honour, our Prince, and our Common-weal: But most of all, when it toucheth the Salvation of our Souls, the Inheritance of Christ's Kingdom, and the Preservation of all his Saints. Which Cause, never before this Time, happened to any of our Forefathers. Banish, therefore, from you those old Negligences, wherewith ye have been so long noted; and print in your Minds new Resolutions of steadfast and perpetual Courage, such as shall never decay, or grow cold by the Intermission of Time, or Change of Matter.

And, to the End there may never be in you any Thing to hinder so dutiful and necessary a Work, I will set down both the *Lets* and *Impediments*, that be most Enemies to this excellent Defence: And also, the best *Means* I find to

redress the same. Which Things being regarded, with such Care as they ought, will so thoroughly prepare and furnish us, that, though the whole World, and Enemies of *Christ* and his Gospel, rage never so much against us, we shall continually be able to defend ourselves, and the Realm, against them; yea, and (if Need so require) to offend some of them also, for the better Safety of our Christian Brethren dispersed abroad in the World.

The late Enterprize, which your Enemies made against you; whereby they made a full Account to have conquered you; although the same was exceeding dangerous, by Reason of their wonderful great Preparation and Furniture; such, as, I suppose, in that Kind, hath scarcely been heard or read of, since the Beginning of the World against any Nation: Yet, since God, by his mighty Arm, hath delivered you from the Danger thereof; it may turn, (if ye be well advised) to the greatest Profit that ever happened unto *England*. For thereby we have seen, what Force our Enemies be of, and have learned how to prepare against them. We have tried, that great Actions must not be taken in Hand, with slender Furnitures. That, if we purpose to be forth for one Month, we must prepare for twain. That it is better to leave great Abundance, than to lack one Pennyworth. That, if we have all the Strength and Provision that can be devised in the World, yet to put no Confidence therein, but to rely only on the Mercy, and Assistance, and Defence of Almighty God, the *Lord of Hosts*.

It hath also discovered unto us the Forces and Furnitures of our own Realm. It hath shewed unto us our own Wants. It hath stirred up our Minds to look to ourselves. It hath made us effectually to know the Meaning of our Enemies, which before we did but mistrust, and would hardly believe. It hath taught us, who be her Majesty's loyal Subjects at Home, and her faithful Friends Abroad. Finally, it hath warned us, not to use any more our old wonted Negligence, but with Hands and Heart, with Lands and Goods, before and after, and at every present Time, to resist every foreign Invasion, and to provide earnestly against the same.

In like Manner, the general Musters, and Training up of Men, most prudently and politically commanded throughout the Realm: Besides the wonderful Readiness that it hath brought the State into in Time of Need; it hath also given us a full and perfect Knowledge,

both of the Sufficiency of our Men, and of all their Furnitures of War: All which Things, though they might seem sufficient in themselves, to shew and admonish you to prepare all that is necessary; yet will I shew you more particularly, what Things, in my Judgment, are most needful herein, and what Impediments there be, that we cannot so thoroughly defend the Realm, as we ought, and are bound in Duty to do. Which being considered, and the Impediments removed, we may more easily do the same.

The *first* and most general Thing to be noted herein, is, That all particular Persons, which are charged by the Statute to provide Furnitures* according to their Estate and Living, have either none of these Things at all, when they be commanded to serve the Common Weal, or else they have them in such bare and simple Sort, as it may seem they do nothing for Conscience and Duty, and for the Love they bear to their Country, but for a bare Shew, to blind the Eyes of the World, and to deceive the Laws of the Realm. And no doubt, but the Offence of these is so great, as if either in their own Conscience they know themselves able, or if it be proved by others that they have sufficient, and yet neglect their Service, it standeth both with Justice and Reason, that they should enjoy nothing of their own, till the Common Weal be first furnished of such Things as is their Part to perform.

Moreover, In the *levying* and *pressing* of *Soldiers*, as there have always been great Abuses in them, which have been Captains, and had the Charge thereof; so is there some Corruption used at this Day. For the best and strongest Bodies, the best trained, and most able to do Service, are many Times spared, and young Weaklings, without Strength, or Skill, or Ability, are appointed in their Stead. Howbeit (I hope) that by Reason of the Weightiness of the Cause at this Time, and Willingness that Men have to the Wars, hath made this Offence not so general now as before Time. And I myself have lately seen whole Bands, as well chosen and furnished as one might wish.

Again, We must consider with ourselves, that the Bands and *Cornets* of *Horsemen*, and especially of *Lances*, have ever been, and yet are, the most necessary and puissant Strength in Wars, both to defend ourselves, and offend our Enemies. And therefore we must take more Care in these Days, to provide great Horses, and large Geldings, than ever before. For if we

have Store of these well furnished, and do mount on them our own valiant *Englishmen*; what great Act dare we not attempt? What Army dare we not assail? What City dare we not besiege? Nay, what Enterprize think we not before-hand obtained? Did we not in a late Siege against the Town of *Zutphen*, in the *Low Countries*, with the Force of Two or Three-hundred Horsemen, under the Conduct of the valiant Earl of *Essex*, General of the Horsemen, and divers other hardy Gentlemen, give Repulse unto above Twelve-hundred of the best Horsemen of the King of *Spain*? With infinite other Examples of the like. If then the Number of Twelve-score did so great an Exploit, what will Ten or Twelvethousand of those or the like Lances, do in any necessary Service, for the Honour and Defence of the Realm? And I trust, that the worthy Example, which my Lords of her Majesty's Council, and of other Lords and Gentlemen, taken in mustering of so many good Horses, and Men at Arms, of their own Charge†, will encourage the whole Realm to provide such Store of Horses and Armour, as shall thoroughly be able to defend the same. For, let it be shewed, where there is any Civil Realm in *Christendom*, that hath better Means to breed Horses than *England* hath; wherein be more Parks, Forests, Chaces, and Commons fit for this Purpose, than in all the Kingdoms round about us. And assuredly, if Noblemen and Gentlemen, which have the greatest Store of these Grounds to spare, would employ some of them to the Breed of Horses, besides the unspeakable Benefit they should bring to their Country, they themselves also, in short Time, should reap as great Benefit thereby, as by any other Means they can devise. And although, these many Years past, there hath been no Talk but of Peace and Security; yet that now, when they see they must seek Means, how to defend both their Living and Lives also, from their Enemies, they will no more neglect a Matter of so great Importance; but will with *one whole Consent*, provide that within few Years, by the Example of *Germany*, and other Places, all the Horses of Labour, which are not now worth their Meat, shall be turned into able Horses of Service; which being done, we shall have one of the most puissant and flourishing Kingdoms of the World. And hereby we see how necessary a Means this is for our Defence.

More-

* Arms for the Militia.

† See the Particulars on p. 149, 150, 151, 152.

Moreover, there ariseth many Times a *Muttering*, or *Discontentment of Soldiers*, that though the Prince, and her chief Officers, have provided that every one should be justly paid for the Time he serveth, yet oftentimes their Pay is kept from them by some mean Captain or Officer. And I have heard so many of them, so often, and so pitifully complain of the Wrong that their young Captains have offered them herein, as although some lewd Fellows among them may abuse their Hearers; yet, without Doubt, there is a great Fault: And lest this should be any Impediment to a general and faithful Defence of the Realm, we are to wish, that there may be good Means to redress the same.

In like Manner all Sorts of *Purveyors* and *Viſtuallers*, whether they be for the *Army* or *Navy*, if they have any Love to their Country, any Faithfulness to their Prince, any Charity towards Men, or any Regard of their Duty and Service, must be more careful than heretofore; not only that there be Store of Victuals diligently provided *in Time*, and before there be any Scarcity, and Murmuring among the Soldiers, but that it be also *good* and *wholesome* for their Bodies; lest by the Corruption thereof they be infected; and so the whole Realm, by their Sicknes, be indangered.

Also private Men, which have most Store of Victuals in their Houses, and be best able to serve, and yet, being commanded, do either refuse to serve, or by corrupting of under Officers, withdraw themselves from the Service: Besides that they be Enemies to their Country, and betray the Common Weal; they be also most injurious to their poor Neighbours, which are compelled to serve, and yet not so well able as they.

Finally, The *Diffension* and *Emulation* that I have seen in the Common Weal, between *private Captains*, for Vain-glory; hath been, and is no small Hinderance to the Defence of the Realm. For while one saith, I have been longer in the Wars, and have more Experience than he: Another, I have been in more Battles, and have received more Wounds: Another, I have travelled further upon the Sea, and have done greater Exploits: Another, I have been more fortunate, and have brought Home more Spoils from the Enemies, and yet am worser rewarded than he. What is this, but to tear in sunder the Common Weal, and to hinder every honourable Action that belongeth to the Defence of the same. Whereas *every honest and*

true-hearted Man to his Country, will abandon all Contentions, and will set a-part all Displeasures and petty Grudges; especially in the Time of any publick Service; when every Man's Duty and Courage should appear. Very notable was that Action of *Hermias*, towards his Adversary *Cretinus Magnetius*, but especially towards his native Country; against which *Mithridates* made War. For when *Magnetius* had given his Consent, that *Hermias* should be general Captain of the Wars, and he himself in the mean Time would banish himself, for Fear of Factions that might arise: No, saith *Hermias*, I know *Cretinus* to be a better Captain than myself, and therefore I will be banished till the Wars be ended. This Example is worthy Remembrance; howbeit, Christian Captains must step one Degree further; and must not only lay aside all Displeasure for a Time, and be content that their Adversary, whom they think to have better Knowledge, and more Experience in martial Affairs than they, shall have Government and Preheminence above them; and they, for that Cause, to withdraw themselves from the Wars; but they must also be present in Person, and, with all their Counsel, Endeavour, and Strength, must help to overthrow the publick Enemy of the Realm, in how mean a Place soever the Prince, or her Lieutenant, shall appoint them.

Last of all, the great *Prodigality* and *Excess of Apparel, Building, and dainty Fare* of the Nobility and Gentlemen of the Realm, is an exceeding Hinderance to the Defence of the same. For since the most Part of the Lands and Possessions thereof belong unto them, and that all others do, as it were, depend on them, and are led by their Example, Government, and Direction, they are specially, and above all others, bound both in Reason and Conscience, to defend that which is their own. But how should they defend their own, when they run Headlong into Debt; when so many Score, so many Hundred, yea so many Thousand Pounds, which they have in a Year to spend, will not pay for the Apparel they wear on their Back? How much less are they able to buy good Horses, good Armour, and good Munition, and to pay their just Portion of all such Things as belong to the Defence of their Country! But, alas, what should I complain of this Impediment, or what can it avail me to speak of so desperate an Enormity; since I myself have seen so many good Laws, so many Commandments, and so many Proclamations set forth by her Majesty; yea, so many Threat-

Threatenings pronounced by godly Preachers out of the Word of God, for the Reformation of this Excess; and nothing regarded, nothing amended, nothing observed: Nay, all falling from better to worse, from Pride to Pomp, from gay-coloured Silk, to bright glittering Gold? And were it not that I saw this to be the whole Ruin of my Country, and (as it were) the material Cause why the same cannot prosper, nor be well defended, till this Vice and Vanity be reformed, I would rather sit down, and bewail the palpable Blindness of Men, than seek to persuade them that be obstinate and wilful in their own Opinions.

The famous Emperor *Augustus*, though a *Heathen* Prince, yet he said, that *costly Apparel* was the *Banner of Pride*, and the very *Nurse of Riot and Wantonness*. But what would he say, if he saw *England* in *these* Days, and had favoured of *Christianity*? Assuredly, he would judge the same to be the High-way unto Hell, and the efficient Cause of our Destruction*.

Outrageous also is the great and sumptuous *Building* of our Time: It consumeth all the great Timber of the Realm, which should serve to make us Ships, for our Walls and Defence. And, within a While, it will force us, either to build our Vessels in strange Countries, or else to yield ourselves for a Prey unto our Enemies. Also, it beggareth the greatest Number of them that take Pleasure therein; and maketh them unable to serve their Country. And there be many more great Houses already, than there be Men of Living able to uphold.

I might speak also of the *Superfluity of Meats and Drinks*: And especially of the Diversity of Kinds, and such as are not nourished, nor do grow within the Realm. The Abundance whereof doth not only effeminate Men's Courages, and weaken their Bodies, but also beggar their Purfes, and make them, by all Means, unable to defend their Country.

We might take Example of the *Roman Monarch*†. The same was One hundred Times greater than ours, and the Gentlemen so much greater, richer, and more honourable than ours, as *Marcus Crassus* affirmed, that a Senator, which was not able to maintain an Army of Six-thousand, was not worthy to be accounted rich. And yet was it ordained by a Law, that no Senator should have at his Board but three Dishes at one Meal. But with us Twenty-three is no-

thing, and yet one of ours is worth three of theirs.

And generally, in all these Things, we are so far from the Rule of our Forefathers, nay, of our own Fathers in this Age of ours, who (knowing that the unnecessary Wars of strange Countries might breed infinite Loss to the Kingdom) rarely used any other Ornaments for their own Persons, than such as the Realm itself could make. But now we be all *Heliogabalians*‡. We delight altogether in strange Fashions, in strange Ornaments, strange Stuff, strange Apparel, strange Diet, and in all Things that be far fetched, and dear bought. If we be far from the Sea, we must have Fish: If we be near the Sea, we must have Flesh: When we have the best, and the finest, and most Diversity of Cloth and Colour, and of Stuff made within the Realm, such as our Forefathers could never have, then must we most of all seek for Clothes of Silk, of Silver, of Gold: From *Spain*, from *Italy*, from *Africa*, from *Asia*, from *Calecut*, from *China*, and from the End of the World. When we have the best Meat of our own, that can possibly be devised, then must we send into *Flanders*, into *France*, and into far Countries, to feed our insatiable Bellies. O the miserable Bondage that our Nation hath so willingly submitted their Minds unto!

Wherefore, since ye have now seen all the Causes of this War, and cruel Attempts moved against us, and by how many Ways we are hindered from a perfect and resolute Defence of the Realm; and, by this Means also, are taught how to redress the same. I would (if it were the Will and Pleasure of God) that, for your Sakes, I had the Tongue of *Hortensius*, and the Pen of *Cicero*: That I had the Voice of Men and Angels, to stir up your dull Spirits to remember what the Lord in his Mercy hath wrought for you, more than for any other Nation. How he hath committed to your Custody the precious Jewel of his Word, and the perfect Administration of his Sacraments. How he hath hitherto defended these Things, by the Excellency of his own Power and Goodness. And, having now compassed you with Enemies on every Side, maketh Trial of you, whether you will faint in your Minds, or defend, with Courage, those excellent Benefits. Whether ye have steadfast Faith to stand to the Truth, or do mistrust the Assistance of his mighty

* Before our Enemies. † *Viz.* The Roman Empire. ‡ *i. e.* Follow the Luxury and Excess of *Heliogabalus*.
Strength:

Strength: Whether the Multitude of your Enemies shall make you misdoubt his wonted Mercies, or that you have a full Hope, and stedfast Belief, that he will perform his Promises: Whether ye have more Care to spare your Goods, your Money, your Rents, and Revenues, than to save your Wives, your Children, your Prince and Country, and your own Lives from Destruction: Whether you more esteem dainty Fare, costly Apparell, gorgeous Buildings, and other vain Delights of this World, than the Loss of so happy a Kingdom, of so excellent a Prince, of so sincere a Religion, and of so pure a Gospel, preached, and committed unto our Custody, by *Christ* himself, our Saviour and Redcemer?

And now, even now, is the Time, that shall try, who is faithful unto God, obedient to his Prince, and natural to his Country. Now, even now, will God prove and tempt you, as he did the Children of *Israel*, at the *Red Sea*, and in the *Wilderness*. Now, even now, are you either to cast the Nations out of the Land of *Canaan*, or yourselves to be cast out of the Kingdom of *England*. Now, even now, is the Ax laid to the Root, that, if ye bring not forth good Fruit, you shall surely be overthrown.

Say not with yourselves, Lo, we have chased away our Enemies, and they are afraid of us. They fly hither and thither, and are at their Wits End. For when the Children of *Israel* called unto God for Mercy, with Repentance of their Sins, he subjected the *Philistines*, and other Nations, unto them: But when they forsook the Lord, and put not their whole Trust in him, they became Servants unto the *Philistines*. So was it with you in Times past, when your Forefathers submitted themselves to the Yoke of every Invasion: Namely, of the *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans*. And so was it of late Days, when, for the Multitude of your Sins, the Lord took away his Gospel from you, and submitted not only your Bodies, but your Consciences also, to that *Roman Antichrist* *. And yet, when you turned to the Lord, with inward Sighs, with sorrowful Mournings, and with Repentance of Heart, he took Compassion upon you again, and sent you a mighty De-

liverer †; under whom you have lived these Thirty Years, in the greatest Happiness and Security of any Nation in the World.

And neither are they so chased from you, that you are to expect them no more. For though the Lord hath done this Time very great Things for you, and hath covered them with Shame and Dishonour that sought your Life: Though the Dragon be driven into his Den, yet is his Sting and Poison still in Force: Though they be chased and repelled for a Time, yet their Malice and Fury abideth: Though the Lord now defeated their Purpose, yet their Device and Practice continueth: Though some of their Ships and Men be sunk into the Sea, yet the Sinews of their Commonwealth remain. Neither will they ever come to any Peace and Attonement with you, till ye have plucked those Sinews in sunder ‡.

Arm yourselves therefore again and again, ye Lords and Gentlemen, ye principal Captains, Citizens, and wealthy Subjects; ye that have shewed yourselves so courageous and forward in these late Enterprises. Cleanse your Armour, make ready your Weapons, renew your Furnitures, redouble your Provisions, slack no Opportunities, look for a speedy Return of your Enemies; foresee the Dangers, provide all Necessaries: Look to the Amending and new Building of Ships. Make them strong, light, and nimble for the Battle. And ye that be honourable, rich, and of the greatest Power, follow the good Example of Sir *W. Raleigh*, who, of his own Charge, built two such Ships the last Year, as, perhaps, might have saved all *England* in one Day. Worthy of great Praise also was Mr. *Outrich*, and *Jobson* of *Hull*, and whosoever builded the *Merchant Royal*, by the happy Successes of whose Ships, their Names shall never be forgotten. O that *Englishmen* were so sharpened at this Day against the Enemies of God and her Majesty, as were the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*! O that they would join their Purfes and Hearts together, as did the wealthy Men of that Commonwealth, in any Danger of the same. For in the first *Punick* War, when the *Romans*, by the Unskillfulness of their Pilots and Mariners, had lost and broken at one Instant; up-

* The Pope.

† Queen *Elizabeth*, who established the Reformed Religion in *England* and *Ireland*.

‡ This Maxim; by continual Experience, doth still hold good; for our *Popish* Enemies, *France*, *Spain*, &c. never make any Peace with us till they are reduced to the last Necessity; and have never kept any League with *England* longer than they could find an Opportunity to break it to their Advantage; and we can never be safe from their Invasions, till we have utterly destroyed their Power.

on the Flats of *Silicia*, the Number of Nine-hundred and twenty Ships; and having emptied all their common Treasury, by Reason of the long War, were not able of their publick Purse to build any more. It was agreed, by common Consent, that the Citizens should join their Purse together, to the building of a new Fleet: some to make one Ship, and some another, according to the Substance of every Person; and so to arm, set forth, and maintain the same; to the End that the private Charge of the Citizens should supply the Lack of the Commonwealth. And so were there speedily made, rigged, and set to the Sea, in very short Space, Two-hundred Sail (of Five Men to an Oar) for the War. And at another Time, upon the Loss of Four hundred Sail upon the like Accident, they builded, furnished, and set forth to the Sea, One-hundred and twenty Ships, in Four-score and ten Days, after the Timber was felled. And yet were not all the Countries, which the *Romans* had then in Possession, any bigger than the Kingdom of *England*. But the Miserableness of the Rich was much less; and the Diligence of the Subjects, Zeal to their Country, and Regard of their own Honour, was without all Comparison greater. Hereby also we see, that every Country hath not, at all Times, laid the whole Charge of Defence upon the *Prince* alone: But in Time of Necessity, and when the common Treasure would not suffice, every one hath imparted the Charge, according to the Compass of his Wealth and Living. This being considered, I hope every Person of Ability will know what his Duty is to perform in this Business.

In like Manner, ye that be Soldiers, and mean Captains, prepare yourselves to all Obedience, when you be called to the Defence of your Country. Cast from you all Impediments, that may hinder so good and loyal an Action. Brave not yourselves in Gold, in Silk and Silver. For that is no Way to outface your Enemies, but to disgrace yourselves: Seeing they be braver, they be richer, they be more costly apparelled than you. But be ye rather inticed by the glittering Shew of their gorgeous Cloaths, to pull down their proud Peacocks Feathers. It is neither for your Reputation, nor Profit, nor good Name so to be decked. Nay, to be clothed in Gold and the finest Silks breedeth a Suspicion of some Injustice towards the poor Soldiers, though ye have some good Entertainment in the Wars, unless you have

Lands and Living of your own to maintain the same, or have obtained such Things by the Spoil of your Enemies.

Generally, all ye good Men of the Realm, and well willing Subjects, in whose Courage and Assistance standeth a great Part of our Defence, prepare yourselves unto all Service and Loyalty, be strong and hardy. Comfort yourselves in the Justice of your Cause. Convert your Ploughs into Spears, and your Scythes into Swords. Turn your Bowls into Bows, and all your Pastimes into Musquet-shot. Abandon all your vain Delights, and idle Games. Imitate the immortal Renown of your *English* Ancestors. If ever ye desired Fame, or Honour, or Glory to your Nation, now is the Time, that, by your Prowess ye may double and redouble the same. Now is the Time, that either, by shameful Cowardice, you shall bring yourselves into Captivity, or by stout and courageous Minds, obtain a noble Victory.

Consider with yourselves the hard Attempts that other Nations in Times past have taken in Hand, for the Love of their Country. The wonderful Magnanimity and Resolution [of *Mutius Scaevola*, a young Gentleman of *Rome*, delivered the City from Siege, and caused a firm Peace between *Porfenna* and the *Romans*. For this Gentleman passed over the River of *Tyber* with great Courage, and with an invincible Mind, through the whole Host of *Porfenna*, till he was entered the King's Pavilion; where he, finding him with great Company about him, pressed in, and slew the Secretary instead of the King. But when he perceived, that it was not *Porfenna*, but the Secretary that he had slain, he was sorry in his Heart, and, in Token thereof, burned his Right-hand in the Fire, and told *Porfenna*, that though it were his Chance to miss of his Purpose, yet there were Three-hundred Gentlemen more in the Camp, that had vowed to perform that Action. Whereupon, *Porfenna* seeing so great Resolution, that the *Romans* had to defend their Country, forthwith raised the Siege, and made Peace with them.

And notable was the Story of the Widow *Judith*, which ventured to save her City, with so unspeakable Danger of her Life. For she, seeing no other Way to assuage the Fury of *Holofernes*, but by the smooth Words and Simulation of a Woman, presented herself before him in his Chamber, and promised him fair, till she had lulled him asleep with Drink, and stricken off his Head with a Sword.

What

What shall I speak of *Curtius*, that noble Roman, and *Ancurus*, the King's Son of *Phrygia*? Either of which, seeing in their Country a dangerous Breach, or Cliff in the Earth, which, they were persuaded, would not be closed up again, till the best Thing in the City (which they took to be a Man) were thrown into it, willingly threw themselves into the same, for the Safety of the People. But foreign Examples are innumerable, and not so well known to all, as be our own. And I would that we did chiefly follow the noble and worthy Acts of our own Progenitors, in sundry Wars and Battles, fought for the Defence of this Kingdom, and for the perpetual Honour and Renown of themselves. Whose Cause (nevertheless) being nothing comparable unto ours, yet they spared neither the Money in their Purse, nor the Blood in their Bodies, to honour and defend their Country.

How often did the *ancient Britons* resist the Landing, and Invasion of the *Romans*, though we were then divided into many Kingdoms; destitute, altogether, of Armour and Ammunition, and without Knowledge of warlike Discipline? Yet how often were they repulsed? And what Losses sustained they before they might attain their Purpose?

What Enterprises did famous King *Arthur* attempt, both at Home against the *Saxons*, and Abroad with other Nations? What Cities and People did he conquer? What Battles fought he? What Victories obtained he? Whereby he was reputed of all Writers, for one of the nine Worthies of the World.

What say we to the Battle of *Creffy*, when noble King *Edward the Third*, having not the eighth Part so many as had the *French King*; yet he vanquished him, and, in a Manner, all the Chivalry of *France*?

Also, the Battle of *Poitiers* shall never be forgotten; where but an Handful of *Englishmen* overthrew all the Force of *France*; for none, that regarded either Honour or Credit, was absent from that Field; seeing the *French King* himself was there present, who, being taken Prisoner, was carried Captive into *England*.

But how valiantly and prudently did that King behave himself, at the Battle on the Sea, before *Sluys*, when the *French*, having three-hundred Ships, and we but two hundred, and they four Men to one of us, and all expert Soldiers and Mariners; yet the King assailed them

with such invincible Courage, as he utterly overthrew them.

Also, the noble Victory of King *Henry the Fifth*, at the Battle of *Agincourt*, hath deserved everlasting Memory: When Seven-thousand *Englishmen*, and those wearied and weakened with long Travel, Sickness, and Scarcity of Victuals, vanquished the huge Army of the *French Nation*.

Many Times also we have fought Honour in *Spain*, and defended that Country from Usurpers. Did not Prince *Edward*, by vanquishing of King *Henry*, and those *Spaniards* and *French* that took his Part, settle *Peter* in his Right again? But this hath been ever a blessed Gift of God, and a peculiar Right of the Kings of *England*, as it were united to the Crown, to execute the Justice of God against Usurpers, and to relieve the Princes their Neighbours oppressed.

Wherein her Majesty hath mightily and marvellously declared herself, above all other her princely Predecessors, to descend of the Royal Seed of Courage and Magnanimity, and to be the right Queen of *England*, sent from above, to nurse and protect the true Christian Commonwealth.

Again, did not her Majesty's most Royal Father send the Lord *Darcy* into *Spain*, to aid King *Philip's* Great-Uncle, the King of *Arragon*, against the *Moors*, who troubled him? Did he not also, within a while after, send thither the Marquis of *Dorset*, with an Army of Ten-thousand, to assist the said King to conquer the Kingdom of *Navarre*? And, did he not, many other Times, aid *Charles the Fifth*, Father unto this *Philip*, against the *French*, and all other his Enemies? Yea, and did not the *Englishmen*, in the Time of Queen *Mary*, assist King *Philip* himself, with an Army, to overthrow the *French*, at *St. Quintins*, although we received thereby the greatest Loss that happened unto *England* these hundred Years? And have we not ever been as careful of that House of *Burgoyne*, as of our own selves? But, for which of all these good Turns, do the *Spaniards* now so deadly hate us?

Also, the worthy Examples of great Manhood and Courage, that have been shewed by our Forefathers, in Times past, and in our Days by us, in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, are infinite, and so fresh in Memory, as they need not here to be recited.

Z

Wherefore,

Wherefore, we have in every Age assayed and tried, what Courage *Englishmen* have been of against other Nations, and how they have prevailed against them. Some Doings also we have had with them of late; neither do we find them of any more Force than in former Time; nor yet their Success better against us than before. Where have we met them with half the Number, but we have overmatched them? Neither will they abide the Sight of us, unless they far exceed in Multitude. Testimonies hereof are many, and of late, and notable. What did the great Army of the King of *Spain*, at the Siege of *Berk*, when it was only bruited, that the Earl of *Leicester*, her Majesty's Lieutenant-General, with those few Forces, which he had of *English* Soldiers, came to relieve the Town? Did not the same Army forthwith retire from the Town? Neither durst they come to levy the Siege, which we made against *Dusborow*, till that Town and the great Sconce of *Zutphen* were both won. Neither could they ever have won those Things again from us, had not Treason more prevailed than Force and valiant Courage. How many strong Cities and Castles also did the young *English* Captains and Soldiers conquer lately at the *Indies*? How valiantly did they behave themselves, under fortunate Sir *Francis Drake*, at *St. Domingo*, *Carthage*, *Cales*, and in many other Places? where the *English* were in Numbers few, and the Enemies infinite. Neither shall any Age ever wipe away the Honour of those Acts from the Fame of *Englishmen*; neither hath the like Act been ever heard or read of, in any Age before. These and such like Things may mightily encourage our Minds, that whatsoever Force our Enemies bring against us, God is on our Side, and we shall not fear what they can do against us.

Have we not, of late, beaten and chased away their great Mountains of the Sea*, freighted with Men, Ammunition, and Ordnance of War innumerable? Have we not taken and slain many of them, and driven them Home with Shame enough? And have so penned in the rest, as they durst not come forth to assail us?

Imitate, therefore, the excellent Virtues of your Forefathers, if you will be Partakers of their famous Victories. Take Example by

these late Actions how to withstand the Force of your Enemies. Though they be rich, proud, and cruel; yet God hath given you Means to humble and abase them. They have neither Justice, nor Religion, nor Charity, nor Conscience, nor yet good Cause on their Side. If they had been just, they would not have pretended Peace†, and yet swear our Destruction. If they had Religion and Charity, they would have sought by godly and religious Means to save our Souls, and reconcile us unto them; and not to ban and curse us to the bottomless Pit of Hell. Neither is their Cause good; for then would they not have sought by Treasons and Treacheries, but by honourable and princely Means to overthrow us: Wherefore, having none of all these with them, I trust, that neither have they God on their Side. So then, they for the Greediness of a Kingdom, for Despite they bear to our Religion, for Vain-glory, Pride, and Presumption, for Maintenance of the Pope's Kingdom; against God, against his Word and Truth, against our blessed Queen, against all Reason, Conscience and Humanity, do offer all this Violence unto us. And we, on the other Side, in Defence of ourselves, our native Country, our anointed Prince, our holy Religion, our own *Jesus Christ*, his holy Word and Sacraments, against very Antichrist, and all the Pillars of his Church, and against those that have cursed and indicted the Kingdom, do withstand the Injury done unto us.

And we, that have done so valiantly at other Times, when the Quarrel was but for Money, or other small Matters, is it possible, but we should be much more forward now in so great and weighty Causes? When had ever *England* so just a Cause to fight as now? When did we ever more infinitely feel the Mercies of God than now? When had we ever a more loving Prince to her Subjects than now? When were ever any Subjects more obedient to their Prince than now? When were there ever so many lusty and gallant Gentlemen to defend the Realm as now? When were we at any Time better acquainted with the Sleights and Cunning of our Enemies than now? When had we ever more Skill in Martial Actions and Trainings than now? Finally, when had ever our Enemies more unjust Cause to deal against

* The *Spanish* invincible Armada.

† The Duke of *Parma*, the King of *Spain*'s Commander in Chief in the *Low Countries*, endeavoured to amuse the *English* with a Peace, and so divert them from providing for their own Security, till the *Spanish Armada* was actually on the *English* Coast.

us than now, and we more lawful Cause to defend ourselves than now? And, therefore, when should we ever have greater Hope of Victory than now?

If ever, therefore, ye bare any Affection to your Country; if ever any Love to Religion; if ever any Obedience unto a good and natural Prince; if ever you would venture your Lives for your Fathers and Mothers, your Wives and Children, or best deserving Friends; if you have any Comfort in the Promises of *Christ Jesus*; if you have any Hope to receive Salvation by his Merits; and, as ye will answer before God at the Coming of his Son, now shew yourselves like Men, courageous and forward, prompt and willing to do all the Parts of Christian Soldiery.

Let now no more careless and negligent Minds possess your Bodies; let no more a few Days Security make you forgetful of so continual Duties. Let neither the greedy Desire of Money, nor the lewd consuming of Riches, nor the wanton Excess of Apparel, nor the Superfluity of Meats and Drinks, nor the costly Buildings and curious Trimming of Houses, be any Hinderance to so honourable Actions. Learn by those Things that I have here declared, what Wants there are in the Realm that hinder the resolute Defence of the same. Remember the Remedies, supply the Lakes, remove the Impediments. Begin betimes to train up your Youth, to amend and build your Ships, to make Plenty of Shot and Ammunition, to have Store of Victuals at all Times ready, to breed and provide good Horses; that all Things, and in all the Realm, may be ready upon the sudden, and when any Need shall require. But especially put from you all private Factions and Divisions. Set apart all Quarrels and Debates among yourselves. Yield more to the Safeguard of your Country and Religion, than to the Obedience of your own Affections. Contend who shall be most forward and valiant, but envy not your Equals if they attain to more Honour.

By this Resolution, if all the World fret and rage never so much against you, the Lord will fight for you. He will give the Victory, and ye shall but look on. He will put a Fear into their Hearts, and they shall fly when no Man followeth them. An Hundred shall chase away a Thousand, and a Thousand Ten-thousand. Ye shall rob the *Egyptians* of their Jewels, and their own Weapons shall be turned against them. The Glory of the Kingdom shall remain as

the Sun in the Sight of the Lord, and as the Moon in the Night-season, so shall our *Elizabeth* give Light unto her People. Her Food shall be of the Tree of Life, that her Age may never decay. All the Blessings of the Lord shall plentifully be poured upon her, and by her shall be given unto you. The right Administration of God's Word and Sacraments shall be with you for ever; neither shall the Power of Antichrist be able to wrest them from you. There shall be no Decay, no Leading into Captivity, nor Complaining in your Streets. Ye shall be blessed in the City and in the Field, at Home and Abroad; in your Barns and in your Houses; and in all your Actions and Enterprises. Ye shall be feared, loved, and honoured of all Nations. They who now hate you for your Religion, shall then perceive that the Ark of the Lord is with you, and that it is in vain to strive with the Lord, and against you. They shall have Remorse in their Conscience, and when they have well considered the Cause, and do perceive, that neither by the Greatness of their Power, nor by the Help of their Riches, nor the Assistance of their holy Father of *Rome*, nor of any other petty God, which they have made to themselves, they can fulfil their Malice against you, but that God doth still defend you, they will be glad to forget all that is past, and will rejoice themselves with you in Amity. Yea, and when they shall see your godly Life joined with so excellent Government of the Realm; it will make them draw more and more from the *Roman*, to the right and true Religion. But if ye shall still continue in your old wonted Negligence, wherewith you have ever been infected; if you shall still complain of Fortune, and say: If we had come a little sooner, or tarried a little longer, or had not wanted a little of this, or had too much of that; thus and thus had it happened unto us; when all the Fault is in yourselves: If you shall think that Time will work Wonders, though you yourselves follow your own Pleasures: If you will not provide Resistance before the Enemies be at your Gates; if you seek not to take from them the Strength and Sinews of their Commonweal, before they have eaten you out of your own Houses; finally, if you mend not all Faults, wherein the World hath ever noted you; that is to say, To have hereafter as good a Fore-wit, as ye have been accounted heretofore to have an After-wit: To have less Liking to costly Apparel, and all Toys and Vanities, than to the Profit of your Country,

Country, than to the Care of Religion, than to Godliness, yea, than to the Safety and Preservation of your own Souls; God will utterly leave and forsake you, though you were his own Dwelling-place and Inheritance; he will take from you his Truth and Testimonies; he will deprive you of all those precious Jewels, for which, and whose Sakes, he hath so long preserved you; he will make you a Prey unto all

your Enemies, and you shall become a Scorn and Derision unto all Nations. Yea, he will bring upon you all the Plagues that he did upon the Children of *Israel*.

Amend, therefore, your Faults, be diligent, faithful, and resolute, with all your Power to defend her Majesty, the Kingdom, and the true Religion: And the Lord, for his Son's Sake, will be gracious and merciful unto you.

His Prayers to this Purpose, pronounced in her Majesty's Chapel, and elsewhere.

The First.

O Lord God, heavenly Father, the Lord of Hosts, without whose Providence nothing proceedeth, and without whose Mercy nothing is saved. In whose Power lie the Hearts of Princes, and End of all their Actions: Have Mercy upon thine afflicted Church; and especially regard thy Servant, Elizabeth, our most excellent Queen; to whom thy dispersed Flocks fly, in the Anguish of their Soul, and in the Zeal of thy Truth. Behold, how the Princes of the Nations do band themselves against her, because she laboureth to purge thy Sanctuary, and that thy holy Church may live in Security. Consider, O Lord, how long thy Servant hath laboured to them for Peace; but how proudly they prepare themselves unto Battle. Arise, therefore, maintain thine own Cause, and judge thou between her and her Enemies. She seeketh not her own Honour, but Thine; nor the Dominions of others, but a just Defence of herself; nor the shedding of Christian Blood, but the saving of poor afflicted Souls. Come down, therefore, come down, and deliver thy People by her. To vanquish is all one with thee, by few or by many;

by Want or by Wealth; by Weakness or by Strength. O possess the Hearts of our Enemies with a Fear of thy Servants. The Cause is thine, the Enemies thine, the Afflicted thine, the Honour, Victory, and Triumph shall be thine. Consider, Lord, the End of our Enterprises, be present with us in our Armies, terrify the Hearts of our Enemies, and make a joyful Peace for thy Christians. And now, since, in this extreme Necessity, thou hast put into the Heart of thy Servant Deborah, to provide Strength to withstand the Pride of *Sisera*, and his Adherents; bless thou all her Forces by Sea and Land. Grant all her People one Heart, one Mind, and one Strength, to defend her Person, her Kingdom, and thy true Religion. Give unto all her Council and Captains Wisdom, Wariness, and Courage, that they may speedily prevent the Devices, and valiantly withstand the Forces of all our Enemies; that the Fame of thy Gospel may be spread unto the End of the World. We crave this in thy Mercy, O heavenly Father, for the precious Death of thy dear Son Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Second.

O Heavenly Father, we most humbly beseech thee, with thy merciful Eyes, look down from Heaven upon thy Church of England. And especially regard thy Servant, Elizabeth, the Defender of thy true Faith, and Protector of thy holy Word. And here we prostrate ourselves before the Throne of thy Mercy, most truly confessing in our Hearts, that, if thou shouldest deal with us according to our Sins, we deserve nothing but Shame, Confusion, and utter Desolation. But, when we remember the Multitude of thy Mercies in Christ Jesus, we, in Humbleness of Mind, and Zeal of thy Truth, with one Heart, and one

Mouth, in this our Distress, do call for Help from thy holy Habitation. Now is the Time, O Lord, now is the Time, that, by a glorious Victory in thine own Cause, thy Son Christ Jesus, and his holy Word, shall be magnified in all the World. For, lo, thine Enemies have sworn to lay waste thy Sanctuary, and that thy Servant, Elizabeth, her People and Kingdom, shall be rooted out, and no more remembered upon the Earth. And now, that we have long and earnestly sought unto them for Peace, they are most proudly come forth by Land and Sea against us. In such Wise, that, if thy mighty Providence had not foreseen their dissembled

sembled Malice, we had suddenly perished, and come to a fearful End. Wherefore, make frustrate their Devices, and fight thou with Israel against all the Host of the Assyrians. Stretch out the Arm of Moses, that thy Christian Soldiers may valiantly fight for their Prince, their Country; and thy true Religion. Let the same Weapons, which they have prepared against us, be turned into their own Bosom. Destroy their Armies, confound their Forces, terrify their Captains. Scatter, break, and sink into the Sea, their huge and strong Vessels. And, as it was with Pharaoh on the Red Sea, so let it be with them that seek the Death of thy Servants. We trust not in the Multitude of Horsemen, nor in the Power of our own Arm; but in the Justice

of our Cause, and in the Help, Mercy, and Assistance of thy heavenly Power. O let thy holy Angel defend us. Put a Fear into their Hearts, that they, flying before us, may be vanquished, and confess, that it is thy Power, and thy Right Hand, that hath prevailed against them. And so they being sorry for their Sins, and confessing their Error, may fly from Antichrist, unto the true Shepherd Jesus Christ. For whose Sake, O heavenly Father, bow down thy Ear to this our humble Desire; and we that be thy People, and Sheep of thy Pasture, shall evermore give Thanks to thee the Father of Mercy. Which livest and reignest with the Son, and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, World without End. Amen.

The Royal Gamesters: Or, the old Cards new shuffled, for a Conquering Game.

The following Piece needs no Comment, much less any Apology for its Republication; seeing that the old Times, in which it was first penned, are become new, and the same Game is begun again among the Powers and States of Europe, by the ambitious and treacherous Views and Attempts of France and Spain.

Germany. **E**R'E we to play this Match prepare,
 Let's know first, who together are.
 Holland. Let England deal the Cards about,
 The four Knaves play, the rest stand out.
 Prussia. France is a Gamester, and must fall,
 Else Odds will beat the Devil and all.
 France. What I have won, I'll venture still,
 I'll give you nothing but the Deal.
 England. Play fair then, and it is agreed,
 The two black Knaves against the red.
 The Kings shall hold another Set,
 And the four Queens shall sit and bet.
 The Knaves of France and Spain are black,
 'Tis Germany must hold the Pack.
 Germany. Give me the Cards, the Deal is mine;
 Diamonds are Trumps, who bets this Time?
 Holland. I'll hold Ten-thousand Livres by,
 'Gainst France and Spain, the Reason why;
 Because the Odds is Ten to One,
 They'll certainly be both undone.
 Savoy. I'll take you up, with you I'll lay,
 That France and Spain will hold you Play.

Denmark.

Denmark. I'll nothing bet on either Side;
Portugal. Nor I, until I see them try'd.
Bavaria. I know on which Side I would bet,
 But will not tell my Mind as yet;
Sweden. Nor I, but still will Neuter stand,
 And do them Service under-hand.
Poland. One single Game with *Swedes* I'll try,
 I'll make the smooth-fac'd Youth comply.
Venice. Go on and prosper all, say I.

The First Game, 1702.

Germany held good Cards, and play'd 'em well,
 Got some by Tricks, and Honours, the first Deal.
 The second Deal, *France* held the Cards, and then,
 The Game seem'd Two to One, for *France* and *Spain*,
 But, in a little Time, they turn'd again:
 For Fortune now old *Lewis'* Side forsakes,
England won all, and *Holland* drew the Stakes.

The second Game, 1703.

The second Game, *Bavaria* took their Parts,
 And, the first Deal, turn'd up the King of Hearts;
 Got the Court-Cards and Trumps into his Power,
 And put the Slip upon the Emperor.
 And well it was for *France* he serv'd him so,
 For *Lewis* else had quickly been brought low;
Germany fretted thus to see it go.
England still play'd its Part, and won some Tricks,
 And fairly brought the Game up Eight to Six.
 But *Germany* had no good Cards to play,
 And by ill Fortune gave the Game away.
Savoy did now from *France* and *Spain* divide,
 And ventur'd all on the contrary Side.
 Loses some Stakes, but *England* lends him more,
 And *Portugal* does for that same Side declare.

The third Game, 1704.

But vex'd to see the Business done by halves,
Holland and *England* took the Cards themselves.
Germany laid his last Stake down at Play,
 While all the Strefs upon the Dealers lay,
France cut the Cards, and *Holland* led the Way.
 The first Deal from the Cards *Bavaria* lost,
 And fear'd that now his great Designs were cross'd.
Holland dealt next; *France* the first Trick did get,
 But *England* by the Honours won the Set.
Bavaria, ruin'd, threw the Cards away,
 And had not left another Cross to play.

The Fourth Game, 1705.

France to the last Stake brought, and *Spain* the fame,
But *Germany* revok'd and spoil'd the Game:
Which made the other Gamesters swear,
He did not play upon the Square.
England chang'd Sides, and took the *Dutch* again,
While *Portugal* play'd single Hand with *Spain*.
But after many Deals, and mighty Cost,
Between them both, there was but little lost.
Now *England* deals about, for the last Stake,
And had a Hand that made great *Monfieur* quake:
But, when the Set to a Conclusion came,
Holland lost Dealing, and quite baulk'd the Game.

The Conquering Game, 1706.

England deals next, and *France* is 'fain,
To lend a losing Stake to *Spain*.
Savoy bets all; *France* threatens hard,
To take from him his leading Card;
But *England* all the rest restore,
And tell him, they will lend him more.
Now on all Sides the Stakes are down,
And *Spain* plays briskly for the Crown:
And *Portugal* some Bets doth lay,
Which *England* does, and *Holland* pay.
The first Deal, *Spain* three Tricks doth lose,
Which doth old *Lewis* much confuse.
France shuffles next, more Stakes does bet,
And threatens hard to win the Set,
E're *Germany* his Cards can sort,
While *Venice* laughs, and likes the Sport.
England says nothing all the while,
But plays such Cards makes *Holland* smile.
France wins a Stake or two at first,
And *Swedes* wou'd back him, if they durst:
But *Poland* holds him to't as yet,
And hopes to gain his late lost Bet.
France with his best Court-Cards begins,
While *Spain* lose faster than he wins.
The Set grows warm; brisk Play is shewn,
And *Savoy* lays his last Stake down.
But *Germany*, with Trumps supply'd,
Soon turns the Game o'th' t'other Side.
France with his Ace of Hearts doth join,
But *England* plays the King and Queen.
Old *Lewis* vex'd, yet looking grave,
With Speed throws down another Knave,
And questions not the Game to save.
While *Portugal*, with Anger then,
Plays down another single Ten:

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At

At which the Gamesters seem'd to smile,
 And stood amaz'd a little while :
 But, when he some Excuse did make,
 They pass'd it by as a Mistake.
Venice at last for *Holland* bets,
 And holds ten-thousand Pounds o'th' Set.
France offers now to part the Stakes,
 And *Spain* the self-same Proffer makes :
 But *England* will to neither stand,
 For all the Honour's in their Hands.
France plays a Trump about to try,
 In whose Hand all the rest did lie :
 Which he soon finds unto his Cost,
 When *Spain*, perceiving all was lost,
 Throws down the Cards, and gives the Set for gone,
Bavaria takes it up, and plays it on ;
 But *England* trumps about, and so the Game is won.
France seizes on those Stakes he'd made from *Spain*,
 But *Germany* recovers all again.
 Thus ends the Game which *Europe* has in View.
 Which by the Stars may happen to be true.

The Pennylefs Parliament of Thread-bare Poets : Or, All
 Mirth and witty Conceits.

Printed at *London*, for *William Barley*, and are to be sold at his
 Shop in *Grace-Church-street*, near *Leaden-hall gate*. 1608.

The witty Conceits of the following Tract, seem to carry with them an Air of Rebuke against the Vices and Follies of those Times, in which they were composed ; and, so far as the same Subject of Rebuke subsisteth, they may still be serviceable to the same End: A jocose Reproof is frequently known to take Place of a serious Admonition.

I.
FIRST of all, for the Increase of every Fool in his Humour, we think it necessary and convenient, that all such as buys *this Book*, and laughs not at it, before he has read it over, shall be condemned of Melancholy, and be adjudged to walk over *Moor-fields*, twice a Week, in a foul Shirt, and a Pair of Boots, but no Stockings.

2.
 It is also agreed upon, that *long-bearded Men* shall seldom prove the wisest ; and that a *Nig-*

gard's Purse shall scarce bequeath his Master a good Dinner, and, because Water is like to prove so weak an Element in the World, that Men and Women will want Tears to bewail their Sins, we charge and command all Gardeners, to sow more Store of Onions, for fear Widows should want Moisture, to bewail their Husbands Funerals.

3.
 In like Manner we think it fit, that Red-wine should be drank with Oyfters ; and that some Maidens shall blush more for Shame, than for Shame-facedness : But Men must have Care,
 left

left, conversing too much with red Petticoats, they banish their Hair from their Heads*, and, by that Means, make the poor Barbers Beggars, for Want of Work.

4.

Furthermore, it is lawful for those Women, that every Morning, taste a Pint of Muscadine with Eggs, to chide, as well as they that drink small Beer all the Winter; and those that clip, that they should not, shall have a Horse Night-cap, for their Labour; Gentlemen, that sell Land for Paper, shall buy Penury with Repentance; and those that have most Gold, shall have least Grace; some that mean well, shall fare worse; and he, that hath no Credit, shall have less Commodity.

5.

It is also ordered and agreed upon, that such, as are cholerick, shall never want Woe and Sorrow; and they, that lack Money, may fast upon *Fridays*, by the Statute †; and it shall be lawful for them, that want Shoes, to wear Boots all the Year; and he, that hath never a Cloke, may, without Offence, put on his best Gown at *Midsummer*; witness old *Prime*, the Keeper of *Bethlem* Dicing-house.

6.

In like Manner, it is agreed upon, that what Day soever *St. Paul's* Church hath not, in the middle Isle of it, either a Broker, Masterless Man, or Pennyless Companion, the Usurers of *London* shall be sworn by Oath, to bestow a new Steeple upon it; and it shall be lawful, for Cony-catchers to fall together by the Ears, about the four Knaves at Cards, which of them may claim Superiority; and whether false Dice, or true, be of the most Antiquity.

7.

Furthermore, we think it necessary and lawful for the Husband and Wife to fall at Square, for Superiority, in such Sort, as the Wife shall sit playing above in the Chamber, while the Husband stands painting below in the Kitchen: Likewise, we mark all Brokers to be Knaves, by Letters Patents; and Usurers, for five Marks a Piece ‡, shall lawfully be buried in the Chancel, though they have bequeathed their Souls and Bodies to the Devil in Hell.

8.

In like Manner, it is thought good, that it

shall be lawful for Muscadines, in Vintners Cellars, to indict their Masters of Commixtion ||, and Serjeants shall be contented to arrest any Man for his Fees: Ale-wives shall sell Flesh on *Fridays*, without License, and such as sell Beer, in Half-penny Pots, shall utter Bread and Cheese for Money, through the whole Year; and those, that are past Honesty and Shame, shall smile at Sin; and they, that care not for God, prefer Money before Conscience.

9.

Furthermore, it shall be lawful for Footstools (by the Help of Women's Hands) to fly about without Wings; and poor Men shall be accounted Knaves without Occasions; those, that flatter least, shall speed worst; and Pigs (by the Statute) shall dance the Anticks, with Bells about their Necks, to the Wonder and Amazement of all Swineherds.

10.

In like Manner it is convenient, that many Men shall wear Hoods, that have little Learning; and some surfeit so much upon Wit, and strive so long against the Stream, as their Necks shall fail them; some shall build fair Houses by Bribes, gather much Wealth by Contention, and, before they be aware, heap up Riches for another, and Wretchedness for themselves.

11.

Furthermore, it shall be established, for the Benefit of Increase, that some shall have a Tympany in their Bellies, which will cost them a Child-bearing; and, though the Father bear all the Charges, it shall be a wise Child, that shall know his own Father.

12.

It shall be lawful for some to have a Palsy in their Teeth, in such Sort, as they shall eat more than ever they will be able to pay for: Some such a Megrim in their Eyes, as they shall hardly know another Man's Wife from their own; some such a Stopping in their Hearts, as they shall be utter obstinate, to receive Grace; some such a Buzzing in their Ears, as they shall be Enemies to good Counsel; some such a Smell in their Noses, as no Feast shall escape, without their Companies; and some shall be so needy, as neither young Heirs shall get their own, nor poor Orphans their Patrimony.

* i. e. be poxed.
cept *Christmas* Day.

† of Queen *Elizabeth*, which commands us to fast all the *Fridays* in the Year except *Christmas* Day.
‡ Alluding to the Table of Fees for Burials.

|| i. e. Mixing their neat Wines with Cyder, Perry, Water, Spirits, &c.

13.

Also, it is enacted and decreed, that some shall be so humourous in their Walks, as they cannot step one Foot from a Fool; some so consumed in Mind, as they shall keep never a good Thought to bless themselves; some so disguised in Purse, as they count it fatal to have one Penny, to buy their Dinners on *Sundays*; some so burdened in Conscience, as they account wrongful Dealing the best Badge of their Occupation.

14.

But, amongst other Laws and Statutes, by us here established, we think it most necessary and convenient, that Poulterers shall kill more innocent Poultry, by Custom, than their Wives and Maids can sell, with a good Conscience; also it is ordered and agreed upon, that Bakers, Woodmongers, Butchers, and Brewers, shall fall to a mighty Conspiracy, so that no Man shall either have Bread, Fire, Meat, or Drink, without Credit, or ready Money.

15.

Sycophants by the Statute shall have great Gifts, and good and godly Labours shall scarce be worth Thanks; it is also thought necessary, that Maidens, about Midnight, shall see wonderful Visions, to the great Heart-grief of their Mothers.

16.

Furthermore, it is marked and set down, that, if Lawyers plead poor Men's Causes without Money, *Westminster-hall* shall grow out of Custom, to the great Impoverishing of all Nimmers, Lifters, and Cutpurses. Those, that sing Bass, shall love good Drink by Authority; and Trumpeters, that sound Trebles, shall stare by Custom. Women, that wear long Gowns, may lawfully raise Dust in *March*; and they, that keep a temperate Diet, shall never die on Surfeits.

17.

In like Manner, it shall be lawful for Sailors and Soldiers, to spend at their Pleasures, what Pay they get by their Sword; and if the Treasurer pay them any Thing beyond Account and Reckoning, if they build not an Hospital therewith, they may bestow it in Apparel by the Statute.

18.

It is farther established and agreed upon, that they that drink too much *Spanish* Sack shall, a-

bout *July*, be served with a *Fiery-faces**; but oh! you Ale knights, you that devour the Marrow of the Malt, and drink whole Ale-tubs into Consumptions; that sing Queen *Dido* over a Cup, and tell strange News over an Ale-pot; how unfortunate are you, who shall piss out that which you have swallowed down so sweetly; you are under the Law, and shall be awarded with this Punishment, that the Rot shall infect your Purses, and eat out the Bottoms, before you be aware.

19.

It is also agreed upon and thought necessary, that some Women's Lips shall swell so big, as they shall long to kiss other Men beside their Husbands; others Cheeks shall be so monstrously out of Frame, as they cannot speak in a just Cause without large Fees; some with long Tongues shall tell all Things which they hear; some with no Brains shall meddle much and know little; and those, that have no Feet, may by the Statute go on Crutches.

20.

Furthermore, it is convenient and thought meet, that Ale shall exceed so far beyond its Bounds, as many Stomachs shall be drowned in Liquor, and thereupon will follow the Dropsy, to the great Benefit of all Physicians; it is lawful for some to take such purgative Drugs, that, if Nature help not, the Worms, in the Churches of *London*, shall keep their *Christmas* at *Midsummer* in their Bellies; but Taylors, by this Means, shall have more Conscience; for, where they were wont to steal but one Quarter of a Cloke, they shall have due Commission to nick their Customers in the Lace, and, beside their old Fee, take more than enough for new Fashion's Sake. But now, touching these following Articles, we are to advise old Men to look with Spectacles, lest, in finding over many wise Lines, they wax blind with Reading.

21.

But now, touching the Benefit of private Houses, by our rare and exquisite Judgments, we think it very commodious, that those married Men of weakest Wit, and worse Courage, should provide themselves with good Weapons, to defend themselves from Assaults, which shall assail them about Midnight; and it shall be lawful for all Wives to have a masculine Courage, in such Sort, that they, who have had

* A Burlesque on the Writ *Fieri facias*; for Drinking much Wine will not only give a Man a red or fiery Face, but also bring him into Poverty, Debt, and so to be arrested.

their Wills to this Hour, shall have the Mastery all the Year after; and those Husbands, which do not valiantly resist them, shall be awarded to pay a Sheep's Head to their next Neighbour, in Penance for their Folly.

22.

As by our provident Judgments we have seen into lamentable Miseries, incident in these Parts of the World; so, for the Reformation thereof, we do ordain and enact, that the Oil of Holly shall prove a present Remedy for a shrewd Housewife, accounting *Socrates* for a flat Fool, that suffered his Wife to crown him with a Piss-pot; ordaining, that all those, that give their Wives their own Wills, be Fools by Act of Parliament.

23.

Also, it is farther established and agreed upon, that *Essex* Calves shall indict Butchers Knives of wilful Murder; and whosoever will prove a partial Jurymen, shall have a hot Sheep's Skin for his Labour. *Bow-bell* in *Cheapside*, if it break not, shall be warranted by Letters Patents to ring well; and, if the Conduit-Heads want no Water, the Tankard-bearers shall have one Custard more to their solemn Dinners, than their usual Custom.

24.

Moreover, it is thought good, that it shall be lawful for all Tripe-wives to be exquisite Physicians; for in one Offal they shall find more Simples, than ever *Galen* gathered since he was christened; besides, if Dancers keep not Tide and Time in their Measures, they shall forfeit a fat Goose to their Teacher, for their slender Judgment. The *French Morbus**, by Commission, shall be worth three Weeks Diet, and they, who have but one Shirt to shift them withal, may, by the Law, strain Courtesy to wear a foul one upon the Sunday; also our Commission shall be sent forth for the Increase of Hemp, as not only Upland-ground shall be plentifully stored therewith, but also it shall so prosper in the High-ways †, as the Stalks thereof shall touch the Top of *Tyburn*.

25.

In like Manner, we think it necessary and convenient, that there shall be great Noise of Wars in Taverns, and Wine shall make some so yenturous, as they will destroy *Tyrone* ‡ and all his Power at one Draught; also we think it meet, that there be Craft in all Occupations,

and those, that are penitent in this World, shall have Comfort in a better; Silk-weavers, by the Statute, shall prosper well, if they wash their Hands clean on Fasting-days, for otherwise, in Soiling their Work, they shall lose their Work-masters; Daws, by Authority, shall leave Building in Steeples, and dwell in Cities; and such, as are cunning in Musick, shall know a Crotchet from a Quaver; but let such Men, as instruct Youth, be very circumspect; for, if they learn more than their Masters can teach them, they shall forfeit their Wits to those that bring them up.

26.

Furthermore, we think it most necessary and convenient, that the Generation of *Judas* should walk about the World in these our latter Days, and sell his Neighbour for Commodity to any Man; but the Usurers shall be otherwise disposed, for, having Monthly taken but a Penny in the Shilling, ever since they first began their Occupation, shall now, with a good Conscience, venture upon three Pence with the Advantage; besides, many Men shall prove themselves apparently knavish, and yet, in their own Opinions, will not be so; and many Women shall imagine that there are none fairer than themselves.

27.

Moreover, for the further Increase of foolish Humours, we do establish and set down, that fantastick Devices shall prove most excellent; and some shall so long devise for other Men, that they will become barren themselves; some shall devise Novelties to their own Shames, and some Snares to intrap themselves with.

28.

In like Manner, we think it most necessary, that those, who be Fortune-tellers, shall shut a Knave in a Circle, and, looking about for a Devil, shall find him locked in their own Bosoms; Atheists, by the Law, shall be as odious as they are Carles; and those that depend on Destiny, and not on God, may chance look through a narrow Lattice at *Footmen's-Inn* §: But my dear Friends, the Grocers, are plentifully blessed, for their Figs and Raisins may allure fair Ladies by Authority; yea, many Men, by the Statute, shall be so kind-hearted, that a Kiss and an Apple shall serve to make them Innocents.

* Disease.

† viz. By the Increase of Highway-men.

‡ The Irish Rebel.

§ Bridewell.

29.

It is further agreed upon and established, that many strange Events shall happen in those Houses, where the Maid is predominant with her Master, and wants a Mistress to look narrowly unto her.

30.

Also, we think it convenient, that some shall take their Neighbour's Bed for their own; some the Servant for the Master; and if Candles could tell Tales, some will take a Familiar for a Flea. Also, we think it meet, that there should be many Fowlers, who, instead of Larks, will catch Lobcocks; and many, for Want of Wit, shall sell their Freehold for Tobacco-pipes and red Petticoats*. Likewise, we think it convenient, that there should be many Takers; some would be taken for wise Men, who, indeed, are very Fools; for some will take cracked Angels† of your Debtors, and a Quart of Malmsey, when they cannot get a Pottle.

31.

But, stay a While, whither are we carried, leaving the greatest Laws unpublished, and establishing the Less? Therefore, we enact and ordain, as a necessary Statute, that there shall great Contentions fall between Soldiers and Archers, and, if the Fray be not decided over a Pot of Ale and a black Pudding, great Bloodshed is like to ensue; for some shall maintain, that a Turk can be hit at twelve score Pricks in *Finsbury Fields*, *Ergo*, the Bow and Shafts won *Bullen*; others shall say that a Pot-gun is a dangerous Weapon against a Mud-wall, and an Enemy to the Painter's Work‡; amongst these Controversies we will send forth our Commission to God *Cupid*, being an Archer, who shall decide the Doubt, and prove that Archery is Heavenly, for, in Meditation thereof, he hath lost his Eyes.

32.

O gentle Fellow-soldiers, then leave your Controversies, if you love a Woman, for I will prove it, that a Mince-pie is better than a Musquet; and he that dare gain-say me, let him meet me at the Dagger in *Cheap*, with a Case of pewter Spoons, and I will answer it; and, if I prove not that a Mince-pie is the better Weapon, let me dine twice a Week at Duke *Humphry's Table*||.

33.

It is furthermore established, that the four Knaves at the Cards shall suddenly leap from out the Bunch §, and desperately prank about the new Play-house, to seek out their old Master, Captain Crop-ear; also it is thought meet, that some Men, in these Days, shall be politick beyond Reason, and write more in one Line, than they can prove in an Age.

34.

Furthermore, it shall be lawful for some to study which Way they may walk to get them a Stomach to their Meat, whilst others are as careful to get Meat to put in their Bellies; likewise there shall be great Persecution in the Commonwealth of Kitchen-fees, so that some desperate Woman shall boil, try, and seethe poor Tallow to the general Commodity of all the whole Company of Tallow-chandlers.

35.

Alas! alas! how are we troubled to think on these dangerous Times; for Taylors, by Act of Parliament, may lawfully invent new Fashions; and he that takes *Irish Aquavita* by the Pint**, may by the Law stumble without Offence, and break his Face; and it shall be thought convenient, that some be so desperately bent, as they shall go into my Lord Mayor's Buttery, when all the Barrels be full, without either Sword or Dagger about them; many Men shall be so venturously given, as they shall go into *Petty-coat Lane*, and yet come out again as honestly as they went first in.

36.

In like Manner, it shall be lawful for *Thames Water* to cleanse as much as ever it did in Times past; and, if the Brewers at *London* buy Store of good Malt, poor Bargemen at *Queenhithe* shall have a whole Quart for a Penny; *St. Thomas's Onions* shall be sold by the Rope at *Billingsgate* by the Statute, and Sempsters in the *Exchange* shall become so conscionable, that a Man, without Offence, may buy a Falling †† Band for twelve Pence.

37.

It shall be lawful for Smiths to love good Ale, and, if it be possible, to have a Frost of three Weeks long in *July*, Men shall not be afraid of a good Fire at *Midsummer*. Porters Baskets shall have Authority to hold more than they can

* *i. e.* will drink and whore away all their Estate.
 † On Signs. ‡ Or, let me go twice a Week without Dinner.
 § Pack. ** Instead of
 †† Long.

† A Piece of bad Money; an Angel was half a Mark.
 ‡ On Signs. ‡ Or, let me go twice a Week without Dinner.
 § Pack. ** Instead of

honestly carry away; and such a Drought shall come amongst Cans * at *Bartholomew Fair* in *Smithfield*, that they shall never continue long filled.

38.

The Images in the *Temple Church*, if they rise again, shall have a Commission to dig down *Charing-cross* with their Fauchions; and Millers, by Custom, shall have small Mind to Morning prayers, if the Wind serve them in any Corner on *Sunday*. Those that go to Wars, and can get nothing, may come Home poor by Authority; and those, that play fast and loose with Women's Apron-strings, may chance make a Journey for a *Winchester Pigeon*; for Prevention thereof, drink every Morning a Draught of *Noli me tangere*, and, by that Means, thou shalt be sure to escape the Physician's Purgatory †.

39.

Furthermore, it shall be lawful for Bakers to thrive by two Things; that is, Scores well paid, and Millers that are honest.

40.

Physicians, by other Men's Harms, and Church-yards by often Burials.

41.

Also, we think it necessary for the Commonwealth, that the Salmon shall be better sold in *Fish-street*, than the Beer shall be at *Billingsgate*.

42.

And Heart's Ease, among the Company of Herb-wives, shall be worth as much Money as they can get for it by the Statute.

43.

It is further enacted and agreed upon, that those that run four-score Miles a Foot, on a Winter's Day, shall have a fore Thirst about Seven of the Clock in the Evening.

44.

And such, as are inclined to the Dropsy, may be lawfully cured, if the Physicians know how.

45.

Also, we ordain and appoint, that, if there be no great Store of Tempests, two half-penny Loaves shall be sold for a Penny in *Whitechappel*.

46.

Chaucer's Books, by Act of Parliament, shall in these Days prove more witty, than ever they were before; for there shall so many sudden, or

rather sodden Wits, step abroad, that a Flea shall not frisk forth, unless they comment upon her.

47.

O what a detestable Trouble shall be among Women about four-score and ten Years old, for such as have more Teeth about them, than they can well use, shall die for Age, if they live not by Miracle.

48.

Moreover, we think it necessary, that those, that have two Eyes in their Head, shall sometimes stumble; and they, that can neither write nor read, may as boldly forswear themselves, as they that can.

49.

And it shall be lawful for Almanack-makers, to tell more Lyes than true Tales.

50.

And they that go to Sea, without Victuals, may suffer Penury by the Statute.

51.

In like Manner it shall be lawful for any Man to carry about him more Gold than Iron, if he can get it.

52.

But they that are given to fullen Complexions, if they be Females, must be more circumspect; for, if they repent their hidden Sins too much, they may by Chance catch Heaven for their Labour.

53.

Therefore, let Maidens take Heed how they fall on their Backs, lest they catch a forty Weeks Favour ‡

54.

And he that hath once married a Shrew §, and, by good Chance, buried her, beware how he come into the Stocks again.

55.

Further, it shall be lawful for those that be rich, to have many Friends; and they, that be poor, may, by Authority, keep Money, if they can get it honestly.

56.

Also, we command and charge all such as have no Conscience, to do their Worst, lest they die in the Devil's Debt. As for the rest, they that have more Money, than they need, may help their poor Neighbours, if they will.

* Ale-house Pots.
Scold or ill bred Woman.

† viz. a Salvation.

‡ A Woman goes forty Weeks with Child.

§ A

57.

In like Manner, it shall be lawful for such, as are subject to hot Rheums, to drink cold Drink : And those that have a Mind to enrich Physicians, to be never without Diseases.

58.

Also, Soldiers, that have no Means to thrive, by plain Dealing, may by the Statute swallow down an Ounce of the Syrup of Subtlety every Morning; and, if they cannot thrive that Way, we think it necessary, that, four Times in the Year, they go a Fishing * on *Salisbury Plain*.

59.

Furthermore, for the Benefit and Increase of foolish Humours, we think it necessary, that those our dear Friends, who are sworn true Servitors to Women's Pantables, should have this Order set down, that you suit yourselves handsomely against Goose-feast †; and if you meet not a fair Lads betwixt *St. Paul's* and *Stratford*, that Day, we will bestow a new Suit of Sattin upon you, so you will bear all the Charges.

60.

But, as for your dear Friends and Scholars, thus much we favour you, for you shall dine upon Wit by Authority; and, if you pay your Hostess well, it is no Matter, though you score it up till it come to a good round Sum.

61.

In like Manner, it shall be lawful for Maid's Milk to be good Physick for kibed Heels; and a Cup of Sack to Bed-ward, a present Remedy for the Rheum.

62.

Such as are sick, in the Spring, may take Physick by the Statute; and those that are cold may wear more Clothes without Offence.

63.

It is best to ride in long Journies, lest a Man be weary with going a-foot; and more comely to go in broken Stockings than bare-legged.

64.

Further, it shall be lawful for some to be lean, because they cannot be fat.

65.

Some, by Statute, shall love Beef passing well, because they can come by no other Meat; and other some simmer it with an Egg at Dinner, that dare manfully set upon a Shoulder of Veal in the Afternoon.

66.

Some shall be sad, when they want Money, and in Love with Widows rather for their Wealth than their Honesty.

67.

It is also thought necessary, that some shall suspect their Wives at Home, because they themselves play false Abroad.

68.

And some love Bowling-allies ‡ better than a Sermon.

69.

But, above all other Things, Spirits with Aprons shall much disturb your Sleep about Midnight.

70.

Furthermore, it shall be lawful for him, that marries without Money, to find four bare Legs in his Bed; and he, that is too prodigal in Spending, shall die a Beggar by the Statute.

71.

In like Manner we think it necessary, that he, that is plagued with a cursed Wife, have his Pate broke quarterly, as he pays his Rent.

72.

Likewise, he, who delights in Subtlety, may play the Knave by Custom; and he, who hath his Complexion and Courage spent, may eat Mutton on Fasting-days by the Law.

73.

And to conclude, since there are ten Precepts to be observed in the Art of Scolding, we humbly take our Leave of Duke *Humphry's* Ordinary, and betake us to the Chapel of ill Counsel, where a Quart or two of fine *Trimdado* shall arm us against the Gun-shot of Tongue-metal, and keep us safe from the Assaults of Sir *John Find-fault*. Vale, my dear Friends, till my next Return.

es do. Collecting or Thieving.

London, on Thursday in Whitsun week.

Or, *Green-goose Fair*, kept at *Stratford Bow*, two Miles from *London*, on *Thursday in Whitsun week*.

‡ Nine-pins, or Skittles, at Ale-house.

John

John Reynard's Deliverance from the Captivity of the Turks, and his Setting free of Two-hundred and Sixty-fix Christians that were Galley-Slaves.

OF such Honour (amongst all Nations) hath the Trade of *Merchandizing* been ever accounted, that Commerce (ever in the hottest Flames of *War* against one another) could find no better, or fairer Means to unite them in Amity, and to join them as it were in Wedlock, than by *Commerce* and *Negotiation*. This is that Chain which binds Kingdoms in Leagues, begets Love between Princes far removed asunder, and teacheth Nations, different in Quality, in Colour, in Religion, to deal faithfully together as Brethren. Traffick (to speak of our own Country) hath increased and strengthened our *Navy*, which is a second Wall (besides that Girdle of the Sea that encompasseth her Body) to defend our Island. It is the Breeder, and only Bringer-up of good Mariners, skilful Pilots, and cunning Navigators, who, to a State, are as necessary in Peace as Husbandmen for the Tillage; and in War, as serviceable as so many Captains in the Field. Traffick is the Carrier-Aboard of our own Home-spun Commodities, and a Bringer-in of the Fruits of foreign Kingdoms, by which Means the Merchant and Citizen grow up to Wealth, and the Tradesman, that lives by the Hardness of his Hand, is still kept and maintained in good Doings. There is no Coast, be it never so dangerous, left unfought; no Language, be it never so barbarous, or hard to learn, left unstudied; no People, never so wild, left unventured upon, nor any Treasure of the Earth, or curious Work of Man, left unpurchased, only for this End, to do Honour to our Country, and to heap Riches to ourselves; both which Benefits do only spring out of our Trading to foreign Shores.

For this Cause, therefore (a Peace being concluded between the two great and opulent Kingdoms of *England* and *Spain*) an *English* Ship, called the *Three Half Moons*, being manned with

thirty-eight Mariners, and bravely armed with Ammunition, was rigged, victualled, and ready furnished to take her Voyage to *Spain*. The Gods of the Sea, the Winds, knowing her Intent, prepared themselves to go along with her, and, making the Waves ready, it became this Ship to hoist up Sails and come on; so that with a merry Gale she took her Leave at *Portsmouth*, bending her Course towards *Sevil*, the greatest City in *Spain*. Gallantly did she, for many Days, hold up her Head, and danced even on the Top of the Billows; her Masts stood up stiffly, and went away like so many Trees moved by Enchantment, whilst the big bellied Sails made haste to fly after, blustering and puffing either in Scorn, or in Anger, yet could never overtake them; or rather, as Lovers roaming after young Damfels, at Barlibreak*, they took Delight to see them make away before, and of Purpose suffered them to use that Advantage. But, alas! how soon does the Happiness of this World alter? In this bravery had she not carried herself long, but, entering into the *Straights*, *Neptune*† grew angry with her, or else, envying her Glory, sent eight Gallies of the *Turks* to beset her round. Now, or never, was both the Courage, and the Cunning of the Mariner, to be shewed; for either he must, by the Wings of his Sails, fly away, and so save himself, or manfully stand to it, and preserve all from Danger, or gloriously to suffer all to perish. Of Flight was there no Hope, for the Winds and Waves, that before were their Friends, and tempted them to set forth, grew now treacherous, and conspired their Destruction. Nothing, therefore, but the miraculous Power of Heaven, and their own Resolutions, is on their Side; every Man hereupon calls up his Spirits, and, as the Suddenness of the deadly Storm would allow them, did comfort one another. It was a goodly Sight to

* A Sort of Play, used by young People, in the Country. † The Poetical God of the Sea behold,

behold, how, to the very Face of Danger, they did defy Danger; and how in the Midst of an Overthrow, which had round beset them, they wisely and stoutly laboured to work out Safety; nothing could be heard but Noise and Confusion, and yet even in that wild Disorder was their to be seen an excellent Method of Policy. There Roaming up and down shewed as if they had been all frantick, yet, like so many Dancers, that sometimes are here, and anon antickly leap thither, fetching Turnings and Windings, with strange and busy Action, they closed up every Work with a sweet and musical Preparation.

For after the close Fights were made ready above, and that the devilish Mouths of their *Ordnance* were opening to spit Hell-fire out of the Belly of the Ship: Up comes the Master, whose Name was *Grove*, armed with Sword and Target, waving his bright Blade about his Head in Defiance of his barbarous and bloody Enemies; his very Looks were able to fright Death from his Company; and so well did his Courage become him, that it served better than all their warlike Musick to hearten up the rest: Close by his Side, as avowed Partners in all Fortune, good or bad, whatsoever, stood the Owner, the Master's Mate, Boatswain, Purser, and the rest of the Mariners. All of them armed, all of them full of Valour, all of them full of Bravery; they shewed on the Top of the Hatches, like so many well-guarded Battlements on the Walls of a besieged City, every Man encouraging his next Neighbour, to fight valiantly, because they were *Englishmen*; and to die honourably, because they were *Christians*; rather than stoop to the base Captivity of those, that were *Christ's* professed and open Enemies.

As the *Englishmen* were thus busy to defend themselves, on the one Side, so were the *Turks* active in their Gallies, on the other Side; their *Scymeters* glittered in the Sun, their steel Targets received the Fire of his Beams upon them, and beat it back to dazzle the Eyes of them whom they assailed: Showers of Musquets, with Bullets charged, stood ready to be poured down; some were preparing to toss Balls of wild Fire, as if the Sea had been their Tennis-court; others, with Bull's Pizzles in their Hands, walk up and down between the *Rowers*, sometimes encouraging, sometimes threatening, sometimes striking the miserable Galley-Slaves, because they should be nimble at the Oar, who, for Fear of Blows, more than of present Death, tugged

with their Arms, till the Sinews of them were ready to crack with Swelling, and till their Eye-balls, instead of Bullets, did almost fly out of their Heads.

At length, the Drums, Trumpets, and Fifes, struck up their deadly Concert on either Side; presently does the demy Canon, and Culverin, strive to drown that Noise, whilst the Sea roars on Purpose, to drown the Noise of both. In this Conflict, of three Elements, Air, Water, and Fire, *John Reynard*, the Gunner, so lively, and so stoutly behaved himself, in discharging his *Ordnance* of their great Bellies, that, at length, Fire seemed to have the Mastery; for so thickly did his Bullets fly abroad, and were wrapped up in such Clouds of Lightning, that the Sea shewed as if it had been all in Flames, whilst the Gallies of the *Turks*, as well as the *English* Ship, could hardly, but by the Groans and Shouts of Men, be found out whereabouts in the Sea they hovered. Many *Turks* and many Galley-Slaves did, in this Battle, lose their Lives, and end their Captivity; but those who survived, doubling their Spirits at the Horror of the Danger, with which they were environed, fell upon the *English* Ship in such Storms of Hail-shot, which still (like Hammers on an Anvil) lay beating on the Ribs of it, that, at length, the Sea offered, in many Places, to break into her, and to get the Conquest, of which Glory the *Turks*, being envious, came flying with the Force of all those wooden Wings that bore them up, and on Purpose to board her. But, at this stirring Feast, *Neptune* was made drunk with the Blood, both of *Christians* and *Turks*, mingled together. Here came the Gallies, and the Ship, to Grappling: Look how a Company of Hounds, hang upon a goodly Stag, when, with their Noise, they ring out his Death, so hung these Gallies upon the Body of her; nothing of her could be seen for Smoke and Fire; she was half choaked with the Flames, and half stifled in the Waters. Yet, as you shall often see a Bull, when his Strength seemeth to be all spent, and that he is ready to faint, and fall on his Knees, casts up on a sudden his surly Head, and bravely renews a fresh and more fierce Encoenter: So did this Ship break from the Gallies, like a lusty Bear from so many Dogs, or rather like an invincible Lion from so many Bears. The *Turks* leaped out of their Vessels, and, like Rats, nimbly climbed up to the Tacklings of the Ship. But the *English* Mariners so laid about them with Swords, brown Bills, Halberts, and Morrice-pikes, that

that, in so tragical an Act, it was half a Comedy, to behold what tumbling Tricks the *Turks* made into the Sea, backwards. Some of them catching hold of the upper Decks, had their Hands struck off, and so for ever lost their Feeling; others clasping their Arms about a Cable, to fling their Bodies into the Ship, lost their Heads, and so knew not which Way to go, though it lay before them. In this terrible Insurrection in *Neptune's Kingdom**, it was hard to tell for a great While, who should be the Winners, albeit, howsoever they sped, both were certain to be Losers; for the *Turks* would not give over, and the *English* scorned to yield; the Owner, Master, and Boatswain cried out bravely, and with loud lusty Spirits, *Let us all resolve to die, but not a Man be so base as to yield to a Turk*; especially did the Boatswain shew the noble Courage of a Mariner, both in directing without Fear, and in bestowing Blows in Scorn of Danger; which hard Alms, whilst he was dealing among the *Miscreants*, a Shot was sent from a Galley as a Messenger of his Death, and thereby a Spoiler, though not a Conqueror, of his Valour, for it brake, with the violent Stroke it gave, his Whistle in sunder, and left him on the Hatches with these last Words in his Mouth, *Fight it out, as you are Christians, and win Honour by Death*.

His Fall did not abate, but whetted their Stomachs to a sharper Revenge; only the Master's Mate shewed himself not worthy of that Name, or to be Mate to so noble a Master as he was, for, cowardly, he cried, *Yield, yield*, pulling in his Arm from striking in the hottest of the Skirmish.

What City is not overcome by the Tyranny of Time, or the Oppression of Assaults? What Shores, though never so high, can beat back the Sea, when he swells up in Fury? What Castles of Flint or Marble are not shaken with the continual Thunder of the Cannon? So was this poor *English* Ship; whilst her Ribs held out, and were unbroken, her Mariners held out, and had their Hearts sound: But when they felt her shrink under them, that should bear them up in all Storms, and that such Numbers of *Turks* did so oppress them with thronging in, and with beating them down, when they had scarce Feet able to stand, then, even then, did they not yield, but yet then were they taken.

Glad was the *Turk* that (though in this Storm

it rained down Blood so fast) he was wet no farther; he looked upon this ill-gotten Commodity, with a dull and heavy Eye, for the Foot of his Account shewed him, that his Gains of this Voyage would not answer the treble Part of his Losses: Enraged at which, emptying the weather-beaten and the mangled Ship, both of Men, and of such Things as were worth the Carriage; the one he took Home with him, to enrich the Number of his Spoils, the other were condemned to the Gallies.

Near to the City of *Alexandria* (being a Haven-Town and under the *Turk's* Dominion) is a Road defended by strong Walls, where the Gallies are drawn up on Shore, every Year, in the Winter Season, and are there trimmed and laid up against the Spring. In this Road stands a Prison, where all those that serve in those Gallies of *Alexandria*, are kept as Captives, so long as the Seas be rough, and not passable for their *Turkish* Vessels: Hither were these *Christians* brought; the first Villainy and Indignity, that was done unto them, was the Shaving off all the Hair both Head and Beard, thereby to rob them of those Ornaments, which all *Christians* make much of, because they best become them.

It is well known to all Nations in *Christendom* by the woful Experience of those Wretches that have felt it) what Misery Men endure in this Thralldom under the *Turk*. Their Lodging is the cold Earth; their Diet, coarse Bread, and (sometimes) stinking Water; for, if they should taste of the clear Spring, their Drink were as good as the *Turks*, who never taste Wine; their Apparel, thin and coarse Canvas; their Stockings and Shoes, heavy Bolts, and cold Irons; the Exercise, to put Life into them, or to catch them a Heat, is at the Pleasure of a proud and dogged *Turk*, for the least Fault, nay, for none at all, but only to feed his Humour, to receive a hundred Battinadoes, on the Rim of the Belly, with a Bull's dried Pizzle, at one Time, and within a Day after, two hundred Stripes on the Back.

In this most lamentable Estate, did these *Christians* continue, but it was not long before the Master and Owner, by the good Means of Friends, were redeemed from this Slavery; the rest, lying by it, soon were starved to Death; others with Cold, and Blows breathed out their last.

But *John Reynard*, (the Gunner) being ena-

* viz. The Sea.

bled, by the Providence and Will of God, to endure this Affliction, with a stronger Heart, than others could, outlived most of his Fellows, only to be (as it after fell out) a Preservation of his own Life, with many other *Christians*. For having some Skill in the Trade of a Barber, he did by that Means, shift now and then for Victuals, and mended his hard Diet; whereupon growing (after a long imprisonment) into Favour with the *Keeper* of the *Christians*, that were Galley-slaves, he so behaved himself, that, at length, he got Liberty to go in and out to the Road, at his Pleasure, paying a certain Stipend to the *Keeper*, and wearing a Lock about his Leg; and this Liberty did fix more likewise purchase, upon like Sufferance, who by Reason of long Imprisonment, were never suspected to start aside, or that they had in their Bosoms ever any Thought, to work the *Turks* any Mischief, with whom they had staid so long, that in a Manner they were as Brothers, familiar together.

But the Wrath of Winter driving all the Gallies into Harbour, by which Means they lay there unrigged and disfurnished of all their Properties, which set them forth; the Masters, Captains, and Officers of the Gallies, retiring likewise either to their private Affairs, or to some other Employment of the State; behold there remained (at this Season, and Part of the Year) in this Prison of the Road, two-hundred and sixty-six *Christian* Prisoners, who were of fifteen several Nations, and all of them taken and made Slaves to the *Turk*.

Amongst which there were (at this Time) but only three *Englishmen*, and of them was this *John Reynard* one; who having worn out the Misery of thirteen or fourteen Years Servitude under so barbarous a Tyrant, began (as he full often had done before) to call to Mind the Happiness and Freedom of his own Country, which comparing to his present State, he wept to remember the one, and got up his manly Courage, and cast in his Thoughts, how to shake off the other.

Not far from the Road, somewhat near to one Side of the City, was a Victualling-house, which one *Peter Unticaro* had hired, paying also a certain Fee for his Liberty, to the *Keeper* of the Road; this *Peter Unticaro*, being a *Spaniard* born, and a *Christian*, had been Prisoner, under the *Turks*, by the Space of thirty Years, yet never (though many Times the Forelock of Occasion was thrust into his Hands) did he perceive any Means for his Inlargement, but lived so quietly, and so contentedly, in outward

Appearance, as if he had forgotten that he was born among *Christians*, or that he ever desired to be buried amongst them. Notwithstanding which, did *John Reynard* open his Intent to this *Spaniard*, who consented to put it in Act, and within a few Days after, a third Person (of their Fellow-prisoners) was drawn into the Conspiracy; which there, so often as they could without Suspicion, held Conference together, laid several Plots for their Escape, and at the End of seven Weeks, or thereabouts, their Councils had fully begot the Means of their present Delivery. Five more therefore are made acquainted with the Business, to all whom Liberty being sweet, (especially out of so base and infamous a Slavery) these eight resolved (in three Nights following) to free not only themselves, but all the rest of the *Christians*, that were in Prison. In the Prison do these eight meet (at a Time convenient) and there did *Reynard* and *Unticaro* deliver to all the rest what was intended; every Man was glad of the News, every Man vowed to assist them, and in the Action to win Freedom, or to end their Lives. Upon this confident Trust put upon each other, *Reynard* and *Peter* secretly furnished them with Files, which they had as secretly provided for the Purpose, charging every Person to bestir himself nimbly, and to have his Heels at Liberty from Shackles, by such an Hour of the following Evening.

The Night approaching, *Reynard* and *Unticaro*, with the other six, being at the *Spaniard's* House, spent their Time merrily, to blind the Eyes of Suspicion, till Darkeness had taken hold of the World; at which Time, *Peter Unticaro* was sent to the Master of the Road, in the Name of one of the Masters of the City, with whom the *Keeper* of the Road was acquainted, and at whose Request he would gladly come: Who desired him to meet the other at *Peter's* House presently, promising to bring him back again to the Road.

The *Keeper*, upon Delivery of this Message, agreed to go with *Unticaro*, commanding the Warders not to bar the Gate, because his Return should be speedy.

In the mean Season, had the other seven, who staid in *Peter's* House, furnished themselves with such Weapons, as the Time and Place did afford them; amongst whom, *John Reynard* had gotten an old rusty Sword blade, without either Hilt or Pommel, which notwithstanding, by bending the Hand-end of the Sword, instead of a Pommel, served his Turn; the other had Spits, Glaves, &c.

The

The Keeper of the Road, being with *Unticaro*, entered into the House; the Lights were of Purpose put out, and no Noise of any living Creature to be heard: At which, the Keeper of the Road being astonished, and suspecting some Villainy, stepped back; but *John Reynard*, having hid himself in a Corner next to the Door, stepped forth unto him, and stopped his Passage; who, perceiving it to be *John Reynard*, and that he was armed (as he might well fear) for Mischief, said thus: O *Reynard*, what have I deserved at thy Hands, that thou seekest my Death? Marry, this hast thou deserved (quoth *Reynard*) and struck him on the Head, that he clove his Scull: *Thou hast been a Sucker of much Christian Blood, and therefore die like a Villain*. No sooner were his Hands lifted up to his fatal Blow, but the rest (being at his Elbow) came forward, and quickly dispatched him, cutting off his Head, and so mangled him, that he could not be known.

This Prologue to the Tragedy going off so well, Heaven was by this Time hung all over with Black, to add a Grace to that which was to be acted; no Time, therefore, do they lose, but steal softly, and yet resolutely to the Road, where entering, they found six Warders only, who asked, *Who is there?* All Friends, replied the other, and were let in, but instead of Welcomes, Blows were given, and the six Warders, in a short Time, left dead on the Floor.

Upon this (taking their Enemies Weapons, to defend themselves) were the Gates presently barred up strongly, and the Mouth of a Cannon planted full upon it, ready charged, and one appointed with a Linstock, to give Fire, if any Assault were made upon them. Then entered they into the Jailor's Lodge, where they found the Keys both of the Fortrefs, and of the Prison, by his Bed-side, and in his Chamber, where they armed with better Weapons. In this Lodge of the Keepers, found they likewise a Chest, which *Unticaro*, and one or two more opening, found well lined with Duckets; the *Spaniard*, and some others, neglecting the Business in Hand, stuffed their Bosoms and Pockets with this Gold; but *Reynard* dissuaded them from that Covetousness, which was likely to be the Overthrow of them all, wishing them to provide for their Liberty, which should return to the Honour of God, and of their Countries, rather than to sell their Lives, yea, perhaps their Souls, for the Treasure of Infidels. But the *Spaniard*, and his Companions, liked the Co-

lour of the Duckets, better than *John Reynard's* Doctrine, and therefore they hastened away to the Prison, whose Doors being opened, it appeared, that they with their Files had plied their Work as well within, as the other had with their Weapons abroad, for every Man's Legs were delivered from his Irons; whereupon, having first put certain Warders (that were to look to the Prison) to Silence for ever Speaking more, they all fell roundly to Labour; some to ramming up the Gates, some to launch out a certain Gally, which was the best in all the Road, and was called the Captain of *Alexandria*; some carried Masts, others fetched Sails, others laid in Oars, all of them were busy, all of them sweat hard, yet none of them were weary.

In killing those *Turks*, that were Warders about the Prison, eight other *Turks*, hearing a Noise, and suspecting Mischief, got up to the Top of the Prison, between whom and the Prisoners (who could not come near them but by Ladders) was a hot Skirmish. Some were wounded on both Sides, some slain outright. *John Reynard* was thrice shot through his Apparel, but not hurt; *Peter Unticaro*, and the rest, that shared in the Duckets, being not able to carry their Bodies in this Danger, by Reason of the Gold about them, which wearied them with the Weight, were there first mortally wounded, and after were stricken down dead.

Amongst the *Turks*, was one thrust through, who falling from the Top of the Prison-wall, made so horrible a Noise, that the *Turks*, who dwelt within, hearing (for here and there stood a House or two scattering) came to take him up, before he was full dead, and by him understood, how the Gally-slaves were reckoning with the *Turks* about their Ransom, without paying any Thing, but cracked Crowns towards it; hereupon, they raised both that Part of *Alexandria*, which lay on the West Side of the Road, and a Castle, which was at the End of the City, next to the Road, also another Fortrefs which lay on the other Side of the Road.

The Alarm thus, on every Side, being given, Danger and Death did round about beset the poor *Christians*; there was but one only Passage to escape forth, and that lay between the very Jaws of Destruction; yet notwithstanding, no Man's Heart failed him; the nearer Death came towards this Company of Wretches, the less seemed they to care for his Threatenings,

for the *Road* is still replenished with lusty Soldiers, with stout Labourers, and with tough Mariners, all whose Hands are full of helping one another in this great Work of Life and Death; some to victual the Galley, that must save them; others to hang up the Tacklings, others to line it with Shot, for Defence against Enemies, but the most Part were busy in keeping the *Turks* from the Wall of the *Road*. In the End, all Things being in a Readiness, every Man leaped into the Galley joyfully, hoisted up Sails lustily, and launched into the Seas merrily, submitting their Lives and Fortunes, to the Mercy of him, that commands both Sea and Land.

The Vessel floats on the Waves, like a goodly Pageant; she flies away by the Help of Oars, as if she had borrowed so many Wings; and in a Moment, is she gotten safe out of the *Road*; but, having escaped one Danger, she encounters a greater, for now, on both Sides of her, do the two Castles send out their Vengeance; the Cannons roar, and shoot to sink them; the Waves watch that Advantage, and gape to devour them; forty and five Bullets, (dreadful as Thunder) fell about these *Christians* Ears, yet not one of them bruised their Heads; they came out of the *Road* safely, and went from the Danger of the Castles securely; for Joy whereof, they gave a lusty Shout, that echoed and rebounded back again between the Clouds and the Shore.

On they went, and though the Winds began to grow angry, and to threaten Storms, yet with cheerful Hearts, did they choose rather to perish in the Eye of Heaven, and by the Hand of God, than to be fetched back again, and bear the Yoke of *Infidels*. For casting their Eyes back, they might behold the *Turks* (for by this Time the Sun was a good Way on his Forenoon's Journey) coming down to the Seaside in Swarms like Locusts to devour a Country; all of them laying their Hands, to launch out Gallies, and follow the *Christians*. But such a Spirit of Rage, Madness, Disorder, and Fear fell upon them, that what one set forward, three hindered. And as in a City fired, in the Night-time, Men are so astonished, that they scarce can find the common Ways, by which they may save themselves, no more could the *Turks*, in this wild and giddy Tumult, know how to further themselves. After much Labour, therefore, and nothing prospering, after much Crying out upon *Mahomet*, and more Curs-

ing the *Christians*, they quieted their Spleens, and looked about them, how to make good what was in this Battle and Battery of the *Christians* defaced; whilst in the mean Time, the poor *Captives*, were both out of their Sight, and out of their Jurisdiction.

For away went they roundly, one Company still and anon leaping to the Oar, as another felt themselves weary: All their Prayers being poured out, that the Hand of Heaven would so guide them, that they might land upon some *Christian* Shore. A long Time did they thus wander in those uncertain Paths of the Sea, the Winds sometimes blowing gently on their Faces, and sometimes angrily: Infomuch that, at length, Victuals began to fail them, and then Famine (a more cursed Enemy than him from whom they escaped, yea, than Death itself) opened her unwholesome Jaws, and, with her stinking Breath, blasted their Cheeks; by which Means, in twenty-eight Days (wherein they were tossed up and down from Billow to Billow) there died, for Want of Bread, eight Persons, to the Astonishment of all the rest, that looked still for their Turn, and to be flung overboard after their Fellows.

But, with a more merciful Eye (when he beheld how patiently they endured his Trials) did God look down upon them. And, on the twenty-ninth Day after they set from *Alexandria*, they fell upon the Island of *Candy*, and so put in at *Gallipoli*, where the Abbot and Monks of the Place gave them good Entertainment, warmed them, and gave them Food, not suffering them to depart, till they had refreshed their Bodies, and had gathered Strength to proceed on their Journey. The Sword, with which *John Reynard* had slain the *Turkish* Jailor, did they hang up for a Monument, in Remembrance, that by so weak an Instrument, so many *Christians* were delivered from so barbarous a Thralldom.

From hence, they sailed along the Coast, till they arrived at *Tarento*, where they sold their Galley, divided the Money amongst themselves, every Man having a Part of it to relieve them: For so hardly were they pursued by the *Turkish* Gallies, that oftentimes they came to that Place at Night, from whence the *Christians* went away but the Morning before. So that it behoved them to use all the diligent Speed they could, and not to tarry long in one Country. From *Tarento*, therefore, do they travel by Land to *Naples*, and there did they separate them-

themselves, and break Company, every Man shaping his best Course, to get to his own Home.

John Reynard, took his Journey to *Rome*, where he found good and friendly Entertainment, at the Hands of an *Englishman*, by whose Means, the Pope gave him a liberal Reward,

and sent him, with Commendatory Letters, to the King of *Spain*, who, for that worthy Exploit upon the *Turks*, gave him in Fee twenty Pence by the Day. But the Love of his own Country calling him from thence, he forsook *Spain*, and his Preferment there, and returned to *England*.

The Copy of the Certificate for John Reynard, and his Company, made by the Prior and Brethren of Gallipoli, where they first landed.

WE the Prior and Fathers of the Convent of the *Amerciates*, of the City of *Gallipoli*, of the Order of Preachers, do testify, that, upon the Nineteenth of *January*, there came into the said City a certain Galley from *Alexandria*, taken from the *Turks*, with two-hundred fifty and eight *Christians*, whereof was Principal, Master *John Reynard*, an *Englishman*, a Gunner, and one of the chiefest that did accomplish that great Work, whereby so many *Christians* have recovered their Liberty. In Token and Remembrance whereof, upon our earnest Request to the same *John Reynard*, he hath left here an old Sword, wherewith he slew the Keeper of the Prison: Which Sword we do, as a Monument and Memorial of so worthy a Deed, hang up in the chief Place of our Convent-house. And, for because all Things aforesaid are such as we will testify to be true,

as they are orderly passed, and have therefore good Credit, that so much as is above expressed is true, and, for the more Faith thereof, we, the Prior and Fathers aforesaid, have ratified and subscribed these Presents. Given in *Gallipoli*.

I Friar Vincent Barba, Prior of the same Place, confirm the Premises, as they are above written.

I Friar Albert Damaro, of Gallipoli, Sub-Prior, confirm as much.

I Friar Anthony Celleler, of Gallipoli, confirm as aforesaid.

I Friar Bartholomew, of Gallipoli, confirm as aforesaid.

I Friar Francis, of Gallipoli, confirm as much.

The Bishop of Rome's Letters in Behalf of John Reynard.

BE it known unto all Men, to whom this Writing shall come, that the Bringer hereof, *John Reynard*, *Englishman*, a Gunner, after he had served Captive in the *Turks* Gallies, by the Space of fourteen Years, at length, through God's Help, taking good Opportunity, the Third of *January*, slew the Keeper of the Prison, whom he first struck on the Face, together with four and twenty other *Turks*, by the Assistance of his Fellow-prisoners, and with two-hundred sixty-six *Christians* (of whose Liberty he was the Author) launched from *Alexandria*, and from thence arrived first at *Gallipoli*, in *Candy*, and afterwards at *Tarento* in *Apulia*: The written Testimony and Cre-

dit of these Things, as also of others, the same *John Reynard* hath, in publick Tables, from *Naples*.

Some few Days since he came to *Rome*, and is now determined to take his Journey to the *Spanish* Court, hoping there to obtain some Relief toward his Living: Wherefore, the poor distressed Man humbly beseecheth, and we, in his Behalf, do, in the Bowels of *Christ*, desire you, that taking Compassion of his former Captivity, and present Penury, you do not only freely suffer him to pass throughout all your Cities and Towns, but also succour him with your charitable Alms; the Reward whereof you shall, hereafter, most assuredly receive; which,

we

we hope, you will afford to him, whom, with tender Affection of Pity, we commend unto you. At Rome.

Thomas Grolos, Englishman, Bishop of Astraphan.

Richard Silleun, Prior Angliæ.

Andreas Ludovicus, Register to our Sovereign Lord the Pope; which, for the great Credit of the Premises, have set my Seal to these Presents, at Rome, the Day and Year above written.

Mauricius Clenotus, the Governor and Keeper of the English Hospital in the City.

The present State of *Europe* briefly examined, and found languishing; occasioned by the Greatness of the *French* Monarchy: For Cure whereof, a Remedy (from former Examples) is humbly proposed. Wrote upon Occasion of the House of Commons's Vote to raise 800000 *l.* to equip a Fleet for the Year 1671, moved thereunto by the pretended March of the *French* Army, towards the Marine Parts of *Flanders*. By Thomas Manley, Esq; 1689.

THE present Designs and Puissance of *France*, both by Sea and Land, being, at once, both the Wonder and Dread of *Europe*, hath possessed me with so many sad Reflexions on that Subject, that I, who am but Dust and Ashes, and dwell in the Shades of Obscurity, cannot refrain to form and meditate, how Bars may be put to such approaching Dangers, especially, since the Honour, Safety, and Welfare of our Prince and Country ought to be the Bent and Study of the most retired Subject.

The present State of *Europe* I might fitly resemble to the Body of a Man, wherein all the Members either languish, or are viciously affected; some through Self-mischiefs, others oppressed by their Fellow-members. *Spain* (heretofore the great Pretender to the Western Monarchy*) droops through her own Follies†, whereof, if she expire, a Jury will undoubtedly find her a *Felo de se*, while her Neighbour *Portugal*, instead of holding her sick Head, and pitying her Case, is ready, on all Occasions, to knock out her Brains. *Italy* and *Germany* are

troubled with one Disease, through the windy Humours of her many and ambitious Princes, whose continual Jealousies fill them with Gripings and Disquiets: *England* and *Holland* are desperately bruised through mutual Buffetings, to which *France* cunningly loosed them on ‡, intending, like *Simeon* and *Levi*, to suppress these *Sechemites*§, when sore and unable to resist; all which Mistakes and Calamities have been to *France*, as so many indulgent Nurseries to feed and pamper her; who, like unruly Cattle, trespass most on that Neighbour, whose Fence is lowest, and quarry best without Fear of impounding, whereby (like the Head in a Body rickety) she grows to an unproportionable and dangerous Bigness, whilst her erring Neighbours (like the Members) waste and languish; of whose sudden and prodigious Growth, I will not now insist on (which yet is none of the least dreadful Considerations) nor tell how our *Cromwell* seemed a Dictator there; nor record how six-thousand *English* Red-coats were, at that Time, more essential than Humanity and Protection to an oppressed King** of the Blood of

* Till *Oliver Cromwell* enabled *France* to raise the same ambitious Views upon the Ruins of *Spain*.

† See the Rights of the House of *Austria* to the *Spanish* Succession, in the Sequel of this Collection.

‡ Alluding to the unnatural War proclaimed by King *Charles the Second*, against *Holland*, by the Instigation of *France*. § *England* and *Holland*, when wasted in their Strength and Wealth, by a long and bloody War. ** *Charles the Second*.

*France**; for now the Scene being altered by the admirable Conduct of a Prince, whom, therefore, his Subjects ought to reverence, I cannot but observe how Christendom, instead of a generous Resentment, and Defence of the Oppressed, shrinks and faints at every undue Seizure made by that haughty Monarch, as if they fancied such Softness could secure their own Peace, or charm an ambitious Conqueror into Modesty, or put a Stop to his Career, whose utmost End is the Western Monarchy, whereunto, with spread Sails, he now apparently hasteneth; whereas they ought rather to be powerfully persuaded, that such Tameness must at once enable, and encourage him to devour them also.

What Prudence can justify such Procedure? Can Times and Patience repair the Mistakes? Or may such easy Conquests glut his Appetite, or possess him with Compassion, to spare the rest? Or does not rather one Conquest beget a Stomach and Ability to more and greater? Who can suppose the Seizure of *Lorraine* will immerse him in Ease and Voluptuousness? Or his Successes in *Flanders* serve as an Atonement to secure the rest? Must not these unrevengeed Conquests rather be as so many prosperous Gales to transport him to greater Achievements? Seeing the like Droufiness, in Relation to *Christian* Princes, gave Occasion, formerly, to the Growth of the *Ottoman* Greatness, and is like still to add to his Triumphs; and, as an Historian observes in the like Case of the antient *Britons*, *Dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur*.

Remarkable, then, was the former Policy of these Western Princes, when, with the Hazard of their Ease and Lives, they maintained the Power of *Christendom* in an equal Balance, dexterously throwing their Arms into that Scale which appeared lightest, knowing they secured thereby their own Peace and Government: On this Account, *England* and *France* are thought to have wisely fomented the Revolt of the *Low-Countries*, and were, in Effect, as fond, by that Means, to lessen the Grandure of *Spain* (who

then alarmed *Europe*, as *France* does now) as if they themselves had made new Conquests; hence it was, that *Philip the Second*, by Way of Requitall, and our *Elisabeth* (to whose Prudence, and Memory, we owe our remaining Glories) threw Oil, and not Water, into the long Troubles of *France*; with which Council, the same *Philip* was so transported (judging it the best Expedient to improve his grand Design of the Western Monarchy) that to carry the War into *France*, he apparently (but not wisely) neglected his own Affairs in the *Low-Countries*; thereby spoiling a most sovereign Antidote, by an unseasonable Application. Nor was the costly Attempt of 1588 any Thing, but carrying Fire into † an Enemy's Kingdom, the better to extinguish the Flame made by that Foe, in his Country; Kingdoms (like Houses in a dreadful Fire) being best secured by blowing up the next dangerous Neighbour: Hence, the *French* are supposed (by no Fools) to have been both the Midwife and Nurse to our late *Scottish* and *English* Wars ‡; begot the several costly Wars between us and *Holland* ||; continued and fostered the Revolts both in *Catalonia* and *Portugal*, and of late assisted that King, both with Men and Money.

Cromwell, indeed, was an unparalleled Sinner against this antient King-craft, when, postponing the general Tranquility, to his own wretched Humour and Interest, he assisted *France*, at such a Time, that all the World judged her too powerful for her Rival, *Spain*, who then lay drooping under her own Wounds and Follies, in Relation, principally, to the ill Conduct of her Treasure, which, alone, will founder the strongest Empire; and had this Nation no other Crime to charge on that ill Man (who, like the greatest Mortals, must, living or dead, be exposed to the severest Censure of the People) it were alone sufficient to render him an impolitic and hateful Person, to all Generations: Whereas, on the contrary, we owe great Reverence to the Wisdom of his Majesty, in espousing the Triple Alliance, and entering ge-

* *Cromwell*, being solemnly inaugurated Protector, on the 26th of June 1657, immediately consented to a League with *France* against *Spain*, thereby stipulating, that all the Children of King *Charles the First*, and their Adherents, should be intirely forsaken by the *French* King, and drove out of his Dominions; and that, in Consideration thereof, *Cromwell* sent six-thousand of his best Troops into *France*, under the Command of *Reynolds*; by which Means, the Balance of *Europe* was transferred, from *Spain*, to the Power of *France*.

† *England*. See this whole Expedition in Numbers III and IV, beginning in Page 115.

‡ Between King *Charles the First* and his Parliament.

|| In the Reign of King *Charles the Second*.

nerously into other Leagues, in order to secure the Peace of *Christendom*: But, yet, I humbly conceive, it is not enough for a cheap, sure, and lasting Peace, so long as the Balance remains so unequal between the two great Pretenders; and *France*, through her military Grandure, continues so armed, able, and daring, to give perpetual Frights and Alarums to the whole Neighbourhood; whereby, a Peace, through a just and necessary Jealousy, becomes as costly as War itself, consuming those that are suspicious of her; and the daily Motions and Buzzings of her Armies oblige the Neighbours, with Sword in Hand, to an eternal Watchfulness, lest, unawares, the Blow be given; which continual Bendings inevitably must draw so many dreadful Weaknesses on the Parties concerned, as must, at length, without a Miracle, improve both the Designs and Glories of that Prince; which is so obvious to all considering Men, that some of his own Subjects have had the Vanity, of late, to boast, even in this Kingdom, what Charge their King would put us unto, by marching his Army (mighty, and in perpetual Pay) yearly near our Coasts, before really he would attack us: And certainly, great must the Advantage be, which *France* hath now over us (whereby an Estimate may be taken of our Decay, even in the Midst of Peace) if, when the Humour possesseth that daring Monarch (whose Armies, like Birds of Prey, are always on the Wing) to move towards us, either in Pretence, or Reality (which, by the Event, is only determinable) we must equip, at least, our Fleet, at six or seven-hundred-thousand Pounds Charge, to prevent the mere Fear of an Invasion; and when we are wearied, and consumed by so many fruitless, yet necessary Armings, and laid to Slumber after so many Alarums, who can but easily foresee what dreadful Effects may ensue? Wherefore, I conclude, with that great Statesman, *Cicero*, *Pace suspecta tutius Bellum* *.

But suppose, that, whilst the United Provinces and *Spain* maintain their Posts, we were able both to resist his Attempts, and bear the Expence, yet, it is scarce deniable, but, if he devour those Countries, by Piece-meals, and pluck up that glorious Commonwealth by the Roots, (which, without effectual Assistance, infallibly he will) we must also receive a Law from him; for what can then keep us, with the rest of

Christendom, from Subjection to that Crown? Since we already see the very Clappings of his Wings beget Amazement: Join the Power and Riches of *Holland* to him, and all the known World must bow to his Scepter.

Again, should *France* attempt, and reduce us to severe Terms, whilst our Neighbours stand with their Arms a-crofs, it would only expedite their Confusion, and draw on them a more certain Conquest.

I will not, therefore, doubt, but as the Safeties of us, and our Allies, are floating in one common Bottom, and fortified by mutual Interests (the only true Cement of Leagues) so our joint Designs, when once put into Action, will be vigorously pushed on, till the Balance of *Christendom* be reduced to its proper Standard. And, whereas it must be granted, that no Conquest can satiate, Bonds tye, nor Leagues charm this great Pretender †, whereby the Milky Ways of Peace may felicitate *Europe*, without the costly and terrible Guards of Armies, so long as the Odds remain so unequal, and this mighty *Hero* (armed and victorious) is able thus to affright the World, hector his Neighbours, impose upon the Weak, and, on every feeble Pretence, ransack their Countries, without Revenge; nothing remains justifiable by the just Rules of Policy, but with the joint Arms of all Parties concerned (which, indeed, is all *Europe*) to attack this illustrious Man, upon the very first just Provocation, and by Dint of Sword, carry the War into his own Bosom; and from the Example of wise Princes, make his Country, at once, both the Seat of War and Desolation; whereof the *Romans*, in the War of *Carthage*, are a puissant Instance; whereas, on the contrary, the States, and Princes of *Europe*, *Italy* especially, neglecting of late to assault the *Turk* powerfully before *Candia*, are now justly expecting him, with Horror and Amazement, at their own Doors: He that fights in his Enemy's Country, does in Effect, fight at his Enemy's Cost, and when Peace is clapped up, leaves his Enemy, for that Age, poor, and miserable, as we have, not long since, beheld in poor *Germany*: The *French* King, therefore, commonly makes himself the Assailant, maintaining half his Wars, at his Adversaries Charge, by fighting in their Countries; where, if he receive a Blow, he has his own unharrassed Kingdom, either to receive, or recruit him; and

* A War is safer than a suspected Peace.

† To universal Monarchy.

our heroic *Elizabeth*, (who, knowing that Virtue and Justice were the only Ligaments of her People's Love, governed her Affairs with miraculous Wisdom and Housewifery, made her Payments sure to a Proverb, and was accordingly adored) studied by all Arts imaginable to fight her Enemies on their own Soil, whereby at once she imprinted thereon the terrible Marks of Desolation, and preserved her Country as proper Fuel, wherewith, on all Occasions, to consume her Adversaries. Nor was her Sister *Mary* intentionally her Inferior in this Particular, when the Loss of *Calais* (which, in her Hand, was so ready an Inlet to assail either of the great Pretenders, as common Interest directed) was supposed either to have occasioned, or hastened her Death. For this Reason, all our Kings, from the glorious *Edward the Third*, to Queen *Mary*, being two-hundred and ten Years, with infinite Care and Cost, preserved *Calais* against all Comers, as a sacred Jewel of the Crown; however, a Sort of new Policy seems of late to have been introduced. He that fights out of his Country, seldom ventures any Thing besides an Army; but he that is assaulted, and beat upon his own Dunghil, commonly loseth that with the Victory, or at least suffereth ten-thousand Calamities, besides the usual Terrors of Invasion: Whereof the *Swedes* Descent into *Germany*, by Virtue of their King's Courage and Alliances, such as I drive at, is a wonderful Example; wherein, a puissant Emperor, armed and victorious as *France* is now, was courageously set upon, and after a fierce War of sixteen Years, and the Death, as is supposed, of three-hundred Thousand *Germans*, torn to Pieces by so many eager Confederates, whereof *France* was none of the small ones, who by the deep Counsels of those mighty Oracles, *Riche-lieu* and *Oxenstern*, guided peradventure by a Divine Hint, pursued this Method, as the likeliest Way to chastise and humble that haughty Family, who otherwise, possibly, would by Piece-meals, or drowsy Peace, have swaggered, if not subdued *Europe*. Let brave Princes for the common Safety of *Christendom*, repeat this Counsel, on another Theatre, the Scale may soon be turned, and *France* most justly be chastised with her own terrible Scourge forty Years after; otherwise it must be a long and unlucky War, managed by *France*, on the Soil of other Princes, to make her miserable, so long as she enjoys Peace at Home; allow her that, and she may tug hard with *Christendom*; like *Spain*, who, by

Virtue of the domestic Peace, contended, in Effect, with all *Europe* for eighty Years, and put them shrewdly to their Trumps: Nothing more, than Peace at Home, enables a Prince to manage Wars Abroad; he then that will humble his Enemy, must throw Wild-fire into his Bosom, carry the War into his Country, and strike home, at the Head and Heart.

Nor are the ill Humours, which, peradventure, may be found, in every Country, the meanest Argument to excite an invasive War; since poor *Germany* received the deepest Wounds, from his own Weapons, and *France* by her arbitrary Government, and intolerable Impositions (to omit the natural Fickleness of her People, the oppressed *Huguenots*, and the lofty and never-dying Pretences of the House of *Conde*) hath probably prepared combustible Matter, wherewith at any Time to consume herself, when once, especially her Neighbours, with powerful Arm, bring Flames unto it, which otherwise (as we have there often seen within this thirty Years) is, in Effect, as soon extinguished as begun.

Why then does *Europe* slumber, and meekly suffer such dangerous Clouds to increase, and impend, till of themselves they break about their Ears? Our common Safeties invoke our common Arms to assail this Lion in his Den, pare his Claws at least, and abate his Fierceness, and instead of expecting him in ours, attack him vigorously in his own Country on the next just Provocation, since nothing is more certain than that Delays and Softness fortify the Danger, and improve that, which, in Prudence, is now resistible, into a Folly to withstand: Slight Distempers, at first despised, prove oftentimes deadly; whereas to meet with a Disease, before it come to the Crisis, is a probable Means to ascertain the Cure, and *Venienti occurrere Morbo*, may be as choice a Maxim in Government, as Aphorism in Physick. *Pax queritur bello*, was a shrewd Motto of a bad Man, and ought, more justly, on this Occasion, to be wrote in Capital Letters, on all the Confederate Standards of *Europe*: In Fine, he that sees not an absolute Necessity of embracing speedily a Confederate War, to abate the Edge of this illustrious Pretender, hath either not duly weighed the Danger, has some vile, and By-ends, *Bethlem* mad to introduce some Heresy, or is resolved to truckle. *Tanti Religio potuit suadere malorum.*

I should tremble to sound a Trumpet to War (which is always accompanied with fearful Circumstances)

cumstances) did I not from my Soul believe that a supreme Peace, like an incurable Gangrene, would create greater Calamities, and introduce both a certain War, and the Hazard of a total Subversion; for, if whilst we become meer Spectators of our Neighbour's Losses, and Calamities, this Prince either by Force or Subtlety, improve his Dominions, we can expect no other Favour, but the miserable Satisfaction, either to be last devoured, or shamefully imposed upon; which sounds so dolefully in every free-born Ear, that, to prevent it, nothing can be esteemed too dear; whereas a speedy Arming of all the Confederates may not only repel, but force the Infection into his own Bowels, and make him experimentally feel those Miseries, which, meerly to aggrandise his Name, and Kingdom, he has incompassionately brought on others; whereof I may not doubt, when I consider how one of his Majesty's three Kingdoms by the proper Virtue of her Kings (which were truly beroick) and the slender Help of some one Confederate, hath more than once made terrible Impressions in *France*, and turned up even the Foundations of her Government; for which those brave Princes will be eternally celebrated, whilst the Memory of the Slothful and Voluptuous perish, who by forgetting their own, and their Nation's Honour, have taught their own, and future Ages, to forget and dishonour them; so true it is, that that Prince, who reigns without Honour, lives in Contempt, and Danger, and has his Tomb, at last, besmeared with Reproaches.

Men cannot be wanting for so honourable and necessary a War, whilst these three Kingdoms enjoy Peace at Home; nor Money (the Soul of War) if prudently managed, since the Issue of such a War must, with the Divine Blessing, secure the Subjects in their Beds, and establish such a Peace as may be a lasting Happiness to the *Christian* World; they will therefore certainly tear open their Breasts, and give the King their Hearts, and with them their Hands and Purses, whilst, with *Cato*, they esteem nothing too dear for the Peace of the Commonwealth, according to the *Dutch* Motto, *Defend us, and spend us*.

And, although we must not expect a cheap War, yet certainly it cannot be dearer than a watchful, suspected, and languishing Peace, in which we must consume the Treasure of our

Nation, by upholding great Armaments by Sea and Land, to watch a *seeming Friend*, that he become not a *real Enemy*, and yet not be able to prevent it at last. Nor needs any Treasure be exported in Specie (which, by all imaginable Ways, ought to be avoided as Part of our Life-Blood) but the Value thereof transported in the Growths and Manufactures of *England* (besides Clothes for the Soldiery) which either his Majesty's Ministers may there expose to Sale, or our Confederates be obliged to answer quarterly at a certain Rate; being assured, the *Swedes* maintained that long War in *Germany*, without drawing any Silver out of their Dominions; but, contrariwise, enriched their Country with the choicest Spoils of their Enemies, as by woful Experience we have found the *Scots* wisely to practise upon us*.

I know it will be objected, that we are in an untoward Pickle to begin a War, after so many hideous Calamities, grievous Impositions, and universal Fall of our Rents, occasioned by a thousand Follies; and Why shall we throw off Peace a Moment sooner than we must needs lose her; seeing, with the Loss of her, our Trade must be miserably interrupted?

To which, I answer, That were the Continuance of Peace and Trade to be always at our Option, and that probably, the Power of no Neighbour could ever part us, he were beyond the Cure of *Hellebore*†, that would propose War in their Stead; but seeing the Case is quite contrary, *Peace* and *Trade* were better *suspended* for some Years, with probable Hopes to enjoy them plentifully afterwards, than after a short Enjoyment, to humour an unreasonable Fondness, lose them and Freedom eternally. Not, but that I am powerfully persuaded, that the very Commencement of such a War may be so far from interrupting our Trade a Moment, that it may be, at once, the only Means to enlarge ours, and beat the *French* out of hers: Whereas, we now plainly see, how, during this present uncertain Peace, she dilates her Commerce, and thrives on the Ocean; which, with the very first Approaches of a Confederate War, must, in all Probability, vanish; whilst the *Dutch* and we have thereby so many Advantages, both to beat her out of Sea, and increase our own Navigation and Traffick. This is certain, such a War cannot prejudice us, by hindering our Trade with her; it being notoriously known,

* In Times past, before the two Kingdoms were united,

† i. e. incurably mad.

that our Commerce there is, at once, mischievous to us, and strangely advantageous to her, whether you respect the open or clandestine Traffick: *First*, in the Quantity, by the vast Over-balance of her Commodities. And, *Secondly*, in the Quality of them; those which she receives from us, being such as are necessary, and useful to her, and infinitely disadvantageous to us, as our Wool, &c. whilst we import nothing from thence, but what we were a thousand Times better to be without; and such as if we consume them not, must, in Effect, perish on their Hands, to the infinite Prejudice of her King, and People, as we know they now suffer by the Dutch late Prohibition of Brandy, Salt, &c. and which, to gratify our ill-tutored Humours, and Appetites, subdue our Rents, corrupt and impoverish our Nobility and Gentry, destroy our Manufactures, and snatch the Bread out of the Mouths of our Artificers, and, by Consequence, increase our Poor, and render us the most vain and luxurious Creatures in Europe.

And, although I cannot magnify our present Condition, and Fitness for War; yet certainly, it is safer Enterprising her Abroad (as shaken as we are) with the Help of powerful Confederates (whose Shoulders may bear Part of the Burthen) whilst there remain fresh Hopes of Victory, than slumber in a dangerous Peace, till invincible Mischiefs awake us, our Neighbours subdued, our Trade expired, War brought to our Doors by a triumphant Enemy heightened by Conduct and Successes, and Cock-pit Law against us; hoping, now, by a reasonable Army (such as the Nation may maintain in Pay and Courage) and the joint Force of Confederates, to reduce the Scale, and confirm that Peace, which thrice their Numbers, and treble Charge at another Time, cannot procure; and, of all Evils, the least is always to be chosen.

If I be asked, What Assurance can Princes have of Alliances, since all Ages afford untoward Instances of foul Play therein, to the Ruin, commonly, of the most Sincere and Daring?

Not to distinguish between the Dissimulation of the *South* (where, under the Name of Prudence and Circumspection, Falshood and Frauds are daily revered) and the Sincerity of the *North* (where most of our Alliances are) nor debate the Difference between Leagues commenced by Revenge, Passion, or some frivolous Capricio (which are no sooner patched together, than rent asunder) and those led on by the exact Rules of common Safety and Government

(whose Results are immortal). I answer, That honourable Leagues hold commonly inviolable, until the several fundamental Interests of the Confederates are secured: Now it is almost impossible, that any Prince's true Interest can be secured, whilst *France* remains so mighty and rampant: Let the League hold, till her swagging Fit be over, her Nails pared, and she reduced to Terms of Modesty and good Neighbourhood, and then let the Allies fall off as they please: I know, in all Leagues of this Nature, Differences from several little Interests have risen, how far it has been safe, or necessary, to weaken the common Enemy; wherein some have always been fiercer for a total Subversion than others, as in the miserable Case of *Germany*, wherein nothing would satisfy the *Swede* and *French*, but dividing the very Carcass of the Imperial Eagle, whilst the rest of the Confederates were contented to cut off her Beak and Talons; yet they all agreed in this, that she was to be reduced and weakened: But suppose that Allies should prove false, when once a War is commenced, What would it do else, but at once to hasten the Ruin of them all? And, in the mean Time, instruct the deserted Prince to yield to larger Terms, out-bid the Apostates, stoop to the Pretender (who, as a generous Conqueror, must pity such) and with him, in Revenge, set upon the Perfidious, and make them eternally repent such Unworthiness, unless safe Counsels in the mean Time present.

Again, it may be objected, that Peace ought to be preserved as long as may be, in Hopes that this busy and dangerous Prince may expire, before his haughty Designs are accomplished, and the Affairs of *France* fall thereby into the Hands of an Infant, or a lazy and effeminate Prince (that is worse than a Child) accompanied (as commonly) with corrupt, faithless, or factious Counsellors and Flatterers, the Vermin of Courts, and Plague and Ruin of Crowns and Scepters, whereby (without the Hazard of a War) her huffing, and prosperous Condition (as frequent Examples tell us) may be rendered languishing enough.

I answer, That that, which may be, may not be, and either this active Prince, who is now but Thirty-two, may live (without a powerful Confederacy) to give *Europe* a woful Conviction of the Folly of such lazy Counsel, or leave a Successor to tread in his glorious Steps, till that be accomplished, which all but *Frenchmen* ought to abhor, whatever their religious Persuasions are;

are; and what wise Man will expose, even his little private Affairs, to such a Risque, when safer Remedies are at Hand.

If it be said, That, in Case our Neighbours think fit to invade us, we have Store of *Sampsons* to give them warlike Entertainment, whereby we may defend our own, without concerning ourselves in Affairs abroad.

I answer, *First*, This is clearly against the Practice of our renowned Ancestors, and of all wise States in all Ages, who have chosen to fight their Enemies on an Enemy's Soil, at any Rate, rather than suffer the Terrors and Desolations of an Invasion, though the Enemy should have perished all on the Spot. *Secondly*, There is a moral Impossibility to maintain *England*, otherwise than in a languid and frightful Condition, were her *Sampsons* twice as many, should *France* (whilst we slumber) reduce the *Spanish*, and United Provinces, and annex the greater Part of *Germany* to his flourishing and mighty Kingdom; Acquisitions whereof he has too fair a Prospect. *Thirdly*, I dare affirm, that nothing but invincible Necessity, or ill Counsel, ever disposed a Prince to receive an Enemy into his own Bowels, instead of seeking him abroad, for which I humbly offer these Reasons.

1. The Assailants both in their own, and their Enemies Opinion (which, in War, works mighty Effects) have commonly the Reputation of being the better Men, merely because they have the Courage, to seek the Enemy, at his own Door.

2. The Invader seldom ventures any Thing besides an Army, which, ten to one, is exceedingly strengthened (especially if his Usage, or Pay, be good) by either Male-contents in Church, or State, or necessitous Persons, to whom Novelty is welcome, and all Governments alike; a Reason which made *Lycurgus* fear to see a Beggar, or a voluptuous Person, who rides Post to Poverty, dwell in *Sparta*.

3. The assailed Prince, in Case he has not a standing Army, and mighty Treasure, is, by an Invasion, cast into ten-thousand Straits, in procuring Monies, and raising Men, when he should be fighting the Enemy, or securing the Country; whilst the People, instead of taking Sword in Hand, fly with their amazed Families, before the Enemy, they know not where, cursing the Follies of the Government, which have undone them, whilst Invasions seldom leave other Counsellors, but Fear and Revilings, whose Results are always wild and preposterous.

4. If a Prince, has not a Treasure of his own, he shall scarce command the Purfes of his Subjects upon an Invasion, when they are busier in concealing their Money to supply their own Wants, in the Day of Calamity, than expend it in Defence of the Publick, which their fond Hopes insinuate may either be saved without it, or Fears suggest is past Recovery with it, as was clearly seen in the Loss of *Constantinople*, when taken by *Mahomet* the Great; unless the Subject has an egregious Reverence for the Government, and Counsels of the Prince, as the Results of his Justice, and Virtue, whereof the great Queen *Elisabeth*, in the Attempt of 88, is a glorious Instance.

5. Soldiers are generally observed to be most warlike, and manageable, farthest from Home, when freed from the Cares and Addresses of Wives and Families.

6. The Prince assailed had, need stand right in the Opinion of his People, in Relation to his Religion, Treasure, and Government; for if they, who in all Disasters will be Judges in spite of Fate, have once lost all Sentiments of Veneration, and Confidence of him, through Mis-government, they soon grow to despise and nauseate all his Actions, distrust and preindicate his Counsels, invoke the Ghost of some glorious Ancestor, and are easily won by the next Comer.

7. The Prince assailed, doth not only, on a Battle or two, venture his Country, wherein, if he be beaten, he is certainly conquered, but, if he subdue the Aggressors, he has only their Carcases to atone, for the Devastation of his Country, the certain Effect of Invasion, and, next to a Conquest, the Business of an Enemy, which hastens Barbarity, and a certain Carelessness, and opens an easy Way to the next Comer; as it fared with this Island in Relation to the *Danes*, *Saxons*, and *Normans*, whose Conquests and Pressures made Way one for another; so true is it, that Poverty weakens the Hands, and intimidates the Hearts of Mankind, and also renders Countries not worth keeping.

8. It is the fundamental Interest of Princes to keep the Balance even, which is not to be done without Confederacies, and Warring upon the growing and dangerous Monarch, it being certain that Armies, Fleets, and Fortresses, tho' highly valuable in their Kind, and without which Kingdoms are defective, secure a Country not half so safe or cheap, as Parity of Strength among neighbouring Princes.

9. A Prince,

9. A Prince, who with his *Sampsons* intends only his own Defence, without Regard had of his Neighbours Peace and Safety, may one Day fall without the Help or Pity of his Neighbours, as the excellent Sir *Philip Sidney* observes, he that only stands on his own Defence, stands on no Defence.

For these Reasons, a Kingdom, abounding with *Sampsons*, ought therefore to encounter the *Philistines*, in the *Philistines* County, to prevent their Marching into *Canaan*; since every Prince, by the plain Rules of Discretion, ought rather to humble the thriving Monarch, by making his Country the Theatre of War, (whereupon is acted nothing, but Horrors, and fearful Representations) than see his own, even with Victory, a Field of Blood and Desolation.

Lastly, If from the doubtful Event of War, it be alledged, that Peace, even on any Terms, ought to be maintained.

I answer, That from the Uncertainty of War, there remains to us as much Hopes of Success, as Fear of Miscarriage, but from a supine Peace, we have only a certain Assurance to be subdued at last, without the least rational Hopes to escape; for let *France* extend her Conquests and Triumph, whilst we bask and wantonise in Peace, and no imaginable Softness and Compliance of ours can oblige her, till she has justly branded us with some hateful Marks of Subjection; this Sort of Peace being like a mercenary Woman, enchanting at first, but ready enough at last to betray us to a thousand Mischiefs, when once her vile Ends are accomplished: And the better to represent this Danger, we must consider what Inclinations *France* has to us, when during the late *Dutch* inglorious Attempt at *Chatham* (whereunto by our own Nakedness and Prostitution they were invited, and by what else, I know not) she was upon the Point of invading us, with a Royal Army, tho' Affairs seemed not then ripe for so high an Attack; which if she had nevertheless performed,

what dreadful Effects must have ensued, I leave them to judge, who (with myself) either saw our strange Consternation upon the Attempt of a weak, yea, and modest Enemy, in *June* 1667, or ever beheld a powerful Army in an Enemies Country; and although peradventure we might have destroyed them, yet if they had stood, but two Months to an End, and harraased four or five Counties, it had been far less Charge to the Nation (besides our Dishonour and Hazard of our Navy, and Naval Stores) to have borne the Expence of an Offensive War, so many Years together: Nor must we imagine this haughty Design of *France*, where the easy Conquest of *England*, and her drooping Condition, is lately exhibited in Print, is otherwise than wisely deferred, till she is become our Rival at Sea, and *Flanders* subdued; for both which, she now bids fairly, unless, by some potent Confederacy, she be happily prevented: And when, in our weekly Audiences, I read of the *French* Growth, and Marine Preparations especially, which our glorious Queen, though Friend enough to *Henry the Fourth*, abhorred to suffer, knowing the Consequence to be such; which by Experience we now find, and yet see the World inclined to slumber; I cannot discern whether we are warned to a generous Resistance, or to prepare our Necks for the Yoke: In the mean Time the Ghost of that renowned Woman, who yet loves her Country, even in Shades of Death, reproves us for suffering these *French* thus to increase at Sea; and from her profound Experience, recommends to us Justice, and Thrift in publick Treasure, as the main Pillar of the Government, and War, in the great Pretender's Country, (as the best Expedient to keep Peace at Home) from which Rules the Prince that swerves must end ingloriously, and be content to be hard censured by Posterity; however, out of Fear, he may escape his own Generation.

The Rights of the House of *Austria* to the *Spanish* Succession.

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THE most illustrious and potent Prince, *Charles the Second*, King of *Spain*, had scarce given up his last Breath, when all *Europe*, which was already very attentive on this sad Event, found that *Spain*, for the Future, was to embrace the Ways and Customs of *France*. And that, by an uncommon Trick of State, a forged Will was produced, which invited to the Succession of all the Kingdoms, Dutchies, and Principalities of *Spain*, not an indisputable Relation, and withal the Eldest of the Family, but an Ally of Sixteen Years, descended from a Woman excluded from all Manner of Pretension to those Dominions, and this contrary to Oaths and Treaties; contrary to a former Disposition of the Father and Grandfather, and to the Rights of Birth in such a Degree, as, according to the Laws of *Spain*, was to succeed whenever the Line-Male was extinct; contrary to the nearest Affinity by the Female Side; and, which seems to be most considerable, contrary to the Quiet and Happiness of all *Europe*: Which proves, as well in general as particular, that the Crown of *Spain* should not have fallen to *Philip* of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Anjou**, but to *Leopold*† of *Austria*, Emperor of the *Romans*.

To make this clear, let us take a View of Affairs as they have past. *Philip the First*, as every one knows, lived above two Ages ago, and was the Son of the Emperor *Maximilian*, the happy Off-spring of the Family of *Austria*. He had two Sons, viz. *Charles*, who was the elder, born at *Ghent* in *Flanders*; and *Ferdinand*, who was the younger, born at *Medina* in *Spain*: The latter was the first Emperor of his Name; and the former was the fifth of his Name as Emperor, but the first as King of

Spain. The Partition, which was made of those Dominions between the two Brothers at *Worms*, in the Year 1521, was such, that *Charles*, who was the eldest, was to have *Spain*, together with *Burgundy* and all *Flanders*; and that *Ferdinand*, who was the younger, and almost a Child, should have the Territories that are in *Germany*. *Ferdinand* rested content with his Brother's happy Lot, who was already become Emperor; and he was the more easily inclined so to do at that Time, because that, though his Share was but small, there was no Reason or Power which could do any Thing in Prejudice of his other Rights, which he was willing to suspend for a Time out of pure Respect to his elder Brother: That is to say, that he always reserved to himself and Successors a Power to take Possession of that large Inheritance, if the elder Branch should happen to fail.

Under the favourable Influences of this solid Rule of Life and Death, *Ferdinand* has transmitted his Posterity, by his Son who was likewise called *Charles*, and by his Grandson, and Great Grandson, viz. *Ferdinand the Second* and *the Third*, in a right Line down to *Leopold* the present Emperor: And to the End he might maintain the Union of the Family, and follow the Sense of the Agreement of *Worms*, he appointed that the Branch of *Spain*, excluding the Females, should succeed to his Sons. To *Charles the Fifth*, or *First*, according to the *Spaniards*, and, after *Philip the First*, *the Second*, *the Third*, and *the Fourth*, succeeded the lately deceased *Charles* of happy Memory.

He had for his Mother *Mary-Anna* of *Austria*, Daughter to the said *Ferdinand the Third*, and Sister to *Leopold*, so that he was doubly related to the Emperor, as well by the Mother's Side, and

* The present King of *Spain*; a Frenchman.
Hungary and *Bohemia*.

† Grandfather to the present Queen of

by the Line of his Predecessors of the House of Austria.

These Reasons, and several others, which regard the common Constitutions of Kingdoms, and particularly that of *Spain*, did incline *Philip IV*, Father of the lately-deceased *Charles*, not to suffer that *Maria Teresa* his eldest Daughter, married to *Lewis the XIV. King of France* *, should be admitted *directly* or *indirectly* to succeed to the Kingdoms and Provinces of *Spain*, but that both she and her Posterity, of what Sex or Quality soever, should be *for ever* excluded. Besides, he made a Will †, in the Year 1665, by which he expressly invites the *Collateral Branch of Austria* to the Succession of *Spain*, upon the Failing of the *Spanish* Line.

The Peace of *Westphalia*, which was signed in 1641, did not hinder, but that a cruel War did break out between *Spain* and *France*, attended with several Calamities, which continued for some Years, and seemed to have been in a Way to continue much longer, to the great Prejudice of both Nations, as well by Reason of the Preparations, as the Alliances, which were made on both Sides. Wherefore all Pains was taken to put a Stop to the Violence of so implacable a Hatred, by settling a good Understanding between them; and nothing seeming so much to contribute to this as a Marriage, the chief Endeavours were directed this Way.

The *French King* at first had an Eye upon *Margaret of Savoy*; and it was thought that he had so much Love for her, as to incline him to marry her; but it was no hard Matter to make this Prince's first Flames abate, by proposing to him a much more advantageous Alliance in the Person of the *Infanta of Spain*.

Some Reasons of Importance made the *French* very much desire this Marriage; and *Christina*, the King's own Aunt, a Lady of great Solidity and Judgment, having gone from *Turin* with *Margaret* her Daughter, she came to *Lyons*, where she met the King her Nephew; and generously exhorted him not to think of marrying her Daughter. but rather to make choice of the *Infanta of Spain*, as well for the common Good of *Christendom*, as for the Advantage of so many

States, which were brought to Ruin, by so long a War.

What this prudent Lady would have persuaded the King her Nephew to, generously preferring the publick Good to her own private Interest, was a Business full of very considerable Difficulties. The *Spaniards* had, a long Time before, testified an insuperable Aversion to this Alliance, especially when they reflected on the fatal Confusions that Persons of a Temper very contrary to theirs would cause in a Government, if the issue of this Marriage should happen to aspire to the Succession of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, under the specious Pretext of Relation by the Mother's Side. This Difficulty seemed, and that too upon good Grounds, of such Consequence, than it was firmly resolved not to give Way to it, unless that the *Infanta* would prefer the Friendship of so considerable a Husband to Considerations, which otherwise perhaps might be of Weight. *Maria Teresa* then must renounce not only for herself, in Case of Widowhood with Off-spring, but also for her Children of both Sexes, that so the Posterity of *France* might not have the least Hopes of sharing in the Succession of *Spain* ‡.

This did not in the least trouble the *Infanta*, who according to the Way of the World, did look to the present, without vexing her Head with the uneasy Thoughts of uncertain Futurity; she easily renounced, both for herself and Posterity for ever, all Hopes of the *Spanish* Inheritance, that she might have a present Share in the flourishing Crown of *France*; considering that, if she should have Children, they might be abundantly happy, though they were as far from the Crown of *Spain*, as from the Humour of the *Spaniards*. King *Philip* her Father, and *Lewis* her Husband, were not averse from this free Consent of the *Infanta*.

It is true, that King *Philip* was under a prudent Fear, that, if the Renunciation was not made in plain and clear Terms, the Ministers of *France*, who were always inclined to captious Interpretations, would take Occasion to do the same in this Juncture, to attain to their Designs, which then prevailed by Force; and that

* From whom *Philip of Bourbon*, the present King of *Spain*, is descended.

† Which it becomes every honest Man to have by him, when Disputes arise about *Spain*, and the House of *Austria*.

‡ It was from this Marriage, that the present *French King of Spain* laid his Claim, and in Defiance to this Renunciation, which was a Condition of the Marriage, and articted therein, supports the same by Force of Arms, under the Protection of *France*.

his Fear was not groundless, Experience has but too much shewn: For, though the Matter and Sense of Treaties be never so clear, yet, the Letter being more obscure, they wrest it into a wrong Sense by Force of Arms, as far as their Interest and Power will allow.

For which Reason, Cardinal *Mazarine* and *Don Lewis Mendez de Haro*, both chief Ministers of two Kings, and their Plenipotentiaries, after they had endeavoured very much, at the *Pyrenean Treaty*, to agree about the Peace; and after they had, with extraordinary Care, treated of the Form of the Renunciation, they agreed at length with Joy upon a most ample one, containing most express Clauses, which was to serve as a Law, for the Future*.

The most Christian King had clothed his Ambassador with a full Power to agree to this Renunciation*: The same having likewise been done by the Emperor, with Respect to his Ambassador. And since, as *Titus Livius* says, *That the Law of Nations prevails in Things which are transacted by Faith, by Alliance, by Treaties and Oaths; and that there is a great Difference between the publick Faith and the private Faith; that the publick Faith owes its Force to the Dignity, and the private to the Form of the Agreement*; Nobody doubted but that what was done, with Respect to the Renunciation, should have been more religiously observed, since both its Dignity and Form, in the Treaty made about it, did equally contribute to give it Power and Force.

It was upon this Foundation truly worthy of the Majesty-Royal, that so solemn an Agreement, and the first and most noble Part of the *Pyrenean Peace*, was built.

It was impossible to find out Words more strong, or more effectual, than those the *Infanta* and the King her Husband made Use of; the one to express her Renunciation, the other to express his Consent*. There, in the most ample Manner, you find a Renunciation of all and every one of the Rights, Titles, Laws, Customs, Constitutions, Dispositions, Remedies and Pretexts by which the *Infanta*, unless she happened to be a Widow without any Off-spring, or her Children of either Sex, born of that Marriage, could at any Time pretend to the Succession of

the *Spanish Dominions*. Thus, the Off-spring of France were altogether excluded from the Crown of Spain: Nay, the Pope too was intreated to give his Apostolick Benediction to an Agreement made with so much Deliberation, and so unanimously, for the Quiet of both Kingdoms, and for the Peace of all *Christendom*, subscribed with the *Pyrenean Treaty*, November 7, 1659; and signed in a numerous Assembly of the Ministers of both Princes with mutual Applauses, and established on both Sides, with a most prudent Foresight.

Let any one who is disinterested, and free from Passion, but read the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Paragraphs of the *Contract of Marriage*, and without much Enquiry he shall clearly see, that no Disposition or Order could be made, nor any Pretext found, by which a Male-Child of France could aspire to the Crown of Spain, since he is excluded from all Hopes thereto, by Sentences so clear, Words so express, and Clauses so derogatory and declaratory. There is here no Need of School shifts and Subterfuges to obscure the clearest Terms. God, who is the Searcher of Hearts, and who was called upon as a Witness in these Conventions, does not allow of ambiguous Explications: The Cross of Christ; The Holiness of the Gospel: The Canon of the Mass, and the Royal Honour; by all which, both Parties were to swear in the Form of the *Pyrenean Peace*, cannot admit or suffer that the Words should say one Thing, and the Sense another.

The Meaning and Intention of those that contracted, and the perpetual Exclusion of the Line of France, are clearly to be seen by the publick Reasons, and by the Treaty confirmed and ratified by the French King.

The same Catholick King, *Philip IV*, who must be allowed to have understood the Sense of this Agreement, repeats it plainly in his Will, made the Fourteenth of December, 1665.

That King appoints several and different Things in his Will concerning the Succession of Spain; he also relates several Things about the Danger that threatened Spain and all *Christendom*, by Reason of the Marriages made with the Royal Family of France, unless there was a Bar put to hinder the Accession of any, that was

* *Viz.* The Form of the *Infanta's* Renunciation, which has never been regarded by her French Successors, though the French King pretended to agree to it in due Form, as well as by the Treaty concerning the same.

or should be born of them, to the Crown of Spain*. He gives a full Account of all the Care and Precautions which he was obliged to use with his Sister *Anna*, and *Maria Teresa* his Daughter, and with his own Wife *Elizabeth* of *Bourbon*, to the End, that no Child of *France*, whether Male or Female, should by any Manner of Way, or on any Occasion, come to enjoy the States and Dominions of *Spain*. He mentions Word by Word the Articles that had been lately made to avoid all Occasions, which might give even the most remote Grounds to fear, that the Crown of *Spain* should be united to that of *France*. He particularises some Lines of Succession †: and though he knew very well that his Daughter could not fail to have a numerous Issue by King *Lewis*, his Son-in-Law, since she was fruitful, and had already brought forth the Dauphin and two Daughters; yet, not forgetting the *Pyrenean* Peace and Agreements ‡, he excludes the Posterity of *France* from coming, in any Manner of Way, to the Possession of the *Spanish* Dominions; not only the Males, in whose Persons both Kingdoms might be united, but also the Females, who, by Reason of the *Salique Law* could not be allowed to reign in *France*, and consequently could not unite *Spain* to it, though they were admitted to that Succession. But he rather turns himself to his own Family of *Austria*, and invites the Children of his Sister *Mary*, who had died in 1646, after having had several Children by the Emperor *Ferdinand the Third*; and among others, the most august *Leopold* §. Nay, he goes farther, and, that the *French* Line might be absolutely excluded from the Kingdoms and Dominions of *Spain*, he appoints, that, in Case the House of *Austria* came to be extinct, the Succession should fall to the Posterity of *Catharine* of *Savoy*, his Aunt who had died in 1597.

All which is a clear and certain Proof of the Exclusion of the *French* Line, and of the undoubted Right of the House of *Austria*,

The lately deceased King *Charles* § was not a Stranger to so authentick Testimonies of the

Truth; the perpetual Renunciation of his Sister, and of her Posterity, was notorious. The Will of his Father *Philip* did particularly nominate a Successor of the House of *Austria*. *Charles* himself honoured the Emperor *Leopold*, and considered him as his Relation by the Father's Side, as his Uncle by the Mother's Side, as the Eldest of the House of *Austria* as to both Branches, and as apparent Successor, by Virtue of the Will of his Father; as bountiful and kind by Reason of the Part he had lately given him in the Kingdom of *Hungary*; not to mention several other Reasons that he had to honour and esteem him; yea, being yet alive, he gave him a very ample Power over the Forces of *Spain*.

Nevertheless, according to the Revolutions and Turns of the World, some of the *Spanish* Ministers, won by the Brightness of a certain Neighbour's ** Gold, used all Means to incline the weak and languishing King †† another Way, to take him off from his own Family, and wheedle him over to the *French* Side, which he formerly looked upon with great Aversion. They †† themselves acknowledged and supposed the Validity of the Infanta *Maria Teresa's* Renunciation, and of King *Philip's* Will, with all Things which had been done for excluding of the Heirs of *France*; but the Reason of all they make to be this, viz. The Fear of the Union of both Crowns; which Fear now ceasing, and the Union being hindered, there should be Way made for the Accession of the Children of *France* to the Crown of *Spain*.

Then they forge a Will, which, by the Help of some Lawyers, they put into Form, in Favour of the Duke of *Anjou* §§; and press the dying King to sign it, when his Heart was parched and consumed, and his Brain dissolved into Phlegm; a fine Piece of Work this; which will raise the Wonder of future Ages, both in Schools and Courts; especially if one would but consider the Sequel and Coherence of the whole Affair, which is in other Places sufficiently notorious, as well as those Circumstances already related.

* Is not this truly verified by the present Intrigues between *France* and the *French* King of *Spain*? Has not *France* managed all the Councils of *Spain*, since *Philip's* Reign, to the Service of *France*; and to assist her in the Ruin of all neighbouring States, and the Acquiring Universal Monarchy.

† See the Will.

‡ Viz. The Renunciation of the Infanta *Maria Teresa*, and the Treaty that confirmed the same.

§ Grandfather to the present Queen of *Hungary*, &c.

** *French*.

†† *Charles the Second* of *Spain*.

§ *The Second* of *Spain*.

§§ The *French* Ministry.

|| The

present King of *Spain*.

By the former Will of *Philip IV*, the Case is clear, certain, and without Limitation for an Heir of the House of *Austria*; in the late Will of *Charles the Second*, they feign a Limitation, which is inconsistent with it both in Words and Sense. The Son claims in the Last a Power to make a Will, which they, that forged the Second, endeavour to take away from the Father.

The Renouncing of the Sister and the Aunt contains an universal, unlimited, and direct Exclusion; but the pretended Will of *Charles* will needs say, That it has an oblique Restriction in it, directly contrary to those Terms and Intentions above alledged. The former solemn Acts declare for the House of *Austria*, and, in order to their greater Force and Certainty, they are established as fundamental Laws. But is it to love the House of *Austria*, and to strengthen its Security, the Depriving it of the Kingdoms already so renowned for the Name of *Austria*, in the Grandfather's Time, and the Nominating *French* Successors? Reason therefore thoroughly concurs with the Letter, for a total Exclusion of the *French* Posterity; and it is not true, that in the Treaties of Contracts between *Spain* and *France*, no more than in the Testament of *Philip*, the Union of Crowns was the sole and only Reason.

For why should it else have been necessary to give it away to the Females or younger Family? When in *France* it goes to the Eldest, and the Females are for ever excluded the Crown of *France*; this would be in vain to fear the Union of the two Crowns, in a Person which is absolutely incapable of either.

The Duke of *Orleans*, one of the Sons of *Anne of Austria*, was heretofore passed by in Silence, and, by Virtue of his Mother's Contract of Marriage, has always been neglected; which, in the mean Time, would be contrary to all this, if Regard was had only to the Fear of Uniting the two Crowns.

And, in the last Place, the crafty Inventor of the late Will has been so bold, as to do a manifest Injury to the most serene Daughters of the Emperor *Leopold*; inasmuch as he endeavours to exclude all and every of them from the pretended Will, although he has not the least

Ground to fear in them the Throne of *France* and *Spain* uniting by Inheritance.

It is therefore, evident, that the Predecessors of the late King of *Spain* have had some other Motive, than that of the sole Fear of the Union; they having bent *their whole Care* to prevent any Prince of *France* from Coming to the Throne of *Spain*, upon the Account of the publick Tranquillity, and for the particular Benefit of the House of *Austria*.

And, if we examine the Danger of the said Union, what is there to assure the present *Spaniards* against the Union, which they never cease exclaiming against? Is it the Faith of *France* so often given, and so often broken? Is it the Gravity of the *Spaniards*, which by the Arts of its Enemies is grown as fickle and as variable as a Weathercock, tossed by frequent and sudden Whirlwinds? Is it the Trouble or the Contempt of a Crown, in the Vacaney of a neighbouring one, which lies perpetually at Catch against the neighbouring States, till they are reduced into Provinces?

But these last Things are of a private Concern, whereas the other Things mentioned before are of a publick, and may be of pernicious Consequence for the Future, whatever Way we consider them here. The Force of Peace, Treaties, Religion, and the very Laws of *Spain* lie at the Stake, and are called in Question.

The *French* Writers themselves cannot deny this, not even the Archbishop of *Ambrun*, who has made himself famous among them, by a Libel heretofore published, under the Title of *A Defence of the Right * of the most Christian Queen*.

That Author writing in the said Work with great Care against the *Spaniards*, in Favour of the *French* Army, which then invaded *Flanders*, and not thinking it fit that he should be thought to reflect upon the *Pragmatick † Sanction* of *Spain*, he endeavours to elude it by all possible Means, and magisterially to instruct the *Spaniards* in what was hurtful or profitable to them. The said *Sanction*, with the other Laws of *Spain*, are in a Book, intituled, *Nueva Recopilacion*, or *A new Collection* printed at Madrid, 1640. This *Sanction*, in most express Terms, excludes the *French* from the Succession of *Spain*, so that it

* Of *Maria Teresa*, which she, with the Consent and Approbation of her intended Consort, had renounced before Marriage.

† You see that the House of *Austria* has been deluded before now by a *Pragmatick Sanction*, thro' the Policy and Power of *France*.

leaves no Power to *Lewis the Fourteenth*, and his Brother, nor to any of their Children, to succeed to the Kingdom of *Spain*, or any of the States depending thereon.

The said Archbishop acknowledges very well the *express* Terms of that Law, and puts himself to a deal of Pains to overthrow so strong a Bulwark. He repeats the Quirks and Shifts of some Lawyers, which the *Flemish* * and *Spaniards* had already answered so fully, that the *French* might be ashamed to mention them again; and, that he might seem to say something of his own, he endeavours, in whole Chapters, and at the End of his Libel, to disprove the Reasons of the Usefulness of that Law drawn from the publick Interest of *Europe*; saying, That it wanted the Authority of a Legislator, and the Solemnity of a Publication; as if the Publick was only concerned in increasing the Power of *France*, without any Regard to the House of *Austria*, and the Quiet of *Europe*; whence it would follow, that no Monarch could establish any Constitutions without the Approbation of *France*, though they were never so conform to the most ancient Customs of former Ages. It is enough that, in that Sanction of *Spain*, the Friendship and Honour of the House of *Austria* did prevail, after they had before been conformed by Agreements, which the *French* had made and sworn to. It is enough that the said Pragmatick Sanction has been made and published by a wise and prudent King, on the Request and by the Advice of the States of the Kingdom, according to the Custom of their Ancestors, as also according to other Laws of a later Date.

This Author forgets himself, and condemns the *Salique Law*, and the Authority of his own Kings, if he denies the Force of this Sanction, in the Form and Matter of which, all the former Customs have wholly ceased.

The Aversion of the *French* to the Female Sex has not always been so strong, as to exclude them with their Children and Relations from the Succession; and nevertheless what the *Salique Law*, brought in by Process of Times, has forbid, is as clear as the Sun.

The *French* Authors are not ignorant of the solemn Act which has been made not many Ages since, which forbids to admit the Daughters of *France*, who are in the Appenage of a Royal Brother, to the Succession after his Death, though till then they had some Part in it.

In the first Family of the Kings of *France*, the younger Brothers had also their Part in the Crown so far, that even Bastards were not excluded. Thus *Clovis*, who was the first *Christian* King, being dead, his four Sons divided the Kingdom in as many Parts. *Childebert* had that of *Paris*; *Clodomer* that of *Orleans*; *Clotarius* that of *Soison*; and *Theodorick* their natural Brother had that of *Metz*. At length, these four Kingdoms being united in *Clotarius*, by the Death of the rest, his four Sons made a like Division of it, each of them retaining the Title of King of *France*.

This Way of Division continued likewise in the Second Family of the Kings of *France* almost to its End, and all the Children of the Kings of *France* were called Kings. Yet none can say, that those Things have been unjustly changed afterwards, and that they ought not to have been altered.

Hugh Capet, who brought the Sceptre to the third Family, was the first that made the Law, and gave Place to Appenages, as may be seen by an Act of 1282, pronounced only in the Presence of thirty Nobles; yet the Female Heirs did not think themselves excluded by the Act, until the Reign of *Philip le Bel*, who expressly declared against their Succession.

It were easy to remark several like changes touching the Form of Laws in ancient Times, in the History of *France*. Now, what *Frenchman* dare accuse these Changes of Injustice, or declare them null? Or, who will accuse their Kings of Want of natural Affection in excluding their Daughters, even against their Will, and without having renounced their Right to it? Who dare declare the present Laws of no Force, because they differ from the ancient ones? Not to speak of those Shadows of Power in *Modern Parliaments*, which make it clearly appear, that it were ridiculous in *France* to make the ancient Laws the Standard of the present ones.

Wherefore the Archbishop of *Ambrun* does but beat the Air, when he speaks in a florid, but empty Stile, against the aforesaid Sanction; prostituting, by that Means, the Royal Sincerity, and the Sacredness of Oaths, in the Opinion of all those who are not blinded with Partiality: But the Evidence and the Reasonableness of that Law appears to all the World.

Kings should have but one Tongue, and one Pen, and there is nothing that shines more brightly in a

* Under the Spanish Yoke.

Prince than Honesty and Sincerity. Things that are *promised, agreed upon, and sworn to*, if ever they ought to be observed, they should be so, without Doubt, by those whom we reverence, and esteem, as Gods on Earth. It is not lawful that what proceeds out of their Lips should not take Effect. The *Contracts* of Kings are not liable to *School Disputes*, they despise the Sophisms of the Rabble; and they require an Observation so much the more sincere, by how much they are agreeable to the Matter of Renunciations, to the Laws of Nations, to the Decrees of the Common Law, and to the Statutes of Ecclesiastical Canons.

The *French, Flemish, and Spanish* Lawyers, and some of other Nations, do teach, "That Stipulations made of the Inheritance of a Person in Life, particularly with Respect to a Marriage that is concluded, are approved by universal Custom. That the Example of almost all the World is for the Validity of Renunciations; and that too, though no Oath should intervene, even notwithstanding the Minority of the Person, when they are made by a general Consent, and for the publick Good: That, in the Oaths made by Heirs, there is implied a solemn Consent of their Fathers, and an Imprecation against them; so that they are as much obliged in Conscience to see the Thing performed, as those who formerly swore and promised it. That Succession is conveyed to Children by a certain Instinct of Nature, and not by any Law of Nature. That some Things are founded on some Natural Reasons, yet not so as that they cannot be changed, altered, or revoked. That one Civil Law may be abolished by another. That Laws are arbitrary to those, in Favour of whom they were made, &c.

Should one be at the Pains to read all the Books that have been writ these thirty Years*, he shall find that the *French* have been *fickle and inconstant*, and that they have no Regard to Treaties, Laws, or Latter Wills, when they find it their Advantage to break or oppose them. And this certainly should excite all the Powers of Europe, who have any Regard to their own Welfare, in the present Juncture of Affairs, to take just Measures in Favour of the House of Austria, against the Power and Avarice of France.

The *French* put a malicious Gloss upon the prudent and wise Constitution, which is to be

seen in the Canon Law, touching Renunciations confirmed by Oath, *Cap. Quamvis de Pactis*; as if the Author of the said Constitution, either out of Vain-glory, or out of a Design to strengthen the Papal Authority, had made that exorbitant Decretal, and had endeavoured, by a new Law, to confirm that Dignity to which the See of Rome has attained, by Cunning and Deceit.

The *Pyrenean* Treaty, which was so prodigal of the *Spanish* Dominions to the *French*, and the Sacredness of repeated Oaths, by which *France* has more than once renounced all Claim to the Succession of *Spain*, now complain of being maltreated and trampled under Foot, and of being quite altered and deformed by Law Quirks and School Quibbles.

The present Pope ought to resent the Contempt that is thrown on his Predecessor, and on the See of Rome; since the Contract of Marriage, which is now thought null, had the Apostolical Benediction to give it the more Force, and make it more solemn and sacred.

The *French* violate Treaties, deny Kings the Power of making Laws, slight Wills and Testaments, and, in a Word, overturn all those Things upon which the Peace and Security of Society and Government is founded. They have no Regard to the publick Good of Europe, and, provided they can but raise the Glory and Power of France, they do not care if the whole Universe besides should perish.

The Way to the *Universal Monarchy* is now more open to the King of France than ever, and it cannot be thought he will stop in his Career which he has begun with so much Craft and Success, unless all the rest of Europe, sensible of the Injuries done them by France, do stir up themselves, and, without losing Time, examine what they are obliged to do in Favour of the House of Austria, lest it should be deprived of its ancient Patrimony, and lest Italy, England, Portugal, the United Provinces, and the rest of Germany, be robbed of their beloved Liberties, and of their Riches and Glory.

We heartily condole the Fate of Spain, that it has been so villainously seduced to act after such a mean and sordid Way, as it has done of late. That Spain, which has so long discovered the Snares, and resisted the cruel Designs of France, should now basely submit to it, yield herself a Slave, and quite lose her former Greatness and Glory; which she must certainly do, if she do not

suddenly and vigorously assist the House of *Austria*.

We do not in the least doubt, but that the evident Danger, which the Dominions and Trade of other Nations are in, will persuade them to act with all their Might, in Favour of the just Cause of the House of *Austria*, and make them join together for their own Safety and Tranquility.

Neither can we doubt, but that his Holiness, according to his great Prudence, does perceive the little Regard the *French* have for keeping of Peace, or observing of Covenants and Oaths; how much they prophane the Name of God and the Holy Gospel; how haughty they are in their Threats; how insupportable their Government is; how treacherously active they are in foreign Courts; and what they are capable to undertake, if the *Spaniards*, who so long nobly resisted them, continue ingloriously to submit to them, and keep their Neck under that intolerable Yoke.

We deplore the Scandal that must follow thereupon; we foresee the approaching Danger of our Neighbours, and severe Calamities, which threaten some remote Nations.

The Emperor *Leopold*, who was always peaceable, and a Lover of Justice, is Enemy to none but the *Turks*, and that too only when they provoke him. He is the Avenger of the *Christian* Dignity, and a religious Observer of Laws, Treaties, and Oaths. But what should he do now, when he is robbed of his Patrimonial Right, which, upon many Accounts, belongs to the House of *Austria*, and so insolently invade the Fiefs of the Empire? The other Princes of *Europe*, who have been injured by *France*, must certainly see that there is no more effectual Way to secure their Peace and Prosperity, than by bringing *France* down, and opposing of it with all their Force.

For my Part I stop here, and advise them only upon the Account of the Dangers with which they are threatened, and upon Account of their Safety, which is now in a very tottering Condition, to remember what has been said of old, *To make Use of the present Time*. Time runs away with Rapidity and Swiftness, and when Men neglect the first Opportunity, they scarce ever find such a one again.

A Trip to *Dunkirk*: Or, a 'Hue-and-Cry after the pretended Prince of *Wales*. Being a Panegyrick on the DESCENT. Said to be written by Dr. *Swift*. Printed, and sold by the Booksellers of *London* and *Westminster*. MDCCVIII.

WHY, hark ye me, Sirs,—if this Rumour hold true,
 W'are like here, Egad, to have somewhat to do:
 The *French*, as they say (he'll believe it that sees it)
 Are coming, Gadsookers, to pay us a Visit;
 With such a vast Fleet—(L—d have Mercy upon's,
 And keep us from Popery, Swords, and great Guns)
 That, as I'm alive,—tho' I ne'er was afraid yet,
 It almost had frighten'd me—first when I heard it.
 Nay, more than all this, it is certainly said
 There's a little *Welch Monarch* to come at their Head;
 And he (Shame the Devil, and let us speak the Truth)
 You know, in your Hearts, is a very smart Youth,
 And doubtless will prove, when he's pleas'd to bestir him,
 As valiant as e'er was his Father before him,
 Who, bent on some great Expedition in View,
 Now glitters in Arms with an Equipage too,
 Which, positively, you may swear is all new.

For,

For, as I have heard (if some People speak right)
 He ne'er march'd before,—unless 'twere to sh—te ;
 But now at the Head of ten-thousand brave Fellows,
 (That is, as Accounts thence are pleas'd for to tell us)
 He's going on some strange Advantage or other,
 (Perhaps 'tis to seek out his Father or Mother)
 In *Ireland* and *Scotland*, or some Land or another ;
 I can't tell you where, but to some Place no Doubt,
 Which you'll hear Time enough, if he e'er does set out,
 With an Army of *French*, Popish Bridles and Knives,
 To cut all our Throats, and to ride all our Wives.
 Then stand to your Arms, all good People, I'd wish ye,
 You loyal Train'd-bands, and the valiant Militia,
 Brush up your Buff Doublets, and *Scotch* Basket-hilt,
 (By which, to your Honour, no Blood was e'er spilt ;)
 The Nation will now your Assistance want sore,
 Which, as I remember, they ne'er had before,
 Nor will—
 I hope in kind Heaven, e'er want any more.
 Altho', for your Zeal, it is not to be question'd,
 You've always been ready, when aught has occasion'd :
 At every Rejoicing you've made a fine Show,
 (And that is one Part of a Soldier we know)
 Been drunk, and done all that became you to do.
 And as for your Valour we cannot deny it,
 'Tis known you can fight—tho' you'd rather be quiet.
 Nor has the *French* Threats, or their Menaces fear'd us.
 Because we knew well we'd such a Hero to guard us.
 Then, since they're so hot on't, 'gad e'en let 'em come,
 I'll warrant they'll be maul'd—tho' I don't say by whom.
 We've Rods here in Pits that will firk off their Tails,
 For all their brave Alls—and their Monarch of *Wales*.
 Adfheart the young Hero had best take a Care,
 That he ben't in Conclusion drawn into a Snare :
 For, as it is said, his old Godfire intends
 (Or at least wou'd be glad, as the Matter now stands)
 To get shut of him handsomely off of his Hands ;
 And therefore e'en tells him in Words very plain,
 That he hopes, which is true, ne'er to see him again.
 So, e'en sink or swim, Fleet, Forces, and all,
 He'll venture this Cast, tho' it cost him a Fall.
 To *Ireland* some think this *Welch* Hero is bound,
 Tho' Pox that's a Jest, one may venture Five Pound :
 For there's an old Debt still on *Lewis's* Score,
 He was bit in affitting his Father before
 And therefore he'll hardly come there any more.
 No, *Scotland's* the Place, they say, he's design'd to,
 Where 'tis thought—
 H'as a great many Friends—which, perhaps, he'll scarce find so ;
 But let him take Care what may follow hereafter,
 If he trusts to the *Scots*, he may chance catch a *Tartar* :
 And, if he shou'd fall in our Clutches ye know,
 He'd be damnably mump'd, I can tell him but so ;

Were

Were I in his Case, I'd not trust my own Brother ;
 They sold us one K—, shou'd they sell us another ?
 For our *Jacks* here at Home—as brave Fellows as may be,
 They prick up their Ears at the News on't already ;
 And, out of their Zeal, they expect him at least
 To be here, *French* and all, when the Wind's next at *East* :
 But some are more cautious, and question it much,
 And doubt th' Invasion's design'd on the *Dutch* ;
 For the Noise of his Landing they swear 'tis a Bite all,
 They'll trust to't no more—till they see him at *White-Hall*,
 But this is but Talk, and so let it rest,
 Some are still of Opinion 'twill all prove a Jest :
 This Hero at *Dunkirk* will make his Campaign,
 And so gallop back to *St. Germain*s again.

Memoirs of Queen Mary's Days; wherein the Church of England, and all the Inhabitants may plainly see, (if God hath not suffered them to be infatuated) as in a Glass, the sad Effects which follow a Popish Successor enjoying the Crown of England.*

Humbly tendered to the Consideration of, &c.

THE first remarkable Passage in *Queen Mary's* (Popish) Reign, was her wicked Dissimulation with the Men of *Suffolk*, to get herself into the Throne, and Breach of her Faith and Word, after she had obtained it, thus :

As soon as she heard of her Brother King *Edward's* Death, and that he had by his Will, with the Consent of his Council, excluded her, and nominated the Lady *Jane* to succeed (the said *Queen Mary* having been before bastardised by her Father King *Henry VIII.*) she, under Pretence of fearing Infection, rode forty Miles in one Day, and removed from *Norfolk* to her Castle of *Frummingham* in *Suffolk*, where taking upon her the Title of Queen, she pretended to all the Nobility and Gentry of those Countries, *That, if they would give her their Assistance, she would make no Alteration in Religion*; thereupon came to her the Earls of *Oxford*, *Bath*, and

Suffex, Lord *Wentworth*, *John Mordaunt*, and *Thomas Wharton*, Barons eldest Sons, and several Knights, and many others of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, with whom she conditioned and agreed, *That she would not attempt, in any Wise, the least Alteration of Religion established by her Brother, King Edward VI.* She, by this Trick, being thus assisted, wrote her Letter to the Lords of the Council, wherein she claimed the Crown, and required them to proclaim her Queen of *England*, in the City of *London*, which in a short Time was done.

As soon as she got into the Throne, her fair Promises proved false Deceits; for she immediately (the very next Day) broke her Word with them, and in a short Time, those of the Diocese in *Suffolk*, who she thus wheedled to assist her, tasted the sharpest Persecution under her Reign; for she was so far from keeping her Promises and Conditions, made either with them, or any others, in Matters of Religion,

that she acted quite contrary, as appears by the Sequel of her sad and bloody Reign.

1. It was on the Third of *August*, Anno 1553, that Queen *Mary* rode through *London* to the *Tower*, and, the very next Day, she set up *Stephen Gardner*, the bloody Persecutor of the Protestants, in the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, and a few Days after made him High-Chancellor of *England*; this was that cruel Man that the Duke of *Norfolk* came to dine with, who would not go to Dinner till Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, because he would first have the News of Bishop *Ridley's* and *Latimer's* being burnt; of whose Death, by God's heavy Judgment on him, you may ready further in our Chronologies.

2. The Fifth of *August* (two Days after her Coming to *London*) she turns out the Protestant Bishops of *London* and *Durham*, and re-established *Bonner* (that blood-thirsty Miscreant) Bishop of *London*, and *Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*. You see her first Act was to displace Bishops of the Church of *England*, and put bloody Popish Persecutors in their Room, who worried and destroyed the poor Protestants.

3. The Fifteenth of *September* after, Mr. *Latimer* and Dr. *Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with others, were arraigned and condemned.

4. Presently after her Coronation, which was the First of *October*, she pretended to shew Mercy by a general Pardon, which, says my Author, was so interlaced with Exceptions of Matters and Persons, that very few received Benefit thereby; so even that, with all the rest, was a meer Cheat.

5. It was not only the Protestant Clergy that she dealt thus withal, but even with the Judges too; for Sir *James Hales*, one of the Justices of the *Common Pleas*, who had been her Friend, and stood for her Succession, yet he, for giving Charge at a Quarter Sessions in *Kent*, upon the Statutes of *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* in Derogation of the Primacy of *Rome*, was first committed to the *King's Bench*, then to the *Compter*, then to the *Fleet*, where he grew so troubled in Mind, that he attempted, with a Pen-knife, to kill himself, and at last did drown himself.

6. In this her first Year, she also caused a Synod to be assembled about Matters of Religion, who restored the *Romish* Religion, and the

Mass commanded to be celebrated after the *Romish* Manner.

7. The Fourth of *February*, in the said Year, *John Rogers*, the first Martyr of these Times, was burnt at *London*.

8. *February* the Ninth, *John Hooper*, late Bishop of *Worcester*, was burnt at *Gloucester*.

9. *Robert Farrar*, Bishop of *Man*, was burnt at *Caermarthen*; after him *John Bradford*, with many others, was burnt.

10. *October* the Sixteenth, 1554, those two famous Men, *Ridley*, late Bishop of *London*, and *Latimer*, late Bishop of *Worcester* (no less famous for their constant Deaths, than their religious Lives) were most inhumanly and barbarously burnt at *Oxford*, after they had first been conveyed from the *Tower* thither, upon Pretence to dispute with the *Romanists* about the real Presence in the Sacrament.

11. The next worthy Thing, that this Popish Successor did, was to set up the Pope's Supremacy amongst us; for, as soon as she was married to King *Philip*, she sent to *Rome* for Cardinal *Poole*, to come into *England*, who came invested with great Authority as the Pope's Legate a *Latere*, who made a solemn Speech to the Parliament, exhorting them to return to the Bosom of the Church, for which End he was come to reconcile them to the Church of *Rome*; and, for their first Work of Reconcilement, he required them to repeal and abrogate all such Laws as had been formerly made in Derogation of the Catholick Religion.

Upon which Speech the Parliament begged Pardon for their former Errors, and told the Queen, they were most ready to abrogate all Laws prejudicial to the See of *Rome*. And thereupon the Cardinal gives them Absolution in these Words:

[We, by the Apostolical Authority given unto Us by the Most Holy Lord, Pope Julius III. (Christ's Vicegerent on Earth) do absolve and deliver you and every of you, with the whole Realm and the Dominions thereof, from all Heresy and Schism, and from all Judgments, Censures, and Pains in that Case incurred; and also We do restore you again to the Unity of our Mother, the Holy Church.]

The Report hereof, coming to *Rome*, was Cause of a solemn Procession made for Joy of the Conversion of *England* to the Church of *Rome*.

Rome. And thus was all the Kingdom of England turned Papists in one Day, by having a Popish Successor.

12. March, 1555, the Queen called to her four of her Privy-Council, and signified unto them, *That it went against her Conscience to hold the Lands and Possessions as well of Monasteries and Abbies, as of other Churches; and therefore did freely relinquish them, and leave them to be disposed as the Pope and the said Cardinal should think fit.* And shortly after, in Performance hereof, John Fecknam, late Dean of St. Paul's, was made Abbot of Westminster, and the Lands belonging to it.

13. Before this, Stephen Gardner, the Queen's great Creature, uses malicious Practices against the Lady Elizabeth, the Queen's only Sister and next Heir to the Crown, and endeavoured very much to take away her Life, she being a Protestant; he laid all the Snares for her that he could invent, and, at last, by his Procurement, the Lady was kept in hard Durance, and a Warrant, at last, was framed under certain Counsellors Hands to put her to Death; and had been done, but that Mr. Bridges, Lieutenant of the Tower, pitying her Case, went to the Queen about it, who denied that she knew any Thing of it, by which Means her Life was preserved; this bloody Persecutor, Gardner, saying at the Council-Board, *My Lords, we have but all this while been stripping off the Leaves, and now and then lopped a Branch; but, till we strike at the Root of Heresy (meaning the Lady Elizabeth) nothing can be affected to Purpose.*

14. All beneficed Men of the Clergy that were married, or would not forsake the Protestant Religion the first Year of her Reign, were put out of their Livings, and Romanists put in their Room.

15. On the Twenty-seventh of August, in the same Year, the Service begun to be sung in Latin, in St. Paul's Church.

16. The same Year the Pope's Authority was restored in England, and the Mass was commanded in all Churches to be used.

17. In her fourth Year, Monasteries were begun to be re-edified and restored, and, had she but reigned long enough, undoubtedly she would have had all the Abbey-Lands in England restored, had not Death put a Period to all.

18. Neither was her Persecution less to the common People, and plain-hearted Countrymen, than to the Protestant Clergy; for observe and consider, that, within the Compass of less than four Years, there suffered Death, for the Testimony of their Consciences in the Protestant Religion, two-hundred and seventy-seven Persons, without any Regard either of Degree, Age, or Sex; in the Heat of whose Flames were consumed five Bishops, twenty-one Divines, eight Gentlemen, and eighty-four Artificers; one-hundred Husbandmen, Servants, and Labourers; twenty-six Wives, twenty Widows, nine Virgins, two Boys, and two Infants; and nigh as many died in Prison, through Hunger and other Cruelties.

Oh the bloody Cruelty of the Papists, through their Popish Religion! Shall I call it Religion, which is more properly a Butchery? And thus you see the Effects of a Popish Successor.

This is no Romance, it was *de facto*, and would you have it so again? Or will you put it in the same Hazard once more? No sure, unless you are infatuated; let Experience teach us which is the best Mistress; let the burnt Child dread the Fire. Oh, never forget the Burnings, the Scorchings, the Tortures, and the Flames that were in Queen Mary's Reign! We beg and beseech you all in your Places, use all the Care imaginable now in Time to secure us, our Wives and Children, and the Protestant Religion.

19. Though many Persecutions lasted longer, yet it is observable by Dr. Heylin, that none since Dioclesian's Time raged so terribly, Eccles. Restaur. but God, being merciful to the poor Land and persecuted Church, of all, since the Conquest, her Reign was the shortest, only excepting that of Richard the Tyrant, yet much more bloody than was his.

[She reigned five Years and four Months, wanting two Days.]

20. She lieth buried in Westminster, without any Monument or Remembrance at all; as in her Life she deserved none, so in her Death her Memory is rotten; a just Reward for her who was so cruel and bloody: Yet one hath given

her this Inscription to remain to Posterity,
viz,

*Whose Name was polluted with the Blood of so
many Martyrs.*

*Unfortunate by so many Insurrections.
Made inglorious by the Loss of Calais (the Key of
France) in eight Days, which had been Two-
hundred and eleven Years in the Possession
of the English.*

Some COROLLARIES.

IN this History we may observe seriously
these Things as the sad and fatal Con-
sequence:

I. How *Popish Successors* will, at first, blind
us with Wheedles, till they have got the
Power and Kingdom in Possession; and will
tell us, *That not one Tittle of our Religion shall
be changed, or altered*; nay, and make Com-
pacts, Agreements, and Conditions to that Pur-
pose.

II. But, when once set in the Throne, let
what Promises will be, they shall be so far from
being performed, that quite the contrary shall
be acted, or else Thunder and Lightning will
come from the *Pope*, till he hath done it by
his Legates *a Latere*.

III. That, when a *Popish Successor* came to
the Crown, the *Pope's Supremacy* was imme-
diately set up in *England*, even the very first
Year, and we all made tributary to *Rome*,
and Slaves to the *Pope*, and would you have it
so again?

IV. The *Popish Religion* and the Mass set
up immediately all over *England*, and would
you have it so again?

V. The Protestant Bishops put out, and *Po-
pish* ones put in; and all the Clergy that were
married, or would not abjure the Protestant Re-
ligion, were turned out; therefore, you of the
Clergy that mean to be sincere, and not turn
Papists, it behoves you well to consider of it.

VI. And not only so, but truly farther, they
must be brought to the Stake with their Wives
and Children, and burnt for Hereticks; for
Popery is a merciless Persuasion, and, if they

make never so many Promises otherwise, yet
you know it is their Opinion, *That no Faith
is to be kept with Hereticks*; so we can never be
secure, if ever such reign.

VII. Observe further, That, if a *Popish Suc-
cessor* comes to the Crown, there will be all the
Endeavours used to take off all the next Heirs
that are Protestants, as there was to destroy the
Lady *Elizabeth*, which ought to be of no small
Consideration with us.

VIII. Observe, *Popish Monks and Friars* were
brought into *England*, and great Endeavours
used to restore all *Monasteries* and *Abbey-Lands*,
wherein, no Doubt, but she and good Cardinal
had prevailed, and they had been all
restored, had she reigned but a little longer;
therefore, it doth not a little behove all you
Gentlemen that have any *Priories, Abbies, or
Monastery-Lands* to lose, to consider well how
to put yourselves or your Posterity in any such
great Hazard to lose your Estates; as for those
that have such Lands, of the *Romish Religion*,
they must not, out of Conscience, detain them,
if they will have any Absolution from their
ghostly Father; and as to those Protestants that
have such Lands, they will be reckoned *Here-
ticks*, and, to be sure, shall not be suffered to
keep Church-Lands from them. And this
highly concerns all to consider, how, with our
Religion, we give up our Liberties and Estates,
by admitting a *Popish Successor*; which God of
his infinite Mercy to *England*, and in Opposi-
tion to such Blood-thirsty, Heaven-daring,
King-killing Principles and Practices, be pleased
to deliver us.

POSTSCRIPT.

NOW as you have plainly seen the great and
manifest Inconveniences, imminent Dangers,
and most certain Ruin, to follow the Admitting of
a *Popish Successor*, in the sad Effects of *Queen
Mary's Reign*; so we may also consider and be-
hold, as the bright Side of the Cloud, the vast Ad-

vantages of Peace, Plenty, Glory, and Happiness
that accrued to this Kingdom by a Protestant
Successor's enjoying the Imperial Crown, in the
long and prosperous Reign of that magnanimous
thorough-hearted Protestant Queen, *Elizabeth*, of
blessed Memory, who, after having suffered five
Years

Years fiery Trial, reigned above forty-four Years, maugre all her desperate and bloody Enemies; yet could they not anticipate her Death, nor stain her glorious Government, by all the black and hellish Contrivances of her, and our treacherous Popish Adversaries.

Many, I may say, infinite, were the Advantages and Felicities that these poor Kingdoms enjoyed by her happy Reign; I will only hint a few general Heads now:

First then, By this Protestant Queen, a Period was put to all the bloody and Popish Persecution against the Church of England, which all the poor Protestants had groaned under, all the Reign of Popish Queen Mary.

Secondly, By this true Protestant Princess, the Protestant Religion was established in this Nation, and idolatrous Popery cashiered.

Thirdly, By her were our Ancestors Lives protected, the Church of England defended, our Estates preserved, and our Liberties secured.

Fourthly, By her Reign did the Kingdom enjoy

Tranquillity, and flourished wonderfully, to the great Benefit of all our Forefathers.

Fifthly, And, by her Reign, this Nation became both Glorious and Formidable, as well to her and its Enemies Abroad, as at Home, and kept the Balance of all Europe in her Hands, by her Winning the Love of her People, and her continual adhering to the Advice of her Parliaments, by which, as she had their Hearts, so she had their Purse at Command; though she was always so kind and just to them, as sometimes to refuse their Grants of Subsidies, and would never make Use of their Aids in Money, though offered by her Parliament, but when there was real Occasion for her People's Good and Safety.

The Conclusion of all is the same that Moses said to the Children of Israel, Deut. xxx. 15, 16. Behold, I have set before you this Day Life and Death, Good and Evil. I call Heaven and Earth to record this Day against you, that I have set before you Life and Death, Blessing and Cursing; therefore chuse Life, that both thou and thy House may live.

The Life and Death of the illustrious Robert, Earl of Essex, &c. Containing at large the Wars he managed, and the Commands he had in Holland, the Palatinate, and in England: Together with some wonderful Observations of himself, and his Predecessors, and many most remarkable Passages, from his Infancy, unto the Day of his Death.

By Robert Codrington, Master of Arts.

London, Printed by F. Leach, for E. Chapman, Anno Dom. 1646.

The Author, Mr. Codrington, was born of an antient and genteel Family in Gloucestershire, elected Demy of Magdalen College in Oxford, the Twenty-ninth of July 1619, about seventeen Years old, and took the Master's Degree in 1626. After that, he travelled into several foreign Lands; and, at his Return, lived a Gentleman's Life, first in Norfolk, where he married; and finished his Life at London, by the Plague, in the

E c 2

Year 1665, having published many Pieces of different Taste in his Life-time, and left several Manuscripts prepared for the Press.

As for the History before us, it is true, that he plainly declares himself a Parliamenteer; yet, so far as it goes, it is the least exceptionable, and the most comprehensive, of any Writings on the same Subject, in those Times: For, besides the Character of his Hero, the Earl of Essex, he gives us the general Opinion, and the Ground of the first Part of the Civil War; seems to relate the natural Facts without Aggravation, and always speaks of the King's Majesty with Respect, ascribing the ill Conduct of his Affairs, and bad Success, to the Wickedness and Heat of his Counsels; and heartily wishing a good and lasting Reconciliation and Peace between the King and his Parliament.

BEFORE we do begin with the Discourse of the Life and Death of this illustrious Earl, it will not be impertinent to speak one Word of the renowned Earl, his Father, who, as he rendered himself admirable, by the many great and glorious Actions which he performed both by Land and Sea; so I may call it his Master-piece, that he did beget so brave a Son, and I may call it his Son's Master-piece, that he did lively resemble so brave a Father, in the Height and Perfection of his Virtues, which he did express in his Love unto his Country, and in his Achievements for the Honour and Safety of it; and this shall ennoble both their Names unto all Posterity.

To give you a Parallel of these two Worthies, is a Task almost as impossible as impertinent; for if you will excuse in them the Priority of Time, we may, in the Course of their Lives and Honours, make a Parallel, as soon, betwixt two Beams of the Sun, who are the same in Heat, in Glory, and in Influence, and who do differ in nothing but in Number only; we will therefore save that Art and Labour, and, as succinctly as we can, we will address ourselves to the great Task we have undertaken.

This most noble Earl was born in London, in the Year of our Lord 1592, and almost in the Evening of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, who, for his excellent Endowments, did countenance his Father living, and did lament him, being dead. His Mother had the Happiness to be espoused to three of the most gallant Personages which that Age did know. Her first Husband was Sir Philip Sidney, whose Virtues are too high for the Praises of other Men to reach them, and too modest to desire them; his Pen and his Sword have rendered him famous enough; he died by the one, and by the other he will ever live. This is the Happiness of Art, that although the Sword doth at-

chieve the Honour, yet the Arts do record it, and no Pen hath made it better known than his own. Her second Husband was the renowned Father of this most noble Earl, who died beloved, and honoured, as well by his Foes, as by his Friends, and whose Loss even Heaven might lament, did not Heaven enjoy him. Her third Husband was the Earl of Clanrickard, a gallant Gentleman, who exceeded the Wildness of his native Country, by his second Education, and who exceeded his Education by the Happiness of his Wedlock; and though, peradventure, some vain Men do account it but as two Threads put together, he did make it his Band, by the Advantage of which, he did so twist himself into the English Virtues, that nothing remained in him as spun from Ireland, as Ireland now doth stand.

To omit the Presages, and the unfaithful Kisses of the promising Madams who rocked his Cradle, I will not say, that in that moving Wicker [like another Hercules] he strangled in each Hand the two invading Dragons of transcending Prerogative and Superstition: This was the Business of his Life to come; a Business which did grow up with his Youth in Hope, and which, in the Event, did crown his Age with Glory.

Though the Laurels that crown the Brows of Conquerors, are the thickest and the heaviest, yet, I believe, the Wreaths that court the Brows of Art are the greenest; we conquer, in our Age, our Foes in the Field, but we overcome our greatest Foe, which is Ignorance in our Youth; to conquer which, he received hereditary Courage from his Father, who not only overcame, but triumphed over it, and did accept the Formality of two Degrees, and, with great Reputation, performed the Exercises belonging to them in the University of Cambridge.

It is most certain, that illustrious and extraordinary Personages have oftentimes extraordinary

nary Illuminations of the Events, both good and bad, which shall befall them; of this we can give you remarkable Instances in this Family. When Sir *Walter Devereux* was created Viscount of *Hereford*, and Earl of *Essex*, about the twelfth Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, because he was descended, by his Mother's Side, from the antient and honourable Family of the *Bouchiers*, it was the deliberate Pleasure of the Queen and State to increase his Honours, by the Knowledge of the Fulness of his Merit, and to make him Governor of *Ireland*; and this Place being preferred unto him [for, indeed, he was a Gentleman of incomparable Indowments] he did manage the Affairs of that Kingdom with great Honour and Judgment; and, by a secret Power of Attraction, which is natural and inherent to that Family, he gained the Approbation and Applause of all Men, and did much advance the Affairs of *England* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*; but the Ambition and Policy of the Earl of *Leicester*, who would have no Man more eminent than himself, did so prevail at Court, that, upon no Cause at all, but that he was as good as great, he must be dishonoured from his Dignity, and the Government of that Kingdom conferred on Sir *Henry Sidney*, a deserving Gentleman, indeed, and the more meritorious, because he was the Father of Sir *Philip*. This Indignity did stick such an Impression on this noble Earl, who had now only a Charge of some empty Regiments of Horse and Foot, that his Melancholy brought a Fever on him; and the sooner, because his Friend was the Author of this Injury, for the Earl of *Leicester* did pretend to no Man greater Affection than to himself. After some Days, his Sickness did confine him to his Chamber, and afterwards to his Bed. His dying Words were remarkable; he desired that his Son, who was then not above ten Years of Age, might refrain from the Court, and not trust his Ear with the Flatteries, nor his Eye with the Splendor of it; and, above all Things, that he should be mindful of the six and thirtieth Year of his Age, beyond which, neither he, nor but few of his Forefathers, lived. His instructed Son did obey his Father's Will, and for many Years did lead a contented and a retired Life in *Anglesey*, until [I know not by what Spell] the Earl of *Leicester* did work him into the fatal Circle, and betrayed him to Destruction. Being condemned to the Block, he remembered his Father's Prediction, which now he could not avoid: And

which is, indeed, most wonderful, on the very same Hour, and, as it is believed, on the very same Minute, that he was beheaded, his Son, who at that Time was a Student in *Eaton College*, did suddenly, and distractedly, leap out of his Bed, where he was fast asleep, and to the Amazement of all, he cried out, that his Father was killed, his Father was dead; and not many Hours after, the sad News was brought, which so early in the Morning, and so strangely he presaged.

His Father being dead, this young Earl was now looked on with more than ordinary Observation; and the rather, because it was generally reported, that his Father had too severe a Trial, and that his Life was made a Sacrifice, to satisfy the Ambition of some great Personages, high in Favour at the Court. Sure it is that there appeared something of Injustice in his Death, for otherwise, why should Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and others, who were condemned, as accessary to it, so publickly afterwards, and in Print, disclaim it.

Queen *Elizabeth* being deceased, King *James* was no sooner established in the Possession of the Crown of *England*, but he restored to this young Earl his Father's Titles and Estate, and his eldest Son (the Mirror of his Age, and the Western World) Prince *Henry* was pleased to be very conversant and familiar with him, being near unto him in Age, but more near in Affection, than in Years. Betwixt whom and this Earl, there happened a remarkable Passage, which I conceive, in this Place, not improper to insert.

Prince *Henry*, and this young Earl, delighting themselves one Morning, with the Exercise and the Pleasure of the *Tennis Court*, after that a Set or two were played, there did arise some Difference upon a Mistake: From Banding of the Ball, the Prince, being raised into a Choler, did begin to bandy Words, and was so transported with his Passion, that he told the Earl of *Essex*, that he was the Son of a Traytor. The Earl of *Essex* was then in the Flourish of his Youth, and full of Fire and Courage, and being not able to contain himself, he did strike the Prince, with his Racket, on the Head, and that so shrewdly, that [as it is said] some Drops of Blood did trickle down. The News of this was presently brought to the King's Ear, who having examined the Business, and fully understood the Manner, and the Occasion of it, did dismiss the Earl, without any great

great Check, and (being a true Peace maker) he told his Son, that he, who did strike him then, would be sure, with more violent Blows, to strike his Enemy in Times to come.

This being in this Manner reconciled, the Report of this young Earl did arise every Day higher and greater. His Recreations were Riding of the great Horse, Running at the Ring, and the Exercise of Arms. His other Hours were taken up in Study, and in Perusal of Books, that yielded most Profit, not most Delight, and from these he would always arise better, than when he sat down unto them; his Delights were Hunting of the Hare, or Buck, and he would seldom fail to be amongst the foremost at the Fall of the Stag, or when the Falcon on his Wing was stooping to his Prey. He, from his Infancy, was well affected to Religion, and to the Reformation of the Church; and this he received by Inheritance from his Father, for when the Bishops (that felt the Smart of it) had cried out against that lashing Pamphlet, called, *Martin-Mar-Prelate*, and there was a Prohibition published, that no Man should presume to carry it about him, upon Pain of Punishment, and the Queen herself did speak as much, when the Earl was present: Why then, said the Earl, what will become of me? And, pulling the Book out of his Pocket, he did shew it to the Queen. I have heard grave Men, and of great Judgment, say, that he was the less inclined to Dr. *Whitgift*, a Reverend Divine, and his Tutor also, because he was a Bishop. But the Ambition and Pride of the Prelates, and the Clergy, were not then arrived to their utmost Period; the suppressing of them must remain to be the Work of my Lord, his Son, whom the Parliament of *England* shall find to be their happy Instrument, ordained for so great an End, by a greater Power.

The Earl of *Essex* being confirmed in his Father's Honours and Possessions, that a perfect Reconcilement might be made in all Things, a Marriage was contracted and concluded in the Year 1606, betwixt him and the Lady *Frances Howard*, Daughter to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Suffolk*. She was a Lady as transcendent in her Spirit as her Beauty: They were much about one Age when they were married, the Lady *Frances* being about Thirteen, and the Earl not above Sixteen at the most; therefore for some few Years, by reason of the Nonage of the Earl, they lived a-part until about the Year

1610, at which Time they enjoyed the Society of one Bed, and so continued until about the Year 1613, when a Complaint was made, and so closely prosecuted, that a Way was contrived, and carried on with great Power, for the procuring of a Divorce betwixt the Earl of *Essex* and this Lady. I say it was carried on with great Power, for both Divinity and Law did not only look on, but were enforced to be Actors in it. And yet they, who so much laboured in it, had afterwards the Leisure to repent it, for this Divorce was no sooner made, but the Earl of *Somerset* (who, at that Time, was high in the King's Favour) married this Lady, the King himself and the Archbishop being present, and allowing it: At that Time there was a Gentleman of excellent Understanding, Sir *Thomas Overbury* by Name, who, being beloved by the Earl of *Somerset*, did compose a Poem, intituled, *The Wife*, to dissuade the Earl of *Somerset* from this Marriage; but the Lady, conceiving that it did reflect upon her Honour, did so prevail with the Earl, that she turned his Love unto Hatred, and wrought his Hatred unto so great a Height, that nothing but the Death of Sir *Thomas Overbury* could satisfy their Revenge. His Death being resolved on, they put it to the Question by what Means it should be performed, and it was concluded on by Poison. There was a Woman in those Days famous for those Arts, Mrs. *Turner* by Name; they propound it unto her, and she is easily drawn into any Mischief. The Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir *Jervis Elwayes**, was also made acquainted with it: The Tragedy was no sooner acted but discovered; the Actors were apprehended. Sir *Jervis Elwayes* was examined, found guilty, condemned, and suffered on *Tower-Hill*: There was also one *Frankling* hanged, who brought the Poison, Mrs. *Turner*, that prepared it, did also lose her Life at *Tyburn*. This is the Woman who first invented, and brought into Fashion the Use of yellow Starch. The Earl of *Somerset* and his new-married Lady, were, upon Pain of Death, prohibited not to approach the Presence of the King, nor to come within ten Miles of his Majesty's Court. This did beget so great a Discontent, that their Love by Degrees did begin to suffer Diminution with their Pomp: And the Lady on her Death-bed, being troubled in her Mind, did much cry out upon the Earl of *Essex*, whom she had so much injured.

The

* Or, *Yelvis*.

The Earl of *Essex*, perceiving how little he was beholden to *Venus*, is now resolved to address himself to the Court of *Mars*; and to this Purpose he descendeth into the *Netherlands*, which, at that Time, was the School of Honour, for the Nobility of *England*, in their Exercise of Arms: There he was no sooner arrived, but, with magnificent Joy, he was entertained by Grave *Maurice*, who saw both in his Carriage, and his Courage, the lively Image of his Father. He at first trailed a Pike, and refused no Service in the Field, which every ordinary Gentleman is accustomed to perform. This did much endear him to the Soldiers, and his Liberality and Humanity did the more advance him. He not long after had there the Command of a Regiment. At the same Time the Earl of *Oxford* was in *Holland*, a great and gallant Commander, from whose Valour and whose Actions other Soldiers may take Example, both to fight, and overcome. With him, and some others, who also had the Charge of Regiments, the Earl of *Essex* was very conversant; and the Presence and Command of these Noblemen in the Army did much add to the Honour of the *English* Regiment, and did enlarge and dilate their own Fame into adjacent Kingdoms.

He continued certain Years in the *Netherlands*, and having gained Renown by his Experience and Perfection in the Feats of Arms, he advanced thence to the *Palatinate*, to which Place went also the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Earl of *Oxford*, and Sir *John Borlans*, with their Regiments; they arrived most welcome to the King and Queen of *Bohemia*, the present Condition of their Affairs much wanting the Presence of such brave Commanders, who gave a new Life and Spirit to the Soldiers wheresoever they came. At that Time there were great Hopes that the King of *England* would, out of his three Kingdoms, send such a continued Stock of Men to the *Palatinate*, that the Crown of *Bohemia* should be established on the Head of the Elector *Palatine*, and that by no Course sooner than by Virtue of the *English* Arms: But King *James* never stood greatly affected, either to this War, or to the Cause thereof, and thereupon some Regiments of unexperienced Volunteers going over, instead of a well-composed Army, it was one Reason, amongst many others, that not only *Bohemia*, but the *Palatinate* were also lost, which were both in-

vaded by so mighty an Enemy as was then the Emperor, and seconded by so puissant a Potentate as was the King of *Spain*.

The Earl of *Essex* having adventured all Things for the Relief of that distressed Lady, and finding an Impossibility, with such weak Forces to oppose so great a Power, he resolved to return into *England*, but not without some Hope that his Majesty would be sensible of his Daughter's Sufferings, and of those illustrious and hopeful Cradles, which *Grief* and *Fear* did rock, and that he would send over such full Recruits of Men, as might advance again his speedy Return into *Germany*.

But God did otherwise ordain it, for not long after King *James*, by the Privation of Death, enjoyed the Possession of a better Life. And, Prince *Charles* being invested with the Crown, he was so far from sending Forces into *Germany*, that the *German* Horse were called over into *England*.

The Delight of King *James* was Peace, but almost the first Designs of King *Charles* were War. To this Purpose, that he might make his Kingdoms as terrible by Arms, as his Father had left them flourishing in Peace, he call-eth a Parliament, which (the Sickness at the same Time raging with great Violence in the City of *London*) did meet at *Oxford* on the Beginning of the Month of *August*, in the first Year of his Reign; but this King was never fortunate, either in his Parliaments or in his Wars, for, the Duke of *Buckingham* being questioned, the Parliament was not long after dissolved. Howsoever, a Design went on for a sudden Expedition into *Cadiz* in *Spain*, which was committed to be managed by the Viscount *Wimbleton*, and by the Earl of *Essex*. The Earl of *Essex* did the more readily undertake it, because the Judgment and the Valour of Sir *Edward Cecill*, created by the King Viscount *Wimbleton*, was highly regarded by him, having had sufficient Experience of it in the *Low-Countries*, where Sir *Edward Cecill* also for a long Time, and with great Reputation, commanded a Regiment for the Service of the States: His other Reason was, because that his Father heretofore had taken *Cadiz*, and he believed that a more gallant Action could never be imposed on him, than to be designed unto that Place, where he might enlarge his own, and renew his Father's Glory. Being imbarqued for the Prosecution of this Service, which promised so much Honour; being at Sea, and by a fair Wind brought almost

almost as far as *Cadiz*, the chief Commanders opened their Commission, and finding, to their great Grief, that they had not that Power granted them, which they expected, they had many Consultations on it: Sir *Edward Cecil* was loth to exceed the Bounds of the Commission, well knowing what Danger, on his Return, might ensue thereby.

The Earl of *Essex* was unwilling to return without effecting any Thing: And the rather, because the *Spaniards* (according to the Ostentation natural to that Nation) did begin to dare him from their Walls and Battlements; inso-much that some of his Men were landed, and entered some Part of the Town; and the Earl found that it was no difficult Matter for the *English* again to be Masters of the Town, had they but Authority to fall on: Howsoever the *Spaniards* had Notice beforehand that the *English* Ships had a Design upon that Place; and some, withal, are of Opinion, that they knew how far their Commission did extend: All along the Shore their Horse and Foot stood ready to entertain us at our Landing, who wanted neither Desire, nor Resolution, to encounter them, had but the Word been given. The Earl of *Essex* being sorry that he was employed on so unnecessary an Expedition, and so unsuitable to the *English* Temper, did resolve with himself, on his Return to *England*, to adventure no more on such Employments, but to repair again to *Holland*, where the Courage of himself, and his Soldiers, should be sure of Action, and where their Actions should be attended with Honour: He there resided a certain Time, and by his exemplary Virtue did much advance the Affairs of that State. Being called back into *England*, by the Importunity of his Friends, he afterwards married with Mrs. *Elizabeth Paulet*, who (if I am not mistaken) had then some Relation to the Marchioness of *Hertford*, Sister to this Earl. This Mrs. *Paulet* was a young Lady of a delicate Temper; she was Daughter of Sir *William Paulet* of *Hedington* in *Wiltshire*, and descended by the Father's Side from the illustrious Family of the *Paulets*, Marquis of *Winchester*: By her, the Earl of *Essex* had a Son, who was christened *Robert*, after his Father's Name, and died in the Year 1636, and lies buried at *Drayton* in the County of *Warwick*.

There is nothing born so happy, which is absolute in every Part, for, much about the same Time, there did arise some Discontents, betwixt the Earl and this Lady also, upon which

this Earl did ever after abandon all uxorious Thoughts, and wholly applied himself to the Improvement of those Rules, which conduce to the Soundness of Church and State: And, if any unseverer Hours of Leisure offered themselves in his Study, he would employ that Time in the Perusal of some laboured Poem, and having great Judgment, especially in the *English* Verse, it was his Custom to applaud the Professors of that Art, as high as their Deserts, and to reward them above it; and he was no Way inclined to the sullen Opinion of those Men who disclaim the Muses; and esteem all Poems to be as unlawful, as unprofitable.

When the Ambition and the Excess of the Bishops did swell them up to such an uncompassed Greatness, that they were not only become unweildy to themselves, and intolerable to their Dioceses, but endeavoured also to lay unconscionable Burdens by compulsive Ceremonies, on the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Women there did first begin the Coil, which was afterwards followed by their Youth, who mustered themselves into Arms for the Defence of their Religion, protesting themselves to be Enemies to all Thoughts, that had but the least Relation to the Church of *Rome*.

To this Resolution (it being for the Cause of God) the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* did join their devoted Hands. The King was seduced by the *English* Bishops to make a War against them, and great Preparations were in Hand, to that Intent: In the first Year that the King advanced against the *Scots*, the Earl of *Essex* was one of the principal Commanders, but it pleased God to make that Year no Year of Blood. In the Year following, a Parliament was called, and, Money being gained for the Prosecution of the War, it was again broke off. To this War the Bishops did contribute much, and Doctor *Peirce*, the Bishop at that Time of *Bath* and *Wells*, did not doubt to call it in his Pulpit, the *Bishops War*. But what had the Bishops to do with the Sword, and indeed it thrived with them accordingly, for, the Army of the King being beaten by the *Scots*, and the Town of *Newcastle* being seized by them, it was thought expedient by the King's best Counsellors that a Parliament should be called again. This is the Parliament which unto this Day doth continue, and which have laboured so much to their perpetual Glory, for the Reformation of Religion, for the Liberty of the Subject, and the Safety of the Kingdom.

On

On the Beginning of this Parliament, which represented the whole Body of the Kingdom, the King, who, without all Doubt, was inforced to summon it, to relieve the crying Oppressions of his Subjects, did appear like a Man in a Fever; sometimes very hot to give Satisfaction to the Complaints and Desires of his Subjects, and sometimes again cold and froward.

The most noble Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, being dismissed from his Place, by the Pleasure of his Majesty, the Parliament did move the King, that the Earl of *Essex* might succeed him, to which (his Majesty unwilling openly to deny them) did give his Assent; he knew very well that received Maxim that (during their Time of sitting in Parliament) Subjects are greater than they are, and the King less.

The Earl, although (for a long Time) he had discontinued the Court, yet did deport himself, with so much Honour and Judgment, that the old Courtiers, and those who were most intire unto his Majesty could not find the least Subject of Distaste. But the Discontents betwixt the King and Parliament increasing, and the King forsaking *London*, the noble Earl of *Essex* (being a Member of the House of Peers) would not forsake the Parliament, although there is no Question but that he had Instigations enough from the Followers of the Court to persuade him to it: Of such a Vertue is Honour and Conscience in the Breast of true Nobility.

The King beginning his Gests towards the West, and afterwards wheeling in earnest towards the North, the Parliament did send Petition on Petition to beseech his Majesty to return unto the Parliament; to which the King did return most plausible Answers, there being no where to be found more Art that suborned Reason to attend it, or more accurate Language. But the Parliament finding a great Disproportion betwixt the Insinuations of his Majesty to delude the People, and his Actions to strengthen himself, and that his Voice was the Voice of *Jacob*, but the Hands were the Hands of *Esau*; and understanding withal that his Majesty had summoned in the Country about *York*, where there appeared many Thousands that promised to adhere unto him, and that he had a Resolution to besiege *Hull*, and force it to his Obedience, they were compelled (though with Hearts full of Sorrow) to have Recourse to Arms.

Money is the Sinew of War, to provide themselves with which, the City were desired to bring in their Plate to make it Sterling for that Service. The publick Faith of the Kingdom was their Security for it; and indeed what better Security could any Man expect than the Faith of the whole Kingdom, of which the Parliament were the Body representative, and (as it were) the *Feoffees* in Trust. You would admire what Sums of ready Money, what Rings of Gold, what Store of massy Plate both silver and gilt were brought in a few Days to *Guildhall*. *Guildhall* did never deserve its Name so properly, as at this present. In the mean Time, *Moor-fields* and those Places, where Horses for Service were to be lifted, were almost thronged with excellent Horse; and the Youth of *London*, who devoted themselves to the Service of the Parliament, and to hazard their Lives for the Safety of the two Kingdoms, did look with Emulation on one another who should be the first should back them.

This being provided, in the next Place Care is taken for the Raising of an Army, and for a General to conduct them: There was no Man could be possibly thought upon more able to undertake so great a Charge than the illustrious Earl of *Essex*, whose Name in Arms was great, and the Love of the People to him did strive to be great as was that Name. At the first Appearance in the Artillery-Garden, where the Volunteers were to be lifted, there came in no less than Four-thousand of them, in one Day, who declared their Resolutions to live and die with the Earl of *Essex*, for the Safety and the Peace of the Kingdom; and every Day (for a certain Space) did bring in Multitudes of such well affected People, who preferred their Consciences above their Lives, and who would hazard with them their dearest Blood for the Preservation of the Reformed Religion, and for the Parliament that did reform it.

Not long after, the Earl of *Essex*, having sent before him his whole Equipage of War, who were quartered and exercised in the Country, and were now expert in their Arms, did pass through the City of *London* towards them, being accompanied with many Lords and Gentlemen, as also with many Colonels and Commanders of the City, and many Hundreds of Horse-men, and the Trained-Bands who guarded him through *Temple-Bar* unto *Moor-fields*; from thence in his Coach he passed to *High-gate*,

the People, on each Hand, having all the Way made a Hedge with their own Bodies, and with loud Acclamations all crying out, *God bleſs my Lord General, God preſerve my Lord General.*

His Excellency being now in his March to oppoſe the Forces of the King, the high Wiſdom of the Parliament (although they had often moved the King before by diſverſe Petitions) did think it expedient to ſend one humble Petition more unto his Maſteſty, to beſeech him to remove himſelf from thoſe evil Counſels and Counſellors, who had fomented the horrid Rebellion in Ireland, and had endeavoured the like bloody Maſſacre in England, by inciting him to make War with the Parliament, who were the beſt Subjects in his Kingdom: We will in this Place deliver to you the Petition of both the Houſes of Parliament, which Petition being ſo full of high Concernment and humble Addreſſes, and becauſe it was to be delivered by his Excellency the Earl of *Essex*, we conceive it very requiſite in this Place to infer it.

To the King's moſt Excellent Maſteſty.

The humble Petition of the Lords and Commons, now aſſembled in Parliament.

WE Your Maſteſty's moſt loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, cannot, without great Grief, and Tenderneſs of Compaſſion, behold the preſſing Miſeries, the imminent Danger, and the devouring Calamities, which do extremely threaten, and have partly ſeized upon both your Kingdoms of England and Ireland, by the Practices of a Party prevailing with your Maſteſty; who by many wicked Plots and Conſpiracies have attempted the Alteration of the true Religion, and of the ancient Government of this Kingdom, by the Introducing of Popiſh Superſtition and Idolatry into the Church, and Tyranny and Confuſion in the State, and, for the Compaſſing thereof, have long corrupted your Maſteſty's Counſels, abuſed your Power, and, by ſudden and untimely Diſſolving of former Parliaments, have often hindered the Reformation, and Prevention of thoſe Miſchiefs; who, being now diſabled to avoid the Endeavours of this Parliament by any ſuch Means, have traiterouſly attempted to overawe the ſame by Force, and, in Proſecution of their wicked Deſigns, have excited,

encouraged, and foſtered an unnatural Rebellion in Ireland, by which, in a cruel and moſt outrageous Manner, many of your Subjects there have been deſtroyed; and by falſe Slanders upon your Parliament, and by malicious and unjuſt Accuſations, they have endeavoured to begin the like Maſſacre here, but, being diſappointed therein by the Bleſſing of God, they have (as the moſt miſchievous and bloody Deſign of all) won upon your Maſteſty to make War againſt your Parliament and good Subjects of this Kingdom, leading in your own Perſon an Army againſt them, as if you intended by Conqueſt to eſtabliſh an abſolute and an illimited Power over them, and, by the Power and the countenancing of your Preſence, have ranſacked, ſpoiled, impriſoned, and murdered diſverſe of your People: And, for their better Aſſiſtance in theſe wicked Deſigns, do ſeek to bring over the Rebels of Ireland, and other Forces from beyond the Seas to join with them: And we finding ourſelves utterly deprived of your Maſteſty's Protection, and the Authors, Counſellors, and Abettors of theſe Miſchiefs in greateſt Power and Favour with your Maſteſty, and defended by you againſt the Juſtice and Authority of your High Court of Parliament, whereby they are grown to that Height and Inſolence as to manifeſt their Rage and Malice, againſt thoſe of the Nobility and others who are any Way inclined unto Peace, not without great Appearance of Danger to your own Royal Perſon, if you ſhall not in all Things concur with their wicked and traiterous Courſes, we have for the juſt and neceſſary Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, of your Maſteſty's Perſon, Crown and Dignity, of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and the Power and Privilege of Parliament, taken up Arms, and appointed and authoriſed Robert Earl of *Essex* to be Captain General of all the Forces by us levied, and to lead and to conduct the ſame againſt theſe Rebels and Traytors, and them to ſubdue and to bring to condign Punishment; and we do moſt humbly beſeech your Maſteſty to withdraw your royal Preſence and Countenance from theſe wicked Perſons, and, if they ſhall ſtand out in Defence of their rebellious and unlawful Attempts, that your Maſteſty will leave them to be ſuppreſſed by that Power, which we have ſent againſt them, and that your Maſteſty will not mix your own Dangers with theirs, but in Peace and Safety (without your Forces) forthwith, return to your Parliament, and by your faithful Counſel and Advice compoſe the preſent Diſtempers and Confuſions abounding in both your Kingdoms, and provide for the Security and Honour of yourſelf,

your

your Royal Posterity, and the prosperous Estate of all your Subjects; wherein, if your Majesty please to yield to our most humble and earnest Desires, we do, in the Presence of Almighty God, profess, that we will receive your Majesty with all Honour, yield you all due Obedience and Subjection, and faithfully endeavour to secure your Person and Estate from all Danger, and to the uttermost of our Power procure, and establish to yourself, and to your People, all the Blessings of a most happy and glorious Reign.

The Earl of *Essex* having received this Petition, he made Use of the Earl of *Dorset*, (who was then at *Shrewsbury* with his Majesty) that it might find Access unto him. And within a few Days after the Earl of *Dorset* sent a Dispatch to the Earl of *Essex* signifying that (according to his Desire) he had acquainted the King concerning such a Petition to be presented, and the King returned this Answer, *That he would receive any Petition that should be presented to him from his Parliament, from any that should bring the same: but that he would not receive the Petition out of the Hands of any Traytor.*

His Excellency, having received this Answer, did conceive it expedient to acquaint the Parliament with it. Whereupon, after a serious Debate upon the Business, it was voted by the House of Commons, That his Majesty refusing to receive any Petition from those whom he accounted Traytors, and withal, having proclaimed the Earl of *Essex*, and his Adherents, Traytors, he had, in that Word, comprehended both the Houses of Parliament, which is not only against the Privileges of Parliament, but the fundamental Laws of the Land. It was therefore agreed upon by both Houses, That the Earl of *Essex* should go forward in advancing his Forces according to his Instructions, with all convenient Speed; and to lay by the Petition which was to be preferred to his Majesty.

Much about this Time the King advanced from *Shrewsbury*, with an Army, consisting of Six-thousand Foot, Three-thousand Horse, and Fifteen-hundred Dragoons; his Design was to march towards *London* with all his Forces; of which the Earl of *Essex* being advertised, he advanced, with a Resolution to encounter with them; and being a grave Counsellor, as well as a great Commander, he desired the Parliament, that the Trained-Bands, in and about the City of *London*, might be put in a Readiness for their own Defence; and that the City might be fortified, and an especial Care taken to se-

cure the Persons of the chiefest of those malignant Citizens, who were suspected to contrive Mischief, and were able to perform it. Whereupon the House of Parliament did order, That the Trained-Bands of *London*, *Middlesex*, and *Surry*, should forthwith be put into Readiness, and that the Close Committee should make a diligent Enquiry, after the chief Malignants of the City; and Warrants were issued forth with Power to apprehend them, and to bring them to the Parliament.

On the 22d of *October*, his Excellency the Earl of *Essex* did march to *Kinton*, with about twelve Regiments of Foot, and about forty Troops of Horse; he made haste to meet with the Army of the King, and therefore was forced to leave behind him three Regiments of Foot, and ten Troops of Horse; for, the Country being destitute of Provision, it was thought requisite that they should not follow the main Body of the Army, in so swift a March: On the next Morning Intelligence was received, that the King's Army was drawing near, with a Resolution to encounter with the Forces of his Excellency. They had got the Advantage of *Edge-Hill*, which served them for a Place of safe Retreat, it being of a high and steep Ascent. The Earl of *Essex* made a Stand about half a Mile from the Hill, and did there draw forth his Army into a Body, and did set them in Battalia: He marshalled the Field with great Judgment, having but little Time to do it; which was no sooner done, but he beheld many Regiments of the King's Foot come down the Hill, and there were a strong Body of Dragoons with them. The Horse also came down in order, and placed themselves at the Foot of the Hill, on the right Hand of our Army. It was something long before their Cannon and the Rear of their Foot could be brought down: Our Foot were marshalled a good Space behind our Horse; three Regiments of Horse were on the right Wing of our Army, namely, the Lord General's Regiment commanded by Sir *Philip Stapleton*, who that Day did excellent Service; Sir *William Belfore*'s Regiment, who was Lieutenant-General of the Horse; and the Lord *Fielding*'s Regiment, which stood as a Reserve unto them. In our left Wing were Twenty-four Troops of Horse, commanded by Sir *James Ramsey*, Commissary-General.

The Cannon on each Side having discharged their cholerick Errands, the Enemy's Foot advanced against our right Wing, and they were gallantly

gallantly received by Sir *William Stapleton's* and Sir *William Belfore's* Regiments of Horse, which were at that Instant seconded by the noble Lord *Robert's* and Sir *William Constable's* Regiments of Foot, who charged on the Enemy's Foot, with so much Resolution, that they forced them, in great Disorder, to shrowd themselves amongst their Pikes. That Day, Sir *William Belfore* shewed excellent Demonstrations of his Valour, for after this he charged a Regiment of the Enemy's Foot, and broke quite through them, and cut many of them in Pieces, and not long after, having received some Assistance of Foot, he defeated another Regiment, and seized upon a Part of the Enemy's Ordnance; but we did afterwards leave them, having none to guard them. The Enemy's Horse on the left Wing, had the better of ours; for, at the first Shock they routed them, and did beat them back upon our Foot, and forced their Way clean through Colonel *Hollis's* Regiment; which struck such a Terror to some other of our Foot Regiments, on the left Wing, that four Regiments, without striking one Stroke, did run quite away, their Officers being not able to stay them, who therefore came up to the Van, in the right Wing, and did extraordinary Service, amongst which was Colonel *Charles Essex*, who, performing all the Parts of a gallant Soldier, was unfortunately shot in the Thigh, of which, not long after, he died.

His Excellency perceiving that four Regiments of the left Wing of his Army were fled, and never fought with, it doubled his Resolution on the right Wing, where, with undaunted Valour, he charged the King's Regiment: Once he charged with his own Troop of Horse, and often with his Regiment of Foot. An admirable Man, who, for the Safety of the Kingdom, and to pluck the King from the Hands of those that did mislead him, did this Day admirable Service. He was always at the Head of his Army, and having, at last got the Advantage of the Wind and Ground, he charged the King's Regiment so home (having the Regiment of the Lord *Brooks* to assist him) that he utterly defeated it; he took the King's Standard, and the Earl of *Lindsey*, General of the King's Army: His Son was also taken Prisoner, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Vavasor*, who commanded that Regiment; Sir *Edward Verney*, who carried the King's Standard, was slain; the Lord *Aubigny* was also slain; Colonel *Monroe*, a great Commander on the King's Side, was slain. Two

Regiments of the Enemy's Foot (the Night coming on) retiring themselves towards the Hill, found their Ordnance without any Guard at all, where they made a Stand, and discharged many great Shot against us. By this Time the Body of the Enemy's Horse, which had been pillaging the Waggon at *Kinton*, had the Leisure to wheel about, some on one Hand of our Army, and some on the other, and so at last they united themselves to the Body of their Foot; Sir *Philip Stapleton*, who did remarkable Service this Day, seeing in what Disorder they came along, did ride forth with his Troop, to charge four or five Troops of theirs: which they perceiving, did put Spurs to their Horses, and, with what Speed they could, joined themselves with the rest of their broken Troops, which had now recovered their Foot that did guard their Ordnance. Our Horse were also gathered to our Foot, and thus both Armies of Horse and Foot stood one against another till Night.

This great Victory being obtained, the Earl of *Essex* marched to *Warwick*, where he refreshed his Army for a few Days, where Mr. *Marshall* speaking of the admirable Success of this Battle; his Excellency replied twice together, *That he never saw less of Man in any Thing than in this Battle, nor more of God.*

Not long after his Excellency the Earl of *Essex* came to *London*, with several of his Regiments of Horse and Foot, who, with much Joy, were entertained by the Citizens. And, on the *Lord's-Day* following, many good Ministers, about the City of *London*, praised God for their safe Return to their Parents, Friends and Masters.

About the 4th of *November* 1642, at a Conference in the *Painted Chamber*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, in the Name of the whole House of Peers, did acquaint the Commons, that the Committee for the Safety of the Kingdom had some Thoughts to send certain Propositions to his Majesty, to prevent the farther Effusion of Blood, and to re-establish the Peace of the Kingdom, before which Time they held it requisite to acquaint his Excellency with it, who returned an Answer to the Parliament to this Effect:

That what he had done was in Obedience to the Commands of both Houses, and what they should command further he would be careful to obey: That he was now with his Army, and could not leave his Charge, to come, in Person, to contribute any Thing for his Majesty's Honour, and the Safety of the Kingdom. That he

he believed the Committee had such Reasons for those Propositions, as were laid on sure Grounds; but withal, that he hoped that they had no Fear of any Weakness of his Army, or that the Courage of those who stood to it so stoutly, in the late Battle, would fail them, if nothing but a second Encounter must decide the Matter, and end the Quarrel.

There was now a Treaty for Peace agreed upon on both Sides, when behold, on a sudden, unexpected News is brought unto the Parliament that the King's and Parliament's Forces were engaged at *Brentford*, and that Prince *Rupert*, with about thirteen Troops of Horse, had (undiscovered to our Scouts) taken the Advantage of a misty Morning, with a full Resolution to cut off the Forces of the Parliament that were quartered thereabouts, and from thence to force his Way to *London*, trusting, that, upon their Approach so near unto the City, the Malignants would rise in Arms, and declare themselves for the King; but it pleased God so in Mercy to ordain it, that he fell short of his Expectation; for he was so well entertained at *Brentford* and *Turnham-green*, by Colonel *Hollis's* Regiment, and a Part of the Lord *Roberts's* Regiment, the Regiment of Colonel *Hampden* coming also to their Assistance, that Prince *Rupert* durst not adventure to make his Approaches nearer to the City. And the Parliament forthwith dispatched a Committee to *London*, to raise all the Forces both of Horse and Foot, to defend the City, and to secure the Out-works. Immediately his Excellency the Earl of *Essex* departed from *London*, and marched against the Enemy, who, at the first Shock, over-powered our Forces by their Number, who were many of them destitute both of Powder, and all Furniture of War: We lost in that Service Serjeant-major *Quarles*, and Capt. *Lacy*, and many Soldiers of inferior Quality. Capt. *Lilburn* with some others were taken Prisoners: There were diverse of the Enemy slain, and many Carts laden with their Wounded, and their Dead; besides, they buried many, very privately, to conceal the Ignominy of their great Loss.

Immediately after this the Lord General caused a Bridge to be made of long and flat-bottomed Boats, over the River of *Thames*, from *Fulham* unto *Putney* (a sudden Work of War) to prevent, and the better to enable his Men to assault the Cavaliers in their March from *Kingston* into the County of *Kent*, and to oppose

them in their further invading the County of *Surry*.

This Bridge, at each End, was fortified with Ordnance and Musqueteers to defend it from the Enemy, who, at that Time, had miserably plundered *Kingston* and some Villages adjacent thereunto, and now, being full of the Pillage of the Towns of *Brentford*, *Kingston* and other Places, and not daring to attempt further, they were retiring towards *Maidenhead*, and from thence to *Reading* and *Oxford*, the Seat of the Court, and the Rendezvous of the malignant Army during the War.

The Parliament (as they had just Cause so to do) did, on this, publish a Declaration, to testify to the World the Carriage of the Matter at *Brentford*, in the Time of a Treaty for the Peace of the Kingdom, to the End that all Men, discerning how far they had been deceived with fair Shews and bare Pretences, might now, at last, stand upon their own Defence, and their strongest Guard; and to associate themselves together to defend and preserve their Religion, Laws, and Liberty of Parliament, and Kingdom; yea, themselves, their Wives, and Children from Rapine and Ruin, who were all concerned in the common Danger now round about them; on this the Counties of this Kingdom did begin, by Degrees, to associate themselves.

The King having, after this, made another Motion for Peace, and the Parliament having returned a fair Answer to it; upon some new Counsel, his Majesty was so impatient as to reply:

That he looked on the Parliament's Answer as penned by a malignant Party in both Houses, whose Safety is built upon the Ruin of this Nation, who have chased his Majesty, his Peers, and Commons from the Parliament; the Truth whereof, he said, might appear by the small Number left; and, moreover, that they had raised an Army to take away his Life, and the Life of his Children, and that these Rebels are now come to *London*; and since they cannot snatch the Crown from his Head, they would invite him, tamely, to come up, and to lay it down. And, for the Expressions of that Accident at *Brentford*, his Majesty hoped (if it be permitted by them to be published) that his Declaration would satisfy his People.

The Parliament, upon Consideration of this, being compelled to look unto themselves, did resolve

resolve to forbear all further Treaties, and gave Order to his Excellency, forthwith to advance with his Army; and the rather, because, they understood, by an intercepted Letter, sent unto Sir *Edward Nicholas*, that many experienced Commanders, and, with them, great Provision of Money, Arms, and Ammunition, were designed, from *Holland*, to land at *Newcastle*, for the Service of the King, and the Advancement of this unnatural War.

This did set so sharp an Edge on the Affections of the City, that, whereas the Parliament did desire them to assist them with a Loan of Thirty-thousand Pounds, to pay the Army, they cheerfully subscribed to pay in Threescore-thousand Pounds, and would have made it a far greater Sum, to further the Lord General, the Earl of *Essex*, to proceed with his Army to rescue his Majesty from the Hands of those, who detained him from his People, and his Parliament.

But the Winter did now grow heavy, and immoderate Showers of Rain had so corrupted the Ground, that the Body of Foot could not march, nor the Train of Artillery move; therefore, the Lord General was enforced to continue in his Winter Quarters, at *Windsor*, until the Spring; howsoever, our Horse did excellent Service in the West, under the Command of Sir *William Waller*; and the Right Honourable the Lord *Fairfax*, and his renowned Son, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, achieved many glorious Victories in the North, of which, it is not so proper in this Place, to deliver the Story, it being the Task of this Pen to express only those particular Services, in which his Excellency was personally present.

The Spring now coming on, his Excellency, about the Middle of *April*, did quit his Winter Quarters, and advanced towards *Oxford*; he seemed to pass by *Reading*, to render that Garrison more secure, and that, the chiefest Strength being gone where the chiefest Danger did appear, he might take *Reading* with the more Ease and Speed; having, therefore, wheeled about, he unexpectedly came and sat down before *Reading*, and sent his Trumpeter to the Governor to surrender that Town unto him, for the Service of the King and Parliament. Colonel *Ashton*, who was Governor of it, returned a stubborn Answer, That he would either keep the Town or starve and die in it. Thereupon his Excellency, taking Compassion of the Women and Children, which were to undergo the com-

mon Danger, he sent unto the Governor, that they might be suffered to come forth, but this also was refused by the Colonel.

Hereupon our Soldiers began to intrench themselves, and daily to make their Approaches nearer and nearer to the Town; his Excellency incamped on the West-part thereof betwixt *Reading* and *Oxford*, to hinder any Relief that might come from *Oxford* to it. The Enemy had many strong Outworks, which were defended also by some main Bulwarks; from those they continually plied us with their great and small Shot, who were not remiss to answer them with Advantage. They had in the Garrison three-thousand Soldiers besides Townsmen, many Pieces of Ordnance, and great Store of Provision and Ammunition. The Enemy had strongly fortified *Causham Hill* which commands the whole Town; from this Place, by fine Force, they were beaten and driven into their Works nearer unto the Town. This Hill being gained, we instantly raised our Batteries on it, which much annoyed the Enemy, and, by this Means, we got the Opportunity with the greater Safety, to make our Approaches nearer unto their Works, and in many Places within less than half a Musket-shot; hereupon the Enemy endeavoured to make some Sallies, but they were always beaten in with Loss. They had planted some Ordnance in a Steeple, believing, that from that Height they might play upon our Men with more Advantage; but our Cannon were levelled against it with such Dexterity, that both the Canoniers and Cannon were quickly buried under the Ruins of the Steeple. After this, the Enemies would not adventure themselves on Towers, but kept for the most Part in Places more secure, our Ordnance perpetually beating down the Houses, and Colonel *Ashton*, the Governor, being sorely wounded in the Head, by the Fall of Bricks, from a battered Chimney, which made him the more willing to offer the Surrender of the Town to my Lord General, if his Soldiers might have the Honour to march away with Bag and Baggage; but his Excellency did send him Word, that he came for Men, and not for the Town only.

Whilst this was in Agitation, Intelligence was received that the King, Prince *Rupert*, and Prince *Maurice* were on their Advance towards *Reading*, for the Relief of the Town; whereupon his Excellency did send out a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons under the Command

mand of Colonel *Middleton* and Colonel *Milles*, who did beat up the Enemies Quarters at *Dorchester*, about seven Miles from *Oxford*, and routed and surpris'd many of the King's Horse, and a Regiment of Foot under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Vavasor*, who was taken Prisoner at *Kinton*, and afterwards released; he was absent in this Service, but his Captain-Lieutenant was taken Prisoner. The King's Standard was again in Danger, and about one hundred and forty gallant Horse were taken. Howsoever, the King continued his Resolution for the Raising of the Siege at *Reading*, and, being advanced to *Wallingford*, he marched from thence towards *Reading*, with about nine Regiments of Horse, and nine Regiments of Foot, and twelve Pieces of Ordnance. His Regiments of Foot were but thin and empty. His Excellency understanding of the Approach of this Army, and that his Majesty himself and the two German Princes were there in Person, he commanded, that two Regiments should be drawn forth to oppose them, which were the Regiments of the Lord *Roberts*, and the Regiment of Colonel *Barclay*; although the King's whole Body of Infantry were near, he only sent two Regiments of his, the Green and the Red, to encounter these two Regiments.

The Fight was fiercely begun about *Causham* Bridge, and on both Sides excellent Demonstrations of Valour and Resolution were expressed; at the first Charge the Lord *Roberts* was absent from his Regiment, but, hearing that they were engaged with the Enemy, he did ride up with all Speed unto them, and by his Courage and Example did admirably serve to expedite and increase the Victory; after less than half an Hour's Fight, the Enemy began to give Ground, and to leave many of their Men behind them, and about three hundred Arms; their Horse also, which came down the Hill to assist their Foot, were gallantly repulsed, and forced to retreat to the Hill from whence they came. There were about one-hundred of the Enemy slain upon the Place, amongst whom Serjeant-Major *Smith* was one, whose Pockets being searched, there was found good Store of Gold. The Number which were said to be slain, on our Side, are so few, that I am afraid to name them, lest (being too short in my Account) I should be accused to dissemble with the Truth. I dare not grow too bold on the common Report; there is, undoubtedly, a Moderation with Judgment to be used by all those who undertake to

deliver to Posterity the Actions of their own, or foregoing Times, which, whosoever, either through Faction or Affection, shall wilfully transgress, shall lose the Grace of a true Historian, and the Reputation of an honest Man.

The Enemy being thus beaten in the Field, and retreated unto *Wallingford*, his Excellency, the Earl of *Essex*, did proceed in the Treaty with the Governor of *Reading*, for the Surrender of the Town. Colonel *Bolles*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Thelwell*, and Serjeant-Major *Gilby* were sent forth to treat on the Articles for the Surrender of it, and the Lord *Rochford*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Russel*, and Serjeant-Major *King* were sent in as Hostages for their safe Return. It was desired, in the Town, that some might go to the King's Army, to acquaint the Commander in Chief with the Terms. This was granted, and, upon the Return, his Excellency received a Letter from Prince *Rupert*, and not long after it was concluded on, that the Town of *Reading* should be surrendered on these Conditions:

- I. **T**HAT the Enemy should march away with Arms and Ammunition, with Colours flying, Bag and Baggage.
- II. That those Persons, who are not Inhabitants, should have Liberty to go away with their Goods, except such who had been of the Army of the Parliament.
- III. That those Goods be excepted from the Baggage of the Soldiers which had been taken from those who were Friends to the Parliament, and from the Western Carriers.
- IV. That they should have Liberty to march to *Wallingford*, or *Oxford*, without any Molestation from our Forces, provided they offer no Assault to any in the Way.
- V. That they shall carry but four Pieces of Ordnance, and the Town not to be plundered either by them or by the Forces of the Parliament.
- VI. That four and twenty Hours be allowed them for the Performance of their Articles, and that they give up their Outworks immediately, and three Persons of Quality as Pledges for the faithful Performance of these Articles.

Not long after this, it pleased Almighty God, to visit the Army of the Parliament with Sickness, by which many of our young Men perished, and the rest by Reason of their Weakness were disabled from doing any great Service in the Field. His Excellency omitted nothing that might

might give Redress unto them. Physick, and whatever else was thought expedient, was sent from *London*, and Care was taken, both for Money and Cloaths for the Soldiers; and, to make our Condition yet worse, Sir *William Waller* had received some Loss not far from *Bristol*, and the Marquis of *Newcastle* was grown very powerful in the North. In the mean Time, the King, having possessed himself of *Bristol*, was marching up to *London* with a puissant Army; in his Way he summoned *Gloucester*, unwilling to leave any Town behind him to continue in the Power of the Parliament, and, *Bristol* being taken, disdained to sit down before a Town and not to carry it; but the Courage of the gallant Governor, Col. *Masse*y, was so remarkable, that he not only did put a Stop to the furious March of the King, who, having gained *Gloucester*, would have forthwith advanced to *London*, but, by holding him in Play, he gave an Opportunity to his Excellency to recruit his Army, and, under God, was a principal Instrument of the Safety of this Kingdom.

In extraordinary Necessities, we do use extraordinary Expedients; the Trained-Bands of the City of *London*, who, before, were never known to make so long a March out of the City, did now readily consent to lend their best Assistance, and, to their eternal Honour, preferring the publick, before their private Good, they resolved to adventure their own Lives, to preserve the City, State, and Kingdom.

In this Resolution they met his Excellency on *Hounslow-Heath*, who being right glad to see them, he thanked them for their Love, and applauded them for their Courage, and uniting the Armies both into one, he forthwith marched to the Relief of *Gloucester*, which, at that Time, did much need the Assistance of so brave an Army. The King's Forces, with great Violence, did prosecute the Siege, which continued from the Tenth of *August*, to the Fifth of *September*; on which Day, the Enemy hearing of the Approach of his Excellence, did begin to send away their Carriages, and their Foot and Horse did march after them, and the Besieged (it being a Day set a-part for a publick Fast) did turn it into a Day of Joy, and paid unto God their humble Thanks, for so gracious a Deliverance.

We have not the Liberty to give unto you the Discourse of this Siege at large, because it doth not so properly belong unto this Subject: It may suffice, that, as it was raised by the Prowess

of the most noble the Earl of *Essex*, so it was most resolutely sustained by the Valour, Industry, and Dexterity of the heroick Governor, Colonel *Masse*y, who contrived all Stratagems, and occasioned all the Sallies, for the Ruin of his Enemy, and the Protection of the City.

The City of *Gloucester* being thus bravely relieved, and the Siege raised, his Excellency, the Earl of *Essex*, did prepare to follow the Enemy, who always fled before him, and refused to stand to the Hazard of a Battle. The Earl perceiving that the main Intent of the Enemy was to cut off all Provision from his Army, he made a Bridge over the River of *Severn*, as if he would march to *Worcester*, to amuse the Enemy, and to cause them to draw Part of their Forces that Way, which accordingly they did; and, on a sudden, he wheeled about another Way, and marched to *Tewksbury*, and from thence to *Girencester*, where he found two Regiments of the King's Horse, which were but newly entered into Service. In one of their Standards, the Invention was the Effigies of the Parliament-House, with two Traytors Heads fixed on two Poles on the Top thereof; the Inscription was this, *Sicut extra sic intus*; which is, *As without, so within*. The Indignity whereof left such a just Impression of Disdain in the Breasts of the Parliament, that it was voted, that the Contriver of this ignominious Invention should be strictly searched out, and, being known, that he should be for ever banished the Kingdom, as being unworthy to live in the *English* Air. This good Service was performed about Two of the Clock in the Morning, the Enemy, for the most Part, being taken Prisoners in their Beds, and their Horses feeding in the Stables: There was also a Magazine of Victuals seized on, which was a welcome Booty to our Soldiers. There were taken, in all, four hundred Prisoners, and as many Soldiers.

From hence his Excellence marched into *Wiltshire*, and, being advanced towards *Auburn-Hills*, he had a Sight of his Majesty's Horse, which appeared in several great Bodies, and were so marshalled to charge our Army of Foot, being then on their March in several Divisions; which caused our Foot to unite themselves into one Gross, our Horse perpetually skirmishing with them, to keep them off from the Foot. In the mean Time, the Dragoons on both Sides gave Fire in full Bodies on one another, on the Side of the Hill, that the Woods above, and the Vallies below, did eccho with the Thunder

of

of the Charge. There were about fourscore slain upon the Place, and more than as many more were sorely wounded.

Our Horse also made a great Impression upon the Queen's Regiment of Horse, and charged them again and again, and cut in Pieces many of her Life-Guard. In this Service, the Marquis of *Vivile* was taken Prisoner: It seems he would not be known who he was; but endeavouring to rescue himself from a Lieutenant that took him Prisoner, and thereupon, having his Head almost cloven asunder with a Pole-ax, he acknowledged himself, in the last Words he spoke, which were, *Vous voyez un grand Marquis mourant*; that is, *You see a great Marquis dying*. His dead Body was carried to *Hungerford*, by the Lord General's Command. It had not been long there, but the King did send a Trumpet to his Excellency, conceiving that the Marquis had been wounded only, and taken Prisoner, and desired that his Chirurgeons and Doctors might have free Access unto him for his Recovery. His Excellency certified the Trumpet that he was dead, and returned his Body to the King, to receive those funeral Rites as his Majesty would give it. Some say, that his Body was ransomed for three-hundred Pieces of Gold.

His Excellency being come to *Hungerford*, the Army of his Majesty, which was more numerous in Horse, had got before him, and was advanced towards *Newbury*, and sweeping the Country before them, had left it destitute of Provision, insomuch that, his Excellency finding little or nothing at *Hungerford*, to satisfy the Necessity of his Army, he was forced to march away that Night towards *Newbury*, to which Place (although it is but seven Miles Distance) it was the next Day before he came; when he was within two Miles of it, he did understand, by his Scouts, that the whole Army of the King were at Hand, and that they had not only possessed themselves of *Newbury*, but that they had made themselves Masters of all Advantages that could be desired, for the Disposing of the Battle.

Their main Body did stand in a large Plain, and were resolute and ready to receive our Forces, which, in the Van, were to pass through a Lane unto them, in which, but six Men could march on Breast.

Besides, by this Means, our Foot were deprived in those Places of the Succours of our Horse, and our Cannon was made unprofitable. Nei-

ther was this all, for our Army was also in great Danger to be charged in the Rear, and therefore, the most worthy Major *Skippon* was called off from the Front, to provide a valiant Remedy against all Dangers that should invade the Rear. All that Night our Army lay in the Fields, impatient of the Sloth of Darknes, and wishing for the Morning's Light, to exercise their Valour, and the rather, because the King had sent a Challenge over Night to the Lord General, to give him Battle the next Morning. A great Part of the Enemy's Army continued also in the Field, incapable of Sleep, their Enemy being so nigh; and, sometimes looking on the Ground, they thought upon the melancholy Element of which they were composed, and to which they must return; and sometimes looking up, they observed the silent Marches of the Stars, and the moving Scene of Heaven.

The Day no sooner did appear, but they were marshalled into Order, and advanced to the Brow of the Hill; and not long after, the Ordnance was planted, and the whole Body of their Horse and Foot stood in Battalia. The Officers and Commanders of their Foot did many of them leave off their Doublets, and, with daring Resolution, did bring on their Men; and, as if they came rather to triumph than to fight, they, in their Shirts, did lead them up to the Battle.

The first that gave the Charge, was the most noble Lord *Roberts*, whose Actions speak him higher than our *Epithets*. He performed it with great Resolution, and, by his own Example, shewed excellent Demonstrations of Valour to his Regiment: The Cavalry of the Enemy performed also their Charge most bravely, and gave in with a mighty Impression upon him. A prepared Body of our Army made Haste to relieve him. Upon this, two Regiments of the King's Horse, with a fierce Charge, saluted the Blue Regiment of the *London Trained-Bands*, who gallantly discharged upon them, and did beat them back; but they, being no Whit daunted at it, wheeled about, and on a sudden charged them; our Musqueteers did again discharge, and that with so much Violence and Success, that they sent them now, not wheeling, but reeling from them; and yet, for all that, they made a third Assault, and coming in full Squadrons, they did the utmost of their Endeavour to break throughour Ranks; but a Cloud of Bullets came at once so thick from our Musquets, and made such a Havock amongst them, both of Men and Horse, that, in a Fear, full of con-

fused Speed, they did fly before us, and did no more adventure upon so warm a Service.

In the mean Time, Sir *Philip Stapleton* performed excellent Service with the Lord General's Regiment of Horse, and five Times together did charge the Enemy: But, above all, the Renown and Glory of this Day is most justly due unto the Resolution and Conduct of our General; for, before the Battle was begun, he did ride from one Regiment to another, and did inflame them with Courage, and perceiving in them all an eager Desire to battle with their Enemies, he collected to himself a sure Prefage of Victory to come. I have heard, that when, in the Heat and Tempest of the Fight, some Friends of his did advise him to leave off his white Hat, because it rendered him an Object too remarkable to the Enemy: No replied the Earl, *It is not the Hat, but the Heart*, the Hat is not capable either of Fear or Honour. He, himself, being foremost in Person, did lead up the City Regiment, and when a vast Body of the Enemy's Horse had given so violent a Charge, that they had broken quite through it, he quickly rallied his Men together, and, with undaunted Courage, did lead them up the Hill. In his Way, he did bid beat the Infantry of the King from Hedge to Hedge, and did so scatter them, that hardly any of the Enemy's Foot appeared at that present to him, to keep together in a Body. After six Hours long Fight, with the Assistance of his Horse, he gained those Advantages which the Enemy possessed in the Morning, which were the Hill, the Hedges, and the River.

In the mean Time, a Party of the Enemy's Horse, in a great Body, wheeled about, and about three Quarters of a Mile below the Hill, they did fall upon the Rear of our Army, where our Carriages were placed. To relieve which, his Excellency sent a selected Party from the Hill to assist their Friends, who were deeply engaged in the Fight. These Forces, marching down the Hill, did meet a Regiment of Horse of the Enemy's, who, in their Hats, had Branches of Furz and Broom, which our Army did that Day wear, for Distinction-sake, to be known by one another from their Adversaries, and they cried out to our Men, *Friends, Friends*; but, they being discovered to be Enemies, our Men gave Fire upon them, and having some Horse to second the Execution, they did force them farther from them: Our Men being now marched to the Bottom of the Hill, they increased the Courage of their Friends,

and, after a sharp Conflict, they forced the King's Horse to fly with remarkable Loss, having left the Ground strewn with the Carcases of their Horses and Riders.

In the mean Time, his Excellency, having now planted his Ordnance on the Top of the Hill, did thunder against the Enemy, where he found their Numbers to be thickest; and the King's Ordnance (being yet on the same Hill) did play with the like Fury against the Forces of his Excellency: The Cannon on each Side did dispute with one another, as if the Battle was but new begun. The Trained-Bands of the City of *London* endured the chiefest Heat of the Day, and had the Honour to win it; for being now upon the Brow of the Hill, they lay not only open to the Horse, but the Cannon of the Enemy; yet they stood undaunted, and Conquerors against all; and like a Grove of Pines in a Day of Wind and Tempest, they only moved their Heads or Arms, but kept their Foot sure, unless, by an Improvement of Honour, they advanced forward, to pursue their Advantage on their Enemies.

Although the Night did now draw on, yet neither of the Armies did draw off: The Enemy's Horse, in a great Body, did stand on the furthest Side of the Hill, and the broken Remainers of their Foot, behind them, and having made some Pillage, about the Middle of the Night, they drew off their Ordnance, and retreated unto *Newbury*: On the next Morning, his Excellency, being absolute Master of the Field, did marshal again his Soldiers into Order to receive the Enemy, if he had any Stomach to the Field, and to that Purpose discharged a Piece of Ordnance, but no Enemy appearing, he marched towards *Reading*.

The Loss which the King's Forces received, in this memorable Battle, is remarkable, for besides the Multitudes that were carried away in Carts, there were divers found, that were buried in Pits and Ditches. There were many Personages of Note and Honour slain, as the Earl of *Carnarvan*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Lord of *Faulkland*, more famous for his Pen, than for his Sword, Colonel *Morgan*, Lieutenant Colonel *Fielding*, Mr. *Strode*, and others: There were hurt the Lord *Andover*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Colonel *Charles Gerrard*, Colonel *Evers*, the Earl of *Carlisle*, the Earl of *Peterborough*, Lieutenant Colonel *George Lisle*, Sir *John Russel*, Mr. *Edward Sackville*, Mr. *Henry Howard*, Mr. *George Porter*, Mr. *Progers*,

Progers, Colonel Darcy, Lieutenant Colonel Edward Villars, with many more of Note and Eminence whose Names are unknown unto us.

On the Parliament Side, there were slain Colonel *Tucker*, Captain *George Massey*, and Captain *Hunt*, and not any more of Quality, that I can learn; but before his Excellency advanced towards *London*, he did direct his Ticket to Mr. *Fulke*, Minister of the Parish of *Enburn*, adjoining unto *Newbury*, and to the Constables thereof, giving them strict Command to bury the Dead, which followeth in these Words:

T*Hese are to will and require, and straightly charge and command you, forthwith, upon Sight hereof, to bury all the dead Bodies, lying in, and about Enburn and Newbury-wash, as you, or any of you, will answer the contrary at your utmost Perils.*

Dated, September 21,
1643.

Essex.

His Majesty having understood the pious Care of his Excellency, for the Burial of the Dead, on both Sides, he issued out his Warrant to the Mayor of *Newbury*, for the Recovery of the Wounded that were taken Prisoners on our Side, which we have here inserted:

O*UR Will and Command is, that you forthwith send into the Towns and Villages adjacent, and bring thence, all the sick and hurt Soldiers of the Earl of Essex's Army, and although they be Rebels, and deserve the Punishment of Traytors, yet out of our tender Compassion upon them, being our Subjects, our Will and Pleasure is, that you carefully provide for their Recovery, as well as for those of our own Army, and then to send them unto Oxford.*

His Excellency's Forces had not marched above three or four Miles from *Newbury*, but they perceived, that a strong Party of the Enemy made haste to follow them, who were commanded by the Earl of *Northampton*, and the Lord *Wilmot*; Prince *Rupert* was also there in Person; they took our Forces, upon a great Advantage in a narrow Lane, expecting no Enemy so near at Hand. Our *London* Brigade marched in the Rear, and there was a forlorn Hope of six-hundred Musqueteers, that marched in the Rear of them: But our Horse, that brought up our Rear, perceiving so strong

a Body of Horse and Foot so near at Hand, and conceiving themselves not able to oppose them, in great Confusion and Disorder, they made their Way through our own Foot, and trampled on many of them, in that Height of Fear, under their Horses Feet. Howsoever, although this Confusion of our Horse did put our Foot into some Disorder, yet remembering the gallant Service performed by them, the Day before, and not willing now to lose their Honour, which they knew was gained by Fighting, and not by Flying, they made a Stand, and discharged ten Drakes at the Enemy, who with great Fury did assault them with their Cavalry, and had lined the Hedges with their Foot. The Lane on our Rear was so crouded with the Enemy, that the Execution which the Drakes performed was very violent, for it did beat down both Horse and Man, and in the Midst of the Lane, made a new Lane amongst them. The Fall of these Men was the Rise of the Courage of their Companions, and thereupon adding Fury to their Valour, and Desperateness to their Fury, they adventured on the Mouth of our Ordnance, and on the Jaws of Death, and became Masters of two of our Drakes. In the mean Time, a selected Party of our Foot were drawn out of the Lane, into a Field, where, on the second Charge (so hot was the Service) they forced the Enemy's Foot, who lined the Hedges, to betake themselves unto their Heels, and through the Hedges, so gauled the Enemy with the Shot, that about one hundred of them lost their Lives upon the Place, and the rest did fly for their Safety, and were well content to leave the Prize, which they had taken, and the Purchase of our two Drakes behind them. It is most certain, and the Papers printed at *Oxford* do confirm it, that Prince *Rupert*, in this last Service, had three Horses shot under him; peradventure he was one of those, who in the Vanity of their Morning Mirth, did boast at *Newbury*, that although the Roundheads were marching unto *Reading*, they would make Calves of many of them, before they came unto the *Veal*.

The Enemy in this Manner being beaten back, the Forces of the Parliament, who had expressed themselves to be gallant Men, had afterwards an unmolested March unto the *Veal*, and the next Day to *Reading*, where having reposed themselves for a few Days, they marched in Triumph unto *London*, their Companies so full, that it hardly could be discerned, where any were missing; with a general Consent, they declared

declared their chearful Resolution, that whensoever his Excellency, their heroick General, should command their Service, they would most readily advance with him, and esteem it their greatest Happiness, to partake with him in the Honour of his Dangers; the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen of the City did meet the Trained Bands at *Temple-Bar*, and entertained them with great Joy, and they had many Thousand Welcomes from the People, as they passed in martial Order through the Streets. His Excellency also [being come to *London*] had solemn Thanks returned him by the Parliament for his faithful unwearied Services for the State and Kingdom; and now, the Winter coming on, he had the Leisure for a While to refresh himself, and to make new Provisions for War against the ensuing Spring, to reduce Peace unto the Kingdom, and the King unto his Parliament, and *Oxford* and the Malignant Garisons in the West, to the Obedience of both; and this great Work must ask some Time, for the Preparations of it.

Therefore on *Monday, May* the 13th, he sent his Carriages from *London*, his Soldiers were marched away before, and on *Tuesday, May* the 14th, very early in the Morning, he followed after them, towards *Oxford*. The gallant Commander Sir *William Waller* advanced with him, but at some Distance to ease the Countries, through which they marched, and great Care was taken to punish all Disorders in his Soldiers, as may appear by this his Proclamation:

ROBERT, Earl of Essex, Captain General of the Army, employed for the Defence of the Protestant Religion, King, Parliament, and Kingdom.

Whereas these Countries have been very much afflicted and oppressed by the Enemy, and we are now come to relieve them of their hard Bondage: It is therefore my express Will and Pleasure, and I do hereby straightly charge and command all Officers, and Soldiers, of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, belonging to the Army, under my Command, that they, and every of them, do forthwith, after Proclamation hereof made, forbear (notwithstanding any Pretence whatsoever) to plunder or spoil any of the Goods of the Inhabitants of these Countries, or to offer

any Violence, or other Prejudice unto them, upon Pain of Death without Mercy.

Given under my Hand and Seal.

Essex.

His Excellency being now in the Field, with a Resolution to encounter with the King's Armies, wheresoever he could meet them, he received Intelligence, that the Earl of *Forth*, and the Lord *Hopton*, had made a late Muster of them upon *Wantage Downs*. There is no where to be found a fairer Place for two Armies, to try the Justice of their Cause by Battle: But they, hearing that the Earl of *Essex* was advancing towards them, retired towards *Abingdon*; his Excellency did send a Party after them, of three-thousand Horse and Foot, which were commanded by the Field-Marshal, the most Noble Lord *Roberts*, and by Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Lieutenant General of the Horse, who advanced towards them, with so much Resolution, that in some Disorder they abandoned the Town, which was immediately entered by the Lord *Roberts*, his Excellency, with the main Body of the Army, following after, and intending to take up his Quarters in that Town himself.

The Enemy, at their Departure, had drawn off their Artillery, and took with them their Magazine, which they did send to *Oxford*, but a great Body of their Army, consisting of five-thousand Horse and Foot, and commanded by the Lord *Hopton*, did march by *Oxford*, unto *Islip*, which is in the Way to *Worcester*, and there they took up Quarters for one Night; but Captain *Temple*, who was sent from *Newport-Pagnel* with some Troops of Horse to discover only, and not to charge the Enemy, being in the Height of his Youth, and full of the gallant Fire of Courage, and finding withal so fit an Opportunity, he resolved to beat up the Enemy's Quarters; which he performed with so much Resolution and Success, that he took fifty brave Horses, eighteen Prisoners, whereof one was a Knight, eight Packs of Kersey, which came from *Exeter*, and 150*l.* in ready Money, and gave such an Alarm to the Enemy, that they fled from *Islip* to *Oxford*, crying out, *Essex was at their Heels*; which did strike such a Terror into them at *Oxford*, that they did shut the Gates of the City, and for a While (until better Information

mation was received) they would not suffer Colonel *Aston's* own Troop to enter, which was one of the three Troops which this gallant Captain did so bravely rouse in their Quarters at *Islip*.

Not long after, the Earl of *Essex*, having first rode round about the City of *Oxford*, and taken a perfect View of it, did sit down before it, with so powerful an Army, that his Majesty on Monday, June the third, about Twelve of the Clock at Night, did take Horse, attended with certain Troops who carried some Foot mounted behind them: There followed him thirty Coaches of Ladies, who, conceiving that *Oxford* would be besieged, were unwilling to endure the Fury of the Siege, and therefore the Danger being manifest, and our Armies almost round about them, in great Tumult and Disorder they hurried away, leaving behind them many costly Moveables, which afterwards became a rich Booty to their unfaithful Servants.

The King being gone, immediately the Intelligence thereof was brought unto his Excellency, and the active and vigilant Sir *William Waller* was desired to attend him, who being come to *Whitney*, with his Forces, which is but five Miles from *Burford*, where the King then was, his Majesty's Scouts came galloping in, and brought the sad News that our Forces were at hand: On this, in a great Fright, they all cried out, *To Horse, To Horse*; and the King, with his Sword drawn, did ride about the Town, to hasten his Men away.

About a Day or two after, his Majesty's Forces, in a flying March, did come to *Parshaw* Bridge, which they pulled up, and (Necessity being the Mother of Invention) they laid loose Boards upon Stones, for a Party of their Forces, then behind, to pass over; which being done, they intended to take the Boards away, to hinder the Passage of Sir *William Waller's* Forces that were in their Pursuit; but, this Party being come to the Bridge, and hastily passing over it, the loose Boards did slip from the Stones, and they who were upon the Bridge did fall into the River, and were drowned: The valiant Sir *William Waller* did lose no Time to overtake the Forces of the King: And his Excellency well knowing what a considerable and sufficient Strength he had to prosecute the Pursuit, and believing that Colonel *Massey* would join his Forces with him, he resolved to march Westward, and, with what Speed he could, to send Relief to the distressed Town of *Lyme*; but, before the Forces intended could arrive, Prince

Maurice was gone, and the Siege raised by our renowned Lord Admiral, the Right Honourable the Earl of *Warwick*.

This Town being thus seasonably relieved (where the Besieged, both Male and Female, and of all Ages shewed incomparable Examples of Fortitude and Patience, to the Wonder of their Adversaries, and of Generations to come) the Lord Admiral did advertise his Excellency, that, for the more speedy Reducing of the West, he would be assistant to him, and to that Purpose, that, as he moved by Land, he would sail by Sea, to attend him in his Marches. The Town of *Weymouth*, a Haven-Town, was summoned, which, understanding that his Excellency the Earl of *Essex* was coming before it by Land, and the Lord Admiral by Sea, it presently did submit unto the noble Sir *William Belfore*, who did summon it for his Excellency, upon Conditions, That the Commanders and Officers should go away on Horse-back, with their Swords and Pistols, and the common Soldiers only with Staves in their Hands: There were taken in the Town twenty-seven Pieces of Ordnance, fifty Pieces lying in the Harbour, and all the Ships in it, and near unto it, and above an Hundred Barrels of Powder, besides much Arms and Ammunition.

His Excellency being now come into the Center of the West, the Countries round about did come in unto him, and the Garisons did surrender at the first Sound of his Trumpet; they opened their Gates to entertain his Army, and they opened their Hearts to entertain himself: There came unto him at *Chard*, within the Circuit of twelve Miles, at least Four-thousand Men, who were all, in one Meadow, drawn into Ranks and Files, where his Excellency came in Person to welcome them, and the Lord *Roberts*, Lord Marshal of the Field, made them an excellent Speech, which they received with loud and repeated Acclamations, offering to live and die, in the Cause of the Parliament, as their Friends at *Dorchester* did before them.

Much about the same Time, his Excellency having understood that Prince *Maurice* had drawn a great Part of the Garison from *Barnstable*, and the Inhabitants being confident of his Assistance and Approach, the other Part of the Garison being marched forth upon some plundering Design, they resisted them upon their Return, and would not grant Admittance to them; and a Party of Horse commanded by the Lord *Roberts*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton*, came so opportunely to their

their Aid, that they chased them from that Garrison, and, being received themselves with great Joy, they became absolute Masters of it for the Parliament.

Not long after, the most Noble the Lord *Roberts* was designed by his Excellency to march into *Cornwall*, which did so encourage the Garrison at *Plymouth*, that they did put on a gallant Resolution to make a Sally forth; which they so well performed, that, about seven Miles from *Plymouth*, they did beat up a Quarter of their Enemies; and took forty-four Horse, with their Riders; and although that Sir *Richard Greenville* did attempt to rescue them, with a considerable Strength, he was beaten off, and forced to fly in great Disorder, with the Loss of divers of his ablest Men. In this Service two of the Chiefest Commanders of the Enemy were slain, and Colonel *Digby*, Brother to *George Lord Digby*, was wounded in the Face, and *Greenville* himself, who before had lost his Honour, was so close put to it, that he was in apparent Danger of the Loss of his Life.

The Conclusion of one Victory was the Beginning of another; for this gallant Service was no sooner atchieved, but his Excellency understood the glad Tidings of the taking of *Taunton* Castle, by the Forces which he sent thither, under the Command of Sir *Robert Pye*, and Colonel *Blake*. This was a Castle-Town, and of great Strength and great Concernment, as in the Year following the Enemies proved to their Cost, who, with a mighty Power did lie long before it, but were never able to take it, either by Force, or by Persuasion. In it they found four iron Pieces, six Murtherers, great Store of Arms, of Ammunition, and Provision.

His Excellency was now on his March towards *Plymouth*, which his Enemies no sooner understood, but, though they were at least Three-thousand strong, they presently abandoned their Holds, and retreated into *Cornwall*; by this Means his Excellency possessed himself of *Mount-Stamford*, *Plimpton*, *Salt-Ash*, and divers other small Garisons, with their Ordnance, which, by Reason of the Strength of their Fear, and the Apprehension of their sudden Danger, they were not able to draw off: From these Places adjoining unto *Plymouth*, his Excellency advanced towards *Tavistock*: Here Sir *Richard Greenville*'s House was stormed, the Enemy, in vain, hanging out a white Flag, and desiring Parley; Quarter for Life was granted to all, the *Irish* excepted. In this House were taken two Pieces

of Cannon, Eight-hundred Arms and more, a great Quantity of rich Furniture, and Three-thousand Pounds in Money and in Plate. Sir *Richard Greenville* was not here in Person, he was retired to *Newbridge*, which is a Passage into *Cornwall*, which he strongly guarded, but the Forces of his Excellency, after some Dispute, did beat him from it, have slain about an Hundred and fifty of the Enemy, and taken many Prisoners, and became Masters of that Passage: *Lanceston* at the first Approach of his Excellency did submit itself unto his Mercy: From *Newbridge* Sir *Richard Greenville* retreated, or rather fled to *Horsebridge*, but the right valiant the Lord *Roberts* did pursue him with his Brigade, and forced his Passage over the Bridge; and, about *Lestuthiel*, overtook him, and encountered with him: He found his Forces to be stronger than *Fame* had at the first reported them. But Valour regards not Numbers, for he charged on them with such Dexterity, Judgment, Success, and Resolution, that he covered the Place with the Carcases of his Enemies, and took about one Hundred and fifty of them Prisoners. Immediately upon this, *Bodwin*, *Tadcaster*, and *Foy* did stoop unto his Excellency, and that with such willing Humility, that they seemed rather to honour and embrace, than to fear their Conqueror: A Conqueror he was, who overcame his Enemies as much by his Goodness as his Greatness, and obliged them rather by his Humanity than his Power.

His Majesty understanding that his Excellency, with his Army, was advanced into *Cornwall*, he was resolved to march after him, for he found that his Army did daily increase in Number, the Presence of a Prince, by a secret Attraction, always prevailing on the Affections of the People; whereupon his Excellency did write unto the Parliament, that a considerable Party might be sent unto him, to charge the Rear of his Majesty's Army, whilst he did fall upon the Van, which might prove a speedy and a happy Means for the Securing of the King's Person, and for the Concluding of the War. He advertised them, that he found the People to be a wild and disproportioned Body of several and uncertain Heads, and uncertain Hearts, and that they were apt to profane in the Evening, what with so much Zeal and Joy they received in the Morning. He desired that Money might be sent unto him, to encourage his Soldiers, and to confirm the People.

But

But his Majesty, although he was marched up after his Excellency, and was now about *Exeter*, was forced to send for Provisions for his Army into *Somersetshire*, of which Lieutenant-General *Middleton* having received Intelligence, he valiantly encountered their Convoy, and took many of their Horse, and seized on many of their Carriages.

Not long after he encountered with Sir *Francis Dorrington's* and Sir *William Courtney's* Forces, which consisted of a considerable Body of Horse and Dragoons, and, although the Dragoons had lined the Hedges, he did beat them from them, and, with great Resolution charging the Horse, at the first Encounter he did rout them, and pursued the Victory almost as far as the Town of *Bridgewater*. In this Service he took some Commanders Prisoners, divers Troopers, and fourscore Horse. Much about the same Time, a pernicious Design of the Enemy, to blow up his Excellency's Train of Artillery, was wonderfully discovered and prevented.

His Excellency, with a labouring Expectation, did attend the Supplies of Men and Money, to be sent unto him. The Armies of the King, and of his Excellency, were now drawn near, and daily facing one another. A Party of the Enemy, consisting of about Three-hundred Horse, had one Morning cast themselves into three Divisions, and, advancing near his Excellency's Quarters, did dare our Men to an Encounter: The gallant young Gentleman Major *Archibald Straughan*, not able to endure the Indignity, desired of his Excellency, that he might have Leave to charge them, but with one hundred Horse. His Excellency applauding his Courage did easily condescend unto it.

He received the first Impression of the Enemy without stirring from the Place whereon he stood, and not firing on the Enemy, until they came Breast unto Breast, he made such Havock amongst them, that many of them were observed to fall to the Ground together, and the rest began to fly: Encouraged with this Success, he charged the second Division, and that, with so much Fury, that they began to fly in great Confusion, not able to endure the Shock and Tempest of the Charge.

After this he charged the third Division, and having his Men well armed, their Pistols being all before discharged, they did now fall in pell-mell upon them with their Swords, and did soon force them, by an ignominious Speed, to fly to the main Body of their Army for their Protec-

tion: The King himself was then in Person in the Field, and was a sad Beholder of this Slaughter, and Disorder of his Men.

For this brave Service his Excellency rewarded this victorious Major, who was a Gentleman of *Scotland*, with many Thanks, and Appellations of Honour, and with a gallant Horse, esteemed to be worth one Hundred Pounds.

His Excellency having a long Time waited for the Supplies of Ammunition, Money and Men, and finding that none arrived, he much wondered at the Cause, and the rather, because that he was so straitened, by the Iniquity of the Place wherein he was encamped, that his Horse had no Room for Forage, and he found the Army of his Enemy did daily increase in Number, and in Power; wherefore a Council of War being called, it was concluded, that Three-thousand of our Horse, under the Command of the resolute Sir *William Belfore*, should break through the main Body of the Enemy, which was accordingly performed; and that with such a Tempest, that they did bear down many of the Enemy before them, and snatched from them several Colours, which they brought with them safe to *Plymouth*, as the Testimony of their Valour: His Excellency disposed of himself to Sea, attended with the Lord *Roberts*. He took Shipping at *Foy*, and the Seas danced to receive him whom our Land was not worthy of. He landed first at *Plymouth*, and not long after he put to Sea again, and safely arrived at *Southampton*.

In the mean Time, the most resolute Major-General *Skippon*, improving his Necessity into a Virtue, did gallantly encourage his Soldiers, who were all resolved to live and die, like Soldiers, with him; and, the Forces of the Enemy advancing towards them, they were received with such undaunted Courage, that the Enemy were forced, for their own Safety, not only to give them Quarter, but to condescend to very honourable Articles on our Parts, but those Articles were violated, and that almost in the Face of the King.

I have been often informed, that Major-General *Skippon*, being despoiled of his scarlet Coat, his Case of Pistols, and Rapier, did ride up unto the King, and, very roundly, told him of the Violation of the Articles by his Soldiers, as at all Times in general, so at this present in particular. The King, not well remembering him, did ask him who he was; he applied, that his Name was *Skippon*. The King demanded who were those Soldiers who had thus injured him;

him; he shewed them to his Majesty, for, as yet, they continued within the Reach of his Eye; they were about nine in Number.

Immediately, the Marshal was called, and these Soldiers were apprehended; seven of the nine were condemned to the Tree, and suffered according to their Sentence.

I do believe, therefore, that his Majesty was not accessary to this perfidious Rudeness of his Soldiers, which though, peradventure, it had a Connivance and a Toleration from others, it received a Punishment from him; but the protesting *Cornish*, who before the Advance of his Majesty's Army, had so freely devoted themselves to the Obedience of the Parliament, and the Commands of his Excellency, did shew the deepest Dissimulation, and expressed the greatest Inhumanity that could be put in Execution, for they stripped our Soldiers stark naked from Head to Foot, and left them nothing to comfort themselves in this Distress, but the Fellowship and the Number of the Distressed.

In this Condition of Innocency and Injury, they came unto *Southampton*; but the Indignity thereof in lively Characters was written in their Breasts, and will shortly be revenged by their Hands. And, indeed, not long after they did meet them again at *Newbury*, and forgetting almost the military Order to actuate their Revenge, they did fall upon them like so many Lions, and, having made a great Slaughter of them, they did redeem their Clothes, with the Destruction of their Adversaries, who having nothing to cover them but their own Blood, they did remain, the next Day, a woeful Spectacle to the Conquerors.

His Excellency was not then present, but, remembering his Virtue, they fought by his Example; he was about that Time at *Southampton*, sick in Body and in Mind.

There is no Man who by honourable Dangers did ever adventure more for Wounds than he, and yet in all the Wars he managed he never received any Hurt, but what he did take inwardly, which, by a magnanimous and gallant Patience, he admirably always both concealed and cured.

The Wisdom of the Parliament thought it now expedient to call home those Commanders in Chief, who conducted their Armies in the Field, that, after the great Service performed for the State, the Kingdom might now enjoy as much Benefit by the Strength of their Counsels, as it received Safety by their Arms; and,

indeed, who can give better Instructions for the Field, than those who have been the Leaders of our Armies in it?

His Excellency, with as much Cheerfulness, was ready to lay down his Arms, as with Resolution he did take them up, and joining with the Parliament, as well in Person and Presence, as in Affection, he did much advance and facilitate the Victories to come.

And now, about the latter End of *March*, there was a Conference between both Houses of Parliament, concerning the new Model, for the Settling of the Army, the former Commanders being called to sit in the Houses of Parliament. It was before ordered, that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* should be Commander in Chief of Twenty-one thousand Horse and Foot, to be selected for this Service, and that Major-General *Skippon*, now Governor of *Bristol*, should be Major-General of the whole Army. At this Conference there was a perfect Concurrence of the House of Lords with the House of Commons, concerning the Ratification of the List of Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Officers, in which was made no Alteration at all. And this was, indeed, so acceptable to the House of Commons, that upon Report thereof unto the House, they appointed a Committee to prepare a Messenger to the Lords, to congratulate their happy Concurrence, and to assure them of the real Affection, and Endeavours of the House of Commons, to support their Lordships in their Honours and their Privileges. And now, an Ordinance was drawn up for raising of Money to maintain this Army; which Army was shortly after compleated, and, with admirable Success, did take the Field, under the Command of the renowned Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, the Particulars whereof shall be the happy Labour of some other Pen, and not of this, which precisely only must depend upon the Relations of the Actions and saving Counsels of his Excellency, the Earl of *Essex*.

Long did he thus continue a mighty Agent for the Health of this Land, until it pleased God to strike him with a violent, a sudden, and a fatal Sickness; and now, being confined to his Bed, he had no more to do with his Hands but to lift them up to Heaven, and his Tongue was the Orator to render their Devotion the more acceptable. It was the Force of his Body that overcame his Foes by Arms, but it was the Humility of his Soul that overcame the Almighty by his Prayers, which being a Conquest for the Body not to attain unto, the exalt-

ed

ed Soul hath now presented the Laurels which the Body had won for the Cause of the Almighty. And these being laid down at the Feet of God, they will be reserved in a Temple not built with Hands, until both Soul and Body shall be united, and, in the Perfection of Joy, shall triumph through all Eternity.

The same Love, which did follow him alive, did continue to his Death; many of the Nobility being always round about his Bed, and attending him with their Grief, whom they could not relieve with their Greatness. My Lord of *Holland* had his Hand so locked in his, when the Coldness and Sloth of Death had begun to make heavy both his Understanding and his Limbs,

that he used some Strength to get it from him, as if *by this*, at his Departure, he would leave some Earnest behind him, that he would carry with him the Love of his Friends into a better World.

And thus, having made Peace with Heaven, and Peace with Earth, he departed this Life on the Fourteenth of *September*, leaving, in all Nations, to a World of those that honoured him the Grief of his Loss, the Lustre of his transcendent Virtues, and the attractive Example of them, which whosoever shall inherit, shall become the Wonder and Delight of this Age, the lively Model and Portraict of himself, and the immortal Heir of his Fame and Glory.

ANCIENT CUSTOMS of ENGLAND*.

BEING desirous for my own particular Satisfaction to search and enquire after revered Antiquity, it was my Hap to light on an old Manuscript, which, altho' in Sound is *Saxon*-like, yet in something it favours of the *Danish* Matters, and of the ancient *British* Laws under the Rule and Government of the *Danes*; which Writing, writ in the *Saxon* Tongue, I have translated into *English* Word for Word, according to the true Sense and Meaning thereof.

IT was sometimes in the *English* Laws, that the People and the Laws were in Reputation; and then were the wisest of the People worship-worthy, each in his Degree, *Lorle* and *Chorle*, *Theyn* and *Undertheyn*. And if a *Chorle* so thrived, that he had full five Hides of his own Land, a Church and a Kitchen, a Bell-house and a Gate, a Seat and several Offices in the King's Hall; then was he thenceforth the *Theyn's* Right-worthy. And if a *Theyn* so thrived, that he served the King, and on his Message, or Journey, rode in his Household; if then he had a *Theyn* that him followed, who to the King's Expedition five Hide had, and in the King's Palace his Lord served, and therewith his Errand had gone to the King, he might,

“ afterward, with his Fore-oath his *Lord's* Part play at any Need. And if a *Theyn* so thrived, that he became an *Earl*, then was he right-forth an *Earl* right-worthy. And if a *Merchant* so thrived, that he passed thrice over the wide Sea of his own Craft, he was thenceforth the *Theyn's* Right-worthy. And if a *Scholar* so thrived through Learning, that he had Degree, and served *Christ*, he was thenceforth of Dignity and Peace so much worthy as thereto belonged, unless he forfeited so, that the Use of his Dignity might be taken from him.”

These Ruins of Antiquity make Shew of a Perpetuity of Nobility, even from the Beginning of this Island; but Times are changed, and we in them also. For King *Edward the Confessor*, last of the *Saxon* Blood, coming out of *Normandy*, bringing in then the Title of *Baron*, the Thane from that Time began to grow out of Use; so at this Day Men remember not so much as the Names of them. And, in Process of Time, the Name of *Baronage* began to be both in Dignity and Power so magnificent above the rest; as that, in the Name of the *Baronage* of *England*, all the Nobility of the Land seemed to be comprehended. As for *Dukes*, they were (as it were) fetched from long Exile, and again renewed by King

Edward the Third. And Marquisses and Viscounts were altogether brought in by King *Richard the Second*, and King *Henry the Sixth*.

But our Kings descended of the Norman Blood, together with the Crown of the Kingdom, granted an hereditary and successory Perpetuity unto honourable Titles; such, I mean, as are the Titles of Earldom, and Baronies, without any Difference of Sex at all, which Thing I thought good to make manifest, by the Examples of the more ancient Times.

In the Reckoning up whereof, that I may the better acquit and discharge myself, I shall, in the first Place, desire the Reader to observe three Things.

First, Concerning the Disposition and Inclination of our King in the Creating of the Nobility.

Secondly, Of the Custom of transferring of Honours and Dignities by Families. And,

Thirdly, Of the Force of Time, and the Change and Alteration of Things.

For why? our Kings (who in their Kingdoms bear alone the absolute Rule and Sway) are with us the efficient Causes of all political Nobility. The Titles of named Nobility, by our Custom, have this natural and common, together with the Crown itself, that, the Heirs Male failing, they devolve unto the Women, except in the first Charters it be in expresse Words otherwise provided; and yet so, that Regard is always to be had of the Time, which is every where wont to bear Sway in the Formality of Things.

In this Manner (*Harold* being overcome) *William the First*, King and Conqueror, having obtained the Sovereignty according to his Pleasure, bestowed Dignities and Honours upon his Companions and others; some of them so connexed and conjoined unto the Fees themselves, that, yet to this Day, the Possessors thereof may seem to be ennobled even with the Possession of the Places only; as our Bishops at this Day, by Reason of the Baronies joined unto their Bishopricks, enjoy the Title and Pre-eminence of Barons in the highest Assemblies of the Kingdom, in *Parliament*. He gave and granted to others Dignities and Honours, together with the Lands and Fees themselves. He gave unto *Hugh Lupus*, his Kinsman (a Norman) the Earldom of *Chester*: *Ad conquirendum & tenendum sibi & Hæredibus, adeo libere per gladium, sicut ipse Rex tenuit Angliam per Coronam.* To *Hanus Rufus* (then Earl of *Bretagne* in France) and his Heirs, the Earldom of *Richmond*: *Ita*

libere & honorifice, ut eundem Edwinus Comes antea tenuerat. And the Earldom of *Arundel* (which *Harold* possessed) he granted, with a Fee, unto *Roger of Montgomery*. The first two of which Honours (the Heirs Male failing) by Women passed unto other Families; but the latter Earldom, *Robert*, the Son of *Roger*, being attainted of Treason, returned unto King *Henry the First*, who gave the same in Dowry unto Queen *Adeliza*, his Wife. But the succeeding Kings, more sparingly, bestowed such Dignities, to be holden of them in Fee, granting, for the better and more honourable Maintenance of their Stock and Honour, the third Part of the Pleas of the County (as they term it) which they, in their Charters, call *Tertium donarium*, or the third Penny; so that he that received the third Penny of any Province, was called Earl of the same; and so by Custom the Women, the Heirs Male failing.

And if any Earl or Baron, dying without Sons, had many Women his Heirs, howsoever Order was taken, either by Way of Covenant, or Partition, concerning the Lands and Possessions, according to the Common Laws of the Kingdom, yet the Dignity and Honour (a Thing of itself indivisible) was still left to be disposed of, according to the King's Pleasure, who, in bestowing thereof, usually respected the Prerogative of Birth; by which Right, King *Henry the Third*, after the Death of *John the Scot*, dead without Issue (other Lands and Revenues being, by Agreement, given to his three Sisters) united the Earldom of *Chester*, with the Honour thereof, unto the Crown. This is manifest in the Earldom of *Arundel*, which (after *Robert Bel-lisme*, Son to the aforesaid *Roger Montgomery*, driven out by *Henry the First*) King *Henry the Second* bestowed upon *William of Albany*, Queen *Adeliza* his Mother's Husband, and, by a new Charter, confirmed it in Fee, together with the Inheritance, to him and his Heirs, with the third Pleas of *Sussex*, whereof he created him Earl. But *Hugh the Great*, Nephew of this *William the First*, being dead without Issue, all the Earldom was divided among his four Sisters, whose Dignity and Honour for all that, together with the Castle of *Arundel*, was, by *Edward the First*, at length given to *Richard Fitz-Alan*, (the Nephew) Son to *John Fitz-Alan*, and *Isabella*, the second of the aforesaid Sisters.

I will now pass from *Henry the Third*, to *Edward the First*, his Son, there being for a Time great Dissension betwixt him and certain of his Nobi-

Nobility, viz. Gilbert of Clare, Earl of Hertford and of Gloucester; Humphrey of Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Sussex, and Constable of England; and Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, Marshal of the Kingdom; and that all those Noblemen, at length, had lost their Earldoms and Offices; they being reconciled to the King, afterward they again, by new Charters, received the same in this Manner: The first of them to himself and Joan his Wife, the same King's Daughter, his second Wife, for Term of both their Lives; and to the Children to be by both of them begotten (his two Daughters by his first Wife being excluded.) This Joan (called Joan of Acon) bare unto her Husband Gilbert a Son, called also Gilbert; but she, the second Time, secretly married unto one Radulph, of Mount Hermeri (without the King her Father's Knowledge) and, in her own Right, made the same Radulph Earl, so long as she lived; but, she being dead, Gilbert, her Son by the aforesaid Gilbert, succeeded again into the Earldom, Radulph, his Father-in-Law, being yet alive. In the same Manner he restored to the aforesaid Humphrey of Bohun his Earldom and Constableness, unto whom he also gave in Marriage Elizabeth, another of his Daughters, Widow to John Earl of Holland; and to the third he restored the Earldom of Norfolk, and the Office of Marshal, with the yearly Increase of a thousand Marks, upon Condition, if the Heirs Male of his Body to be begotten failed, both should return again to the King. At length this Roger died, without Issue, in the 35th Year of him the said Edward the First, viz. in the last Year of his Reign; and King Edward, his Son, the second of that Name, both by a new Creation and Charter, gave the Earldom, and the Marshalship, to Thomas of Brotherton, and his Heirs Male.

These Things I have thus propounded, thereby to shew, how, according to the diverse Dispositions of Princes, and Change of Times, it hath, by little and little, varied in the first Bestowing of Dignities and Honours: Of which Thing (that new Law) and to them of ancient Time unknown, made by King Edward the First, seemed afterward to be of no small Moment, whereby, he favouring certain private Men, more careful of their own Surname, than of their Posterity, it was thought good by him to decree to make Fees to belong to Men only. That Law which I would in Latin call *Gentilium Municipale*, and which the Lawyers com-

monly call, *Jus talliatum*, and *Talliabile*; or the Law of cutting off; for that it cutteth off Successions before general, and restraineth them to the particulars Heirs of Families, which seemeth to have given an Occasion of Change in the giving and bestowing of Dignities and Honours. For, ever since that Time, in the creating of any new Earl, it is begun to be altered by express Words in all Charters, provided that it shall be but for Term of Life only, or descend unto the Heirs Male alone, the Women being quite excluded. And for this I need not Examples to prove; for why, the Thing itself proveth the same. But the Force and Efficacy of this Law of Entail (or of cutting off) I have thought good, thus, in few Words, to declare.

And what I have said concerning Earls, the same may be said also of Barons, created by Charters; but in Barons created by Rescripts, or Writs of Summons, yet resting upon most ancient Custom, not so.

For in them (one only excepted, sent forth to Henry Bromflet, wherein it was provided him, that same Henry, and his Heirs Male of his Body, lawfully begotten, only to be Barons of West) Women, the Heirs Male failing, were not in ancient Time forbidden, or imbarred; but that they might be accounted, and by Name styled Honourable, with the Pre-eminence of the Dignity, and Calling of Barons; and after they had borne a Child, according to the ancient Favour of our Laws (and the Custom of the Kingdom) graced their Husbands also with the same Honour, and with the same, by Inheritance, enabled their Children, yea without the Possessions of those Places, from whence the Name of such Dignities and Honours may seem first to have risen. For Fees and local Possessions, circumscribed by the Law, are translated and carried from one Family unto another, and usually enrich their Lords, and Owners, the Possessors thereof, but yet of themselves, neither being, nor taking away Nobility, neither dative or native; by Example, to manifest these Things, were but needless, and of little Consequence; for why, all the most ancient Baronies, and the more ancient Sort of Barons, at this Day, &c., in this Point, on my Side; and if any shall object against me in this Point, unto him I will oppose either the Force of Time, or the Carelessness and Lack of looking unto. But Customs are still like themselves, nor must we detract from the Authority of Kings, who although they have such supereminent and un-

determinate Prerogative, as that they may seem sometimes to have of Favour granted some Things beside the Law, yet it shall not appear they requested to have done, or yet suffered to have been done, any Thing contrary to the Custom of Stocks and Families; so sometimes they, not regarding the Solemnities of Ceremonies and Charters, have only by their Becks (that I may so say) suffered Dignities and Honours to be transferred, as in *Randolph Blundeville*, Earl of *Chester* and of *Lincoln*, is to be seen, for the Earldom of *Chester* he permitted, after the Manner, to descend to *John the Scot*, his Nephew, by *Maud*, the elder of his Sisters: But the Earldom of *Lincoln* (the King thereunto consenting) he yet alive, delivered unto *Hawisa*, another of his Sisters, then married to *Robert Quincey*, by his Deed, in the seventh Year of *Henry the Third*.

These Things, I say, were of old and ancient Time, but at this Day not so, for such is the Force of Time, and Change in altering the Forms of Things, as that, in eating out of the old, bringeth still in new; so unto Earls, whom we said in ancient Time to have been rewarded with the third Penny of the Province, whereof they were Earls, to maintain their Honour and Dignity, a certain Sum of Money is, at this Day, yearly paid them out of the Exchequer, and they enjoy the Titles of such Places, as wherein they have no Jurisdiction, Administration, or Profit at all. Barons also, who, as the Fathers and Senators in ancient Times, among the *Romans*, were chosen by their *Suffrages*, were in like Manner wont to be chosen and valued by Knights Fees, for which, which had, and possessed, thirteen Knights Fees, and a little more, was to be accounted among the Barons, are now more seldom Times chosen for their Virtue, but their great Wealth, and large Possessions.

Neither is there any Let, but that a Man may hold, and still retain, the Name and Title of a Barony, the Head of which Barony (as they term it) he hath afterward sold, or alienated to some other common Person.

In brief, our King's Royal Majesty is always, like itself, constant and the same; which having regard to the Virtue, Stock, Wealth, and Substance of any Man (whereby he may, with his Counsel's Service, profit the Commonwealth) may in every Place freely give and bestow Dignities and Honours, sometimes chusing no more Barons than one, out of one and the same Family. The Custom of the Succession of the

former and more ancient Baron being still kept whole, and not in any Hurt, as we see *Edward the Sixth* wisely to have done in the Family of the *Willoughby's* of *Ersby*, which brought forth also another Barony of *Parham*; wherefore we acknowledge our Kings to be the Fountains of political Nobility, and unto whom we may, with Thanks, refer all the Degrees of Honours and Dignities; wherefore I may not, without Cause, seem to rejoice, on the Behalf of our Nobility of *Great Britain*, which hath had always Kings themselves Authors, Patrons, Governors, and Defenders thereof, that when Lands, Fees, and Possessions, subject to Covenants, or Agreements, are still tossed and troubled with the Storms of the judicial Courts, and of the Common Law, it is only unto the Kings themselves beholding, and resteth upon heretofore Order and Institutions, proper and familiar unto itself; so that,

*Per Titulos numerentur avi, semperque renata
Nobilitate virent, & prolem fata sequantur:
Continuum propria servantia lege tenorem.*

viz.
By Titles great Men's Ancestors are known, the
Posterity of whom enjoy the same, to their flourish-
ing and everlasting Fame.

William the Conqueror, after the Death of *Harold*, having confined the Kingdom to himself, laid these Foundations of ancient and worthy Nobility, which afterwards, by his Successors, according to the diverse Occurrences, and Occasions, by little and little, became at length, in the Reign of King *Henry the Third*, and *Edward the First*, to appear a godly and stately Building, who having vanquished the *Welshmen*, and contending with the *Scots*, bordering upon them, for Principality and Sovereignty, intreating of all Things, concerning the Common-weal, with the three States of the Kingdom (which consisteth of the Nobility, the Clergy, and Commonalty) they themselves in their Royal Majesty, sitting in *Parliaments*, appointed unto every Man a Pre-eminence, according to the Place of his Dignity, from whom especially all the Nobility of our Age may seem to derive the diverse and appointed Degrees of Dignities and Honours.

Now to abreviate much that might be writ, in the Continuance of this Discourse, I shall desire

desire to straighten my Purpose to some handsome Conclusion, by the Observation of the Degrees and Sitting of our *English* Nobility, in the *Parliament* Chamber, out of the Statute of the 31st of King *Henry the Eighth*, who of his princely Wisdom, with the full Assent of the whole *Parliament*, caused a particular Act to be made, for the placing of the Nobility, in the upper House of *Parliament*, the Effect whereof I have here recited.

That forasmuch as in all great Assemblies and Congregations of Men, having Degrees and Offices in the Commonwealth, it was thought fit and convenient, that Order should be taken for the placing and sitting of such Persons as are bound to resort to the same, to the Intent that they, knowing their Places, might use the same without Displeasure; the Places of which great Offices deserve Respect and Admiration; and though meerly Officiary, and depending on Life, and the King's gracious Election, without any hereditary Title or Perfection; yet are they of such high Dignity, that all hereditary Honour whatsoever, under the Degree of Royalty (may at all Times) without Disparagement, give them Place and Precedency. The placing of these most Noble and great Officers both in the *Parliament* House, and other Assemblies, is after this worthy and distinct Order:

That is to say, the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President of the King's Privy Council, and the Lord Privy Seal, being of the Degree of Barons of the *Parliament*, are above to sit on the highest Part of the Form, on the left Side, in the *Parliament* Chamber; and above all Dukes, except those which are the King's Sons, the King's Brothers, his Uncles, his Nephews, or his Brothers or Sisters Sons; but if any of these four great Officers aforesaid shall be under the Degree of a Baron, then he, or they, to sit on the uppermost Part of the Sacks, in the midst of the *Parliament* Chamber, in such Order as is afore shewed.

As touching the other, it was enacted, that the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord Constable, the Lord Marshal, the Lord Admiral, the Lord Steward, and the Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household shall be placed, next to the Lord Privy Seal, each of them above all other Personages, being of their own Estates or Degrees; and holding the same Precedence, as they are formerly named.

Lastly, the principal Secretary, being of the Degree of a Baron, shall be ranged above all Barons (not having any of the former Offices also) and this Range and Precedency to continue to all the great Officers in general, which are before-named; both in *Parliament*, in the Council-Chamber, in the Star-Chamber, at the Trial of Peers, and in all other Assemblies whatsoever.

This in brief is the Effect of the Statute, expressing the Dignity and Place of our most principal and supreme temporal Officers, of which the first and chiefest is the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, who is said to be the King's Conscience, his Mouth, and Confirmation, for by him all the Rigours of the Law are bridled, the King's Will in Grace Consultations revealed, and his Gifts and Prerogatives confirmed; before him, all the great Business of the Commonwealth is dispatched, either at Council-Table, in the Star-Chamber, or in the Chancery, where he hath a principal Voice and Precedence; and lastly, he hath the Keeping of the great Seal of the Kingdom, in which is expressed a Reputation so serious, that all Subjects Lives and Estates are depending on the same.

The next Place is the Lord High Treasurer of *England*, to whose Trust the King's Treasure is committed, who is a Man of that noble, worthy, sweet, and generous Disposition, of important Confidence, of noble Estimation, excellent in Wisdom, and high in Estimation, that to his Wisdom, and excellent Judgment, is referred the whole Management of the King's intire Estate, and the provident Regard of the Wealth and flourishing Prosperity of all the King's Subjects: He is the prime Officer of Judicature, between the King and his Tenants, and hath Dependence on the Council-Table, the Exchequer, and the King's Royal House and Family.

The next to these is the Lord President of the King's most Honourable Privy Council, and is the chief Man (next the King) belonging to the high and honourable Assembly, and hath in his Power, under the King's Majesty, the Management of the Privileges of that honourable Table.

The next is the Lord Privy Seal, an especial Ensign of Credit belonging to this Kingdom, having Custody and Charge of the King's lesser Seal, which gives Testimony of the King's Favours and Bounty, but also making the Way clear and accessible to the Great Seal, in which consists the Strength of his Majesty's Confirmations.

tions. These first four great Officers are Civil, and of Judicature, as depending on the publick State. After whom, follow six other, which are as well Military as Civil, having the Managing of all Matters of Honour, and warlike Proceedings.

The first of which is the Lord Chamberlain of the Kingdom, whose Office is of the greatest Employment in all publick Assemblies, as Coronations, Parliaments, Triumphs, or any Solemnity where the King himself rideth in Person: Which Office is not Officiary, but Honorary, depending, by a feudal Right, unto the noble House of the Earls of Oxford.

After this, is the Lord Constable of the Kingdom, who was the first and principal General, under the King, of all the Land Forces, and in all Occasions of martial Affairs, had the principal Nomination of Officers, and ordering of Ammunition for such Employment.

Then is the Lord Marshal of the Land, a great and renowned Officer, in whom consist the Solutions of all Differences in Honour, and Dispensation of all Things appertaining to the great or lesser Nobility.

Next followeth the Office of the Lord Admiral of the Land, who is the King's General, and chief Commander at Sea, and hath Care and Charge of all his Majesty's Royal Navy,

and the Censuring of all marine Causes whatsoever.

The next following is the Lord Steward of the King's Household, in whose Trust and Government is reposed the Ordering of all the great and noble Families, the Discussion of all Controversies, the placing and removing of Officers, and the disposing of all Things therein, for his Majesty's Renown and Dignity.

The last of these great Officers is the Lord Chamberlain of the King's Royal Household, unto whose great Trust, Faith, and Integrity, is committed the Guard of the King's Royal Person; he hath the Controul and Commandment of all Officers, and others, whose Dependence is on the King's Person; and howsoever some would limit his Rule above the Sayters, yet it is over the whole Court, and in all Places wherefoever the King is present; with many other Privileges, which at this Time cannot be fully recited.

After all these great Offices, and Officers, I must necessarily add one great Officer more, namely, the King's chief and principal Secretary of State, who deserves a due Respect, by his high and honourable Place, in regard he is so intimate and nigh to all Affairs of his Majesty, either private or particular.

The Form of the King's Majesty's Writ, to the Peers, to assemble in Parliament.

CAROLUS, &c. Charissimo consanguineo suo E. Comit. D. salutem. Quia de advisamento & assensu concilii nostri pro quibusdam arduis urgentibus negotiis nos, statum & defensionem regni nostri Angliæ & Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ concernent, quoddam Parliamentum nostrum apud Civitatem nostram Westmonast. tertia die Novembris prox. futur. teneri ordinavimus, & ibid. vobiscum ac cum Prælat. Magnatibus & proceribus dict. Regni nostri colloquium habere, tractare, vobis sub fide & ligenciis, quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter injungend.

mandamus, quod considerat. dictorum negotiorum arduitate & periculis imminantibus, cessante excusatione quacunque, dict. die & loco personaliter interfitis nobiscum, ac cum prælat. magnatibus & proceribus prædictis, super dictis negotiis tractatur, vestrumque consilium impensur. & hoc sicut nos & honorem nostrum ac salvationem & defensionem Regni & Ecclesiæ prædictorum expeditionemque dictorum negotiorum diligitis, nullatenus omittatis. Teste me apud West. decimo octavo die Septembris, Anno Regni nostri 16.

The Form of the Writ to the Sheriff, &c. for the Election of the Knights and Burgeses to assemble in *Parliament*.

REX Vic. N. &c. Salut. quia de advisamento & assensu concilii nostri pro quibusdam arduis & urgentibus negotiis nos, statum & defensionem. Regni nostri Angliæ & Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ concernent. quoddam Parliamentum nostrum apud Civitatem nostram West. tertio die Novembris, prox. futur. teneri ordinavimus, & ibid. cum prælatis magnatibus & proceribus dicti Regni nostri colloquium habere & tract.

Tibi præcipimus firmiter injungentes quod facta proclamation. in prox. Comit. tuo post receptionem hujus brev. nostri tenend. die & loco prædict. duos Milit. gladiis cinet. magis idoneos & discretos Comit. prædict. & de qualib. Civitate Com. illius duos Cives, & de quolibet Burgo duos Burgeses de discretiari. & magis sufficientibus libere & indifferenter per illos qui proclam. hujusmodi interfuer. juxta formam statutorum inde edit. & provis. eligi, & nomina eorundem Milit. Civium & Burgensium, sic Electorum, in quibusdam Indentur. inter te & illos qui hujusmodi electionis interfuerit, inde conficiendum, sive

hujusmodi electi præsentis fuerint vel absentes, inferi, eosque ad dict. diem & locum venire fac. Ita quod iidem Milites plenam & sufficientem potestatem pro se & communitate Comit. prædicti, ac dict. Cives & Burgeses pro se & communitate Civitatum & Burgorum prædictorum divisim ab ipsis habeant ad faciendum & consentiendum his quæ tunc ibid. de communi consilio dicti regni nostri (favente Deo) contigerint ordinari super negotiis antedictis; ita quod pro defectu potestatis hujusmodi, seu propter improvidam Electionem Milit. Civium, aut Burgensium prædictorum, dicta negotia infecta non remaneant quovis modo. Nolumus autem, quod tu nec aliquis alius vic. dicti Regni nostri aliququaliter sit electus. Et Electionem illam in pleno Comitatu factam, distincte & aperte sub sigillo tuo & sigillis eorum qui Electioni illi interfuerint nobis in Cancellar. nostr. dict. diem & locum certifies indilate, remittens nobis alteram partem Indentur. prædictarum præsentibus consuet. una cum hoc breve. Teste meipso apud West. 18. die Septembris, Anno Regni nostri 16.

The Prerogatives of the High Court of Parliament.

OF all the Courts of Judicature in England, the Court of *Parliament* is the chiefest and greatest Council of Estate, called and appointed by the King's Majesty; the Lords of the upper House, by personal Writs of Summons; and for the Commons House, a general Writ is sent to the Sheriff, of every Shire or County, to call together all such Freeholders (which can dispend forty Shillings yearly out of their own free Lands, at least) for the electing two Gentlemen for Knights of the Shire; the like is directed to the Cinque-Ports, for Choice of their Barons; to each City, Burrough-Town and University, for Choice of two Burgeses, for every of them, to represent their several Bodies in *Parliament*.

The Time and Place of Meeting.

This honourable Assembly's Meeting is noticed by the King's Majesty, to all his Subjects, by Proclamation.

The End of Calling this great Assembly, is either the Disturbance of the Church by Heresy or Schism, Danger of the Kingdom by War offensive or defensive, or for the Relief of the Subject, disturbed in the Courts of Justice by ill Customs, undue Execution of the Laws, Oppression, &c.

From this high Court lies no Appeal; the Determination thereof being presumed to be the Act of every particular Subject, who is either present personally, or consenting by his Assignee, suffraged by himself.

This honourable Assembly consists of two Houses, Upper and Lower. The Upper is made up by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, as Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Marquisses, Earls, Viscounts, Barons, no Member of that House being under the Degree of a Baron, all which await the Writ of Summons, without which, no Place, no Vote there; and none may absent themselves after Summons, without special Proxy from his Majesty, whence he hath Power

Power to depute one of the said Members to give his Voice for him in Absence.

His Majesty, who, by his Prerogative Royal, hath the sole Power, as of calling, so dissolving this honourable Assembly, sits on a Throne in the upper End of the House; on his Right-hand the Prince of *Wales*, on the Left, the Duke of *York*. The greatest Officers of the Kingdom, as the Lord-keeper (who is the Speaker or Mouth of the House) Treasurer, Privy Seal, &c. have Places some on the Right, some on the Left-hand of the Throne: The Form whereof is recited in the Statute of 31 *Henry* the VIII.

The Manner of giving Voices in the Upper House, is thus.

The Lords Spiritual and Temporal in their *Parliamentary* Robes, the youngest Bishop reads Prayers; those being ended, the Clerk of the House readeth the Bills (being first writ in Paper) which being once read, he that pleaseth may speak either for, or against it.

The Manner of the Lower House is in this Sort.

The first Day each Member is called by his Name, every one answering for what Place he serveth; that done, they are willed to chuse their Speaker, who (though nominated by the King's Majesty) is to be a Member of that House; their Election being made, he is presented by them to the King sitting in *Parliament*, where after his Oration or Speech (the Lord-Keeper approving in Behalf of the King) he petitions his Majesty in Behalf of the House: *First*, for their Privileges, from all Molestations, during the Time of Sitting. *Secondly*, that they may enjoy Freedom of Speech. *Thirdly*, that they may have Power to correct any of their own Members that are Offenders. *Fourthly*, to have favourable Access to his Majesty, upon all Occasions, the Speaker (in Behalf of the House of Commons) promising Regard and full Respect, as befitting loyal and dutiful Subjects.

The Use of the Parliament

Consists in abrogating old, or making new Laws, reforming all Grievances in the Commonwealth, whether in Religion or in temporal Affairs, settling Succession to the Crowns, Grants,

land.

Subsidies, &c. and, in Sum, may be called the great Physician of the Kingdom or Republick.

The Speaker's Place in the House of Commons.

The Speaker sits in a Chair, placed somewhat high to be seen and heard the better of all; the Clerk of the House sits before him in a lower Seat, who reads such Bills as are first propounded in their House, or sent down from the Lords, for, in that Point, each House hath equal Authority to propound what they think meet.

All Bills be thrice in three several Days read, and disputed on, before put to Question; and so good Order is used in the House, that he, that intends to speak to any Bill, stands up bare-headed (for no more than one speaks at a Time) speaking to the Speaker, not one to another, being against the Rule of the House; and he that speaketh is to speak no more that Day, to the Bill he hath spoken to, to avoid Spinning needlessly out of Time; and their Speeches mult be free from Taunts of their Fellow Members, that are of contrary Opinions.

The Speaker's Office is, when a Bill is read, as briefly as he may to declare the Effect thereof to the House; and to Bills first agreed on by the Lords, and sent to the Commons for Assent, if they do assent, then are they returned, subscribed thus, *Les Communs ont assentus*: So likewise, if the Lords agree to what is sent to them from the House of Commons, they subscribe, *Les Seigneurs ont assentus*: If the two Houses cannot agree (every Bill being thrice read in each House) then sometimes the Lords, sometimes the Commons, require a Meeting of some of each House, whereby Information may be had of each other's Mind, for the Preservation of a good Correspondency between them, after which Meeting, for the most Part (though not always) either Part agrees to the Bill in Question.

The Assent or Dissent of the Upper House, is each Man severally by himself, and then for so many as he hath by Proxy, they saying only, Content or Not Content, and by the Major Part it is agreed to, or dashed. But, in the Lower House, no Member can give his Voice to another by Proxy; the Major Part, being present only, maketh the Assent, or Dissent. After a Bill is twice read there, and engrossed (being disputed

disputed on enough, as conceived) the Speaker asketh if they will go to Question, and if agreed to, holding the Bill up in his Hand, saith, As many, as will have this Bill pass concerning such a Matter, say Yea; and those that are against it, No: And if it be a Doubt, which Cry is bigger, the House is divided, the one Part that agrees not to the Bill, being bid to sit still; those that do, to go down with the Bill, so Plurality of Voices, allows or dashes. But no Bill is an Act of Parliament, Ordinance or Edict of Law, though both the Houses unanimously agree in it, till it hath the Royal Assent.

Touching the Royal Assent.

When Bills are passed by both the Houses, they ought to have for Approbation the Royal Assent, which usually is deferred till the last Day of the Sessions, but may be given at any Time during the Parliament, touching which, it hath been a Question much debated, whether the Royal Assent given to any one Bill doth not, *ipso facto*, conclude that present Session? The Question is of great Consequence, for, if thereby the Session be at an End, then ought every other Bill, although passed both the Houses, to be read again, three Times in either House, and to have the same Proceeding as it had at first, as if nothing had been formerly done therein; so must it be done of all other Acts of the House: But, the first Session of the first Parliament of King James, the House being then desirous to have a Bill passed forthwith by the Royal Assent, which should be Security to the Warden of the Fleet, touching the Delivery of Sir Thomas Sherly, out of Execution (for it was then questionable whether he was subject to an Action of Escape) did agree that the Giving of the Royal Assent to one Bill or more did not dissolve the Sessions without some special Declaration of his Majesty's Pleasure to that Purpose, 18th of April, 1604. And likewise in the Journal Anno 1 & 2. Phil. & Mariae. 21 Novem. That the King and Queen came on Purpose into the Parliament House to give their Assent to Cardinal Pool's Bill, and upon Question made it was then resolved by the whole House, that

the Session was not thereby concluded, but that they might proceed in their Business, notwithstanding the Royal Assent given.

At the Giving of the Royal Assent, it is not requisite the King should be present in Person, for, by the express Word of the Statute of 33 Henry the Eighth, Cap. 21, the King's Royal Assent by his Letters Patents, under his great Seal signed by his Hand, and declared and notified in his Absence to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and to the Commons assembled in Parliament, is, and ever was of as good Strength and Force, as if the King had been there in Person personally present, and had assented openly and publickly to the same, according to which Statute the Royal Assent was given by Commission, Anno 38. H. 8, unto the Bill for the Attainder of the Duke of Norfolk.

The Manner of giving the Royal Assent.

The Royal Assent is given in this Sort: After some Solemnities ended, the Clerk of the Crown readeth the Titles of the Bills in such Order as they are in Consequence; as the Title of every Bill is read, the Clerk of the Parliament pronounceth the Royal Assent according to his Instructions given him by his Majesty in that Behalf; if it be a publick Bill to which the King assenteth, he answereth, *Le Roy le voet*; if a private Bill be allowed by the King, the Answer is, *Soit fait come il est desire*. If a publick Bill which the King forbearth to allow, *Le Roy se amsera*. To the Subsidy Bill, *Le Roy remercie ses Loyaulx*, Subjects accept Benevolence *et aussi le vult*.

To the general Pardon.

Les Prelates Seigneurs et Commons en cest present Parliament assemblees, en nom de tous voutre autres subjects, remercient tres humblement vostre Majestie, et preut Dieu vous donere eu suite bene vie et longe.

viz.

The Bishops Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, in the Name of all your other Subjects, do most humbly thank your Majesty, and beg of God to give you a long and happy Reign.

The present State of *Christendom*, and the Interest of *England*,
with a Regard to *France*. In a Letter to a Friend, 1677.

The Subject of this Treatise is of that Consequence, that it needs no Recommendation, in the present Posture of Affairs; and the Interest of every State of Christendom, to oppose and curb the Ambition of France, is here so clearly and justly described, and proved, that nothing can be added to its Perspicuity and Strength of Argument.

YOU gave me a brief and a pertinent Deduction, the other Day, of the *French Practices and Designs*; the Progress of their *Arms*, and the *Methods of their Proceedings*: Together with a Scheme of the inevitable Ruin, and Slavery, that threatens *Europe*, without a speedy and a powerful Conjunction, against them. After this general Contemplation of the present State of *Christendom*, you are pleased to take a particular Prospect of the Interest of *this Nation*; and how far we are to reckon ourselves concerned in the common Calamity: Coming, at last, to this Conclusion, that *England cannot reasonably expect to stand long, after the Loss of Holland and Flanders*. For the Support of this Opinion (besides the Force of your own Reasoning) you referred me to several Historical and Political Treatises upon the Subject; which I have diligently examined, and made Use of, in this following Discourse; wherein I take the Freedom to give you my Thoughts upon the whole Matter.

Your first Charge upon the *French* was, *Breach of Faith*; and you pitched upon the Cases of *Spain and Portugal*; the barbarous Usage of the Duke of *Lorraine*; and the Nulling of the most *Christian Queen's Renunciation* upon Marriage; (which was the very Foundation of the *Pyrenean Treaty*) by a pretended *Devolution of the Spanish Netherlands in the Right of that Match*: Their underhand Tampering of *Denmark and Sweden*, to draw the one from us, and hinder the other from joining with us; the Influence they had upon our Disgrace at *Chatham*; their playing Booty on both Sides, betwixt *England and Holland*, in the *Dutch War*: And to these Instances (which are all so noto-

rious, that they need no Expounding) you might have added a Thousand more of the like Quality. But these may suffice for a seasonable and a necessary Caution, and without the Helps of Aggravation and Clamour; especially that extraordinary Action of destroying the *Queen's Renunciation*, and then invading the *Spanish Netherlands* upon it: An Action, hardly to be paralleled in the Story of the whole World, for a Concurrence of so many enormous Circumstances. There was in it the publick Faith of the two Crowns; which is the only Security of Government, and the Bond of human Society: There was in it the Solemnity of an Oath, at the very Altar; which is the most sacred Tye of a Christian: There was also the highest Profession and Assurance of Friendship imaginable; which is accounted one of the most binding Obligations betwixt Man and Man: and then there was a Brother, a Cousin, and an Infant, in the Case; which makes it Matter of Humanity and Honour. And yet all these Cords were as easily broken as Bulrushes. This single Precedent may serve, however, for a Warning to all Princes, and States, not to leave themselves at the Mercy of Men of such Principles. But his most Christian Majesty is not the only Prince, that has been abused by corrupt and ambitious Ministers.

Your next Observation was, that they are the greatest Intermeddlers in the World, in other People's Affairs; that they imbroil all wherever they come; and that there is hardly any Rebellion, but they are in the Bottom of it. For their Money walks in all the Courts and Councils of *Christendom*; nay, and beyond it too; for it is said, that the last *Grand Visir* was their Pensioner. Was it not *France*, that debauched

Scot-

Scotland first and afterwards, *England*, into the late Rebellion? Nay, did they not stand still, and look on, to see the Crowning of the Work, which they themselves began, in the execrable Murder of the late King? And did they not refuse to our gracious and persecuted Sovereign, that now is, even a Retreat in their Dominions? How did they prolong the War in *Portugal*? What Havock have they made in *Poland*, and what Work in *Hungary*? And are they not, at this Day, in Counsel with the *Port* against the *Empire*, and undermining the Bulwark of *Christendom*? How have they dashed *England* against *Holland*; blinded the Eyes of several Princes of the *Empire*; and baffled all Mediations toward a general Peace? Did they not formerly, under the Colour of protecting *Germany*, cut off *Alsatia* from the *Empire*? And in a Word, this has been their Practice, where-soever they have come: *They covet Harbours in Spain* (says the admirable *Baron del Ifola*) *Leagues in the Empire*; *Factions in Poland*; *Wars in England and Holland*; *Passes into Italy*; and the *Sovereign Arbitrage every where*. Their *Quiet* consists in the *Trouble* of all others, and their *Advantage* is in the *publick Calamities*. Nor have they any other Way, than, by dividing and weakening of the Parts, to master the Whole, which is the Capital Design. And if so, *There is no Fence against a common Enemy, but a common Union*.

It is already made appear, by what is above said, how dangerous they are to *Mankind*. The next Hint, you gave me, was to consider on it, *Whether the English may reasonably expect any better Quarter from them, than other People?* In which Point, I shall only lay the Matter before you, and leave you the Judge on it.

The *Four* main Interests of a Nation, are, *Religion, Reputation, Peace, and Trade*. For the first of these, we shall neither fare the better, nor worse; but lose just as much for being of another *Communion*, as his *Catholick Majesty* gets, by being of the same. The Question, now on Foot, is, a *Communion of State*, not of Faith. The *Alcoran* and the *Gospel* go

Hand in Hand; and at the same Time, the *Protestants* are protected in *Hungary*, and persecuted in *France*. To say nothing of the Encouragements they give there to the *Jansenists**, which may, for aught we know, prove the greatest Blow to the Church of *Rome*, that ever it received since the Reformation. But what do I talk of *Religion*, in a Cause that is dipped in *Christian Blood*, and in the *Tears of Widows and Orphans*? A Cause that is propagated by *Sacrilege, Rapes, Depopulation, Slavery, Oppression, and at least a Million of Lives, sacrificed to it already?* The very Thought of it is enough to strike the Soul of any Man with Horror and Indignation.

If you would see now, how tenderly they have handled us in the Business of *Reputation*; pray do but cast an Eye upon the Character of an *Englishman* in their *Politique de France*†

“As for the *English*, they are a People without Friends, without Faith, Religion, Honesty, or Justice; distrustful and fickle to the highest Degree imaginable; cruel, impatient, gluttonous, proud, audacious; they will do well enough for a Rubber at Cuffs, or a sudden Exploit, but they understand nothing at all of the Government of a War. The Country is passable enough for them to live in, but not rich enough to offer at any Conquest abroad; nor did they ever make any, but upon the *Irish*, which are a weakly People and ill Solders.”

I think it were not amiss, in this Place, to desire our impertinent Undertaker to turn back to the History of *Philip de Valois*, and he shall there find that our *Edward the Third* made a Shift with one Army to beat Sixty-thousand *French*, and leave betwixt Thirty and Forty-thousand of them upon the Place, and with another Army in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, to defeat as many *Scots*, and cut off Fifteen-thousand of them too. And it must not here be omitted, that this *Scotch* Army was also animated by *French* Counsels. I would not willingly

* A Sort of French Papists, that deny the Pope's Infallibility, and differ from the Church of *Rome*, in the Doctrine of Grace, &c. so called from one *Jansenius*, Bishop of *Ipres*.

† *Quant à ce qui est des Anglois ils n'ont aucuns amis, ce sont des gens sans Pot, sans Religion, sans Probite, sans Justice aucune, desfrans, legers au derriere point, cruels, impatiens, gourmands, superbes, audacieux, avares, propres pour les coups de main, & pour une prompte execution, mais incapables de conduire une Guerre avec jugement. Leur Pais est assez bon pour vivre, mais il n'est pas assez riche pour leur fournir les moyens de sortir, & de faire aucune conquete; aussi n'ont ils jamais rien conquis, excepte l'Irlande, dont les habitans sont foibles, & mauvais Soldats, &c.*

run out a Letter to a Volume, so that; all other Reflexions a-part, I shall only add, that, if the *English* had not once recovered the Field, and another Time made it good in two of the greatest Actions, of late, that have yet passed betwixt the *Imperialists* and the *French*, it is the Opinion of wise Men, that the Latter would not have had much to brag of upon the Success of this War. And this, in some Degree, is acknowledged by the Author of a *French Relation of the Actions betwixt the two Armies*, in 1675, 1676, and 1677, (how romantical soever in other Cases). Speaking of the Battle under the Command of the Count de Lorge, after the Death of the Viscount Turenne, these are his Words: *Et a rendre justice aux Anglois, & aux Irlandois, on peut dire, qu'on leur doit une bonne partie de cette victoire*; That is say, *And, to give the English and Irish their Due, France is indebted to them, in a large Measure, for this Victory*. But now to our Politician again: *Ils se haïssent les uns, les autres, & sont en division continuelle, soit pour la Religion, soit pour le Gouvernement*. "The *English*, says he, hate one another, and are still quarrelling, either about Religion or Government.

These Indecencies would almost make a Man call them Names; but let us pass without one angry Word, from the Interest of our Reputation, to that of our Peace. And enquire how they stand affected to us upon that Point. To say that *England* has not, for a long Time, had any Troubles either at Home or Abroad, which the *French* have not either promoted, or improved, to their Advantage, is to say no more than that they deal with Us, as they do with all the World beside; so that we must even have Recourse again to their *Politiques* for some particular Mark of their Favour, where you shall find that our State-Mountebank has not yet shewn all his Tricks, but puts himself with a very grave and fore-casting Countenance upon the very Project of our Ruin.

"A War, says he, of three or four Years with *France*, would absolutely destroy the *English*; so that, methinks, we should not entertain any Peace with them, but upon very profitable Terms *."

* *Une Guerre de Francois de trois ou quatre ans contre eux les ruinera entierement, ainsi il semble qu'il ne faut point faire de paix avec eux qu'à des Conditions qui nous soient tres avantageuses.*

And then a little after:

"In fine, says he, the Way to undo the *English*, is to make them keep an Army on Foot; and there is no Fear of their Landing in *France*, but to their certain Destruction, unless they should be invited by a Rebellion; without which, their Troops will, in a short Time, most undoubtedly fall foul one upon another. To keep them upon continual Expence, it is but giving them the Alarm upon the Isles of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, *Wight* and *Man*, *Ireland* and the *Cinque-Ports*; by which Means they will be put upon the Charge of Fortifications and Garisons, which will persuade the People that the King intends to set up a standing Army, and an arbitrary Government. So long as this holds, the Nation will never be at Quiet, but torment themselves with Fears and Jealousies, which may be easily fomented by Letters in Cipher, to such and such particular Persons; and in such Sort to be intercepted as shall be found convenient. These Letters may give a Hint of a Descent in *Ireland*, and elsewhere, which would dispose the *Irish*, who mortally hate the *English*, to a Revolt; and among the suspicious Multitude they would pass for Gospel. This Contrivance would make the *Scots* also to bethink themselves of recovering their Liberty; where there must be Parties made, and the Sects encouraged one against another; especially the *Roman Catholicks* must be fairly handled, and private Assurance given (in the Name of the King of *England*) to the *Benedictins* (who are easy enough to be imposed upon) that they shall be restored to all their former Benefits, according to the printed *Monasticon*; which will presently make the *Roman Catholicks* declare themselves; and the Monks will move Heaven and Earth for bringing of Matters about; but then Care must be taken to carry on the Report that the King is of the *Romish* Religion; which will distract the Government, and throw all into an absolute Confusion."

From hence we may gather; First, What Opinion the *French* have of us. Secondly, That it is not only their Desire and Study, but a

formed

formed Design to embroil us. *Thirdly*, That they will stick at nothing neither, to compass that End, be it never so foul. *Fourthly*, This Libeller has traced us out the very Methods of their Working. As by amusing the People with forged Letters of Intelligence, where the first Author of the Plot must miraculously discover it; by filling the People's Heads with Fears and Jealousies, and leaving no Stone unturned in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, to stir up a Rebellion; by making Use of the King's Name in pretended Commissions to *Papists*, in Favour of their Religion, and artificially insinuating that his Majesty is of that Persuasion, to make him odious to his Subjects; by first putting the King upon the Necessity of an Army, for the securing of his Dominions; and then interpreting the Effect of that Necessity, for an Attempt upon the Liberty of his People. Why has he not advised the Poisoning of all our Fountains too? Which would have been a Course of as much Christianity and Honour. But, that this Trifler may not glorify himself too much in his wonderful Speculations, take Notice, that he is only the Transcriber, not the Author, of this goodly Piece, for the Original was betwixt *Richelieu* and *Mazarine*; and it amounts to no more, in Effect, than an imperfect History of the *French* Dealings with us for a long Time, and, particularly in our late Troubles.

To come now from his most unmannerly Malice to his Reason of State: If I am not mistaken, *England might longer subsist in a War with France, than France could in a Peace with-in itself* (the heaviest of all Judgments, when a Nation must be wicked upon Necessity.) And again, when he says that *England cannot hurt France by a Descent, unless called in by a Rebellion*, he never considers, that, if *England had an Army on Foot, and stood inclined to make use of it that Way, we should not be long without an Invitation*. For we see what the *Bourdelois*, &c. did upon their own Bottom, and without any foreign Encouragement; and the whole Business miscarried only for Want of a vigorous Second. Lastly, give me Leave to say that he has extremely overshot himself in one Thing more; for though this has been really the Practice of the *French*, and is at this Day the very Model and Rule by which their Emissaries govern themselves; it should yet have been kept as the greatest Secret in the World; for the Owning of these inglorious Artifices, in Publick, makes it one of the grossest Libels that ever was writ-

ten, against the *French* Government; to say nothing of his Oversight in disobliging the *Roman* Catholics, and laying Snares to trepan them.

A Word now from their *Counsels* and *Instructions* to their *Instruments*, which will be best known by the Conformity of their Behaviour to the Mode of their *French* Masters; and it is no Matter to us, in what Shape they appear, nor is it much to themselves; who are any Thing for Profit, and the very *Materia Prima* is not susceptible of more Forms. *Do the French put Tricks upon us with forged Letters?* So do they. *Do the French labour to poison the People with Apprehensions that their Liberties are in Danger, and their Religion; and that the King himself is Popishly affected?* So do they. *Do the French endeavour to create Misunderstandings betwixt the King and his People?* So do they. *Do the French blow the Coal in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and, when they have set all in Flame, roast their own Eggs at the Fire?* So do they. *Do the French change their Party with their Interests?* So do they. What can be plainer now then that the *French* Interest beats in the Pulse of these Incendiaries? And what can be more ridiculous than to be foolish over and over by the same Hand? But this is enough to lay open the Source of our Miseries.

The Question of *Trade* has been so beaten already, that there remains little to be added to it. Nor, in Truth, need it, since it is agreed on all Hands, that the *French* set up for an *universal Commerce*, as well as for an *universal Monarchy*. And, in Effect, the one is but a necessary Consequent upon the other. Nor is it enough, it seems, for us to be designed upon by them, without lending them our own Hands towards the Cutting of our own Throats: *For, upon a sober and judicious Estimate, we are Losers by our Trade with France, at least a Million and a Half, per Annum*. I shall conclude this Head with one Passage more, out of our *Politics of France* (and you'll say it is a pleasant one too; but it must be under the Rose). Upon a Presupposal of Mischief that is a brewing in *England*, Now, says he, *it will be our Business to renew an Alliance with Holland; we can wheedle them into an Opinion, that they are the only Men that understand the Knack of Trade, so that they shall have that to themselves; the Talent of the French, alas! lies another Way, and there is no Forcing of any Thing against Nature: And that now is their Nick of Time, to crush their Competitors for the Northern Seas*. So that

we are all of us to be served with the same Sauce; but it is some Degree of Honesty yet, when they tell the World what they are to trust to.

Now to sum up all that is said: If the French can dispense with Oaths, and solemn Contracts; if it be their Custom, and a Branch of their Policy, to fish in troubled Waters; if they hate us, as Englishmen, and are not for us, as Reformed Catholics; if they do all they can to wound us in our Reputation, or Peace, and our Trade, we may take for granted, that they will destroy us to all Purposes, if they can; which naturally leads me to an Enquiry, how far we are in their Power, or likely so to be, that we may take our Measures accordingly.

It will not stand with the Brevity I propose, in this Paper, to give you a Geographical, or an Historical Account of Places or Actions; but, in as few Words as I can, I am to present you with a general View of the present State of Christendom, with a Regard to the Power of France; and then to consider how far England may come to be concerned in the common Fate. Here it was, that you and I brake off in our last Discourse; so that, in the Prosecution of it, I must try to walk without Leading. (saying only the Helps that I have gathered from certain Tracts which I have read, upon his Recommendation) wherein I shall steer a middle Course, betwixt some that overvalue the Strength of France, and others that will have it to be less than, indeed, it is.

That the Arms of France, are, at this Day,

formidable to all Christendom, is not to be denied; and Tacitus gives you the Reason of it, in the Case of the Romans and Britons: *There must be, saith he*, a common Force to oppose a common Danger; they struggled one by one, till they were all destroyed.* The French (no Doubt of it) are a wealthy, a populous, and a military Nation. But it must be allowed, that they are more indebted, for their Greatness, to the Slips and Oversights of others (and this without Disparagement too) than they are to their proper Conduct and Valour. The Advance they made into Flanders, 1657, was introduced by the Spaniards trusting to their Assurances of Friendship, and rather imputable to an Excess of Charity, than any Want of Precaution; tho' it seemed not very likely, that they should march with Horse, Foot, and Cannon, only to go a Birding. Through these, and the like Arts, they have raised themselves to that dangerous Height where now we behold them; taking all Advantages of the unsettled Condition of Spain, the Divisions of the Empire, the Factions in Holland, and of all other Mistakes in Point of Foresight, and Resolution, elsewhere. You know very well, the Conquests they have made upon the United Provinces, the Spanish Netherlands, a considerable Part of Germany, with the Terror and Devastation that accompanies them every where: The Progress of their Arms in Catalonia, Sicily, the West Indies, &c. Now what may be the Consequences of this over-growing Power, and how to prevent them, is the Matter in Question.

A short View of the present State of Christendom.

AS it is without Dispute, that the French aim at universal Dominion (which is only a more plausible Cover for that universal Slavery which must create it) so is it accounted as indubitable a Principle, that the Conquest of Flanders must be the Foundation of it. And according to this Maxim it is, that they take their Measures; for they have made themselves Masters of the Outworks already in Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omers; three Places of very great Strength and Importance: And it is generally believed, by the Recalling of their Troops from the Rhine, and Bending

the Flower of their Force that Way, that they will push for the rest this Campaign. If they carry it (as probably they will, without the speedy Addition of some powerful Alliance) take Notice, I beseech you, of that which naturally follows. In the first Place, the Charge and the Hazard of that War is over, which in the Garisons, and in the Field, has put his most Christian Majesty to the Expence of keeping near One-hundred-thousand Men in Pay (which will then be at Liberty to fall in upon the Empire.) Beside what has been expended in Management, as the French call it, which, in honest

* *Rarus ad propulandum Commune Periculum conventus: Ita, dum singuli pugnant, Universi vincuntur.*
English,

English, is downright Corruption. Secondly, This Acquisition will furnish the French King with Men and Monies, for an Army of fifty-thousand Men (and no better Soldiers in Europe). Thirdly, What will become of the Duke of Brandenburg, if the French shall fall into Cleves and Mark, with a Matter of forty or fifty thousand Men more, and from thence into Pomerania and Prussia? Fourthly, The whole Patrimony of the Empire, from the Rhine, to the Frontiers of France, fall by an inevitable Consequence into the Hands of the French; as they have already swallowed the three Bishopricks of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. So that the Imperial Army will be forced over the Rhine, and there probably kept in Play, and upon the bare Defensive, by the Troops of Bavaria, and other Princes of the French Interest; while, in the mean Time, the Princes of Westphalia will be reduced to an absolute Necessity of ranging themselves under the French Protection, and changing their Party. And what can be then expected from Holland, after what they have suffered already, and under their present Despairs, but to content themselves with such Conditions as France will give them? For, after the Loss of Cleves and Flanders, their Case is wholly desperate, unless England should vigorously interpose to their Relief. And the State of the Empire is neither better, nor worse, than that of their Neighbours; for they must all submit their Necks to the same Yoke. When Matters are brought to this Pass, they have before them England, Spain, and Italy; the Cloud is gathered already, and it is wholly at their Choice where it shall break.

There are a great many People, I know, that promise themselves many Things, from the Event of another Campaign, for Want, I fear of consulting the Chart, and the almost insuperable Difficulties, that lie in the Way; the Means they propose are either by carrying the War into France, by Way of Roussillon, or by forcing the French upon a Capital Battle: The former Proposition seems First very impracticable; and Secondly, of little or no Advantage, if it could be effected. It must be considered that, beyond Mentz, Coblentz, and Treves, the Imperialists have no Magazine at all; that betwixt Treves and France (a Part of Luxemburg excepted) is absolutely in the Enemy's Power. Now how should an Army subsist there, that must, over and above, pass through a Country of about twenty Leagues, that is wholly laid waste,

and in Ashes, and without any Cattle in it, or any other Sort of necessary Provision?

Put the Case now, that the Imperialists should break through all these Difficulties, and carry an Army even into Lorrain itself, the Country of Metzin, or Burgundy (which would take them up the best Part of a Summer too) all the strong Holds are in the Hands of the French, and the Country laid so desolate, that there is no Living for an Army there. When it is come to this, they must resolve either upon a Battle or a Siege. If the former, the French are at Liberty whether they will fight, or no, and there is no Compelling of them; for they are among their strong Holds; and all is their own both behind them, and on each Side, and the Country either burnt, or deserted. But carry it farther yet, and suppose the French forced upon the Risque of a Battle. First, the Imperialists are not sure to get the better of it. And Secondly, What if they should? Nay to the Degree of an intire Victory? All that would be expected more, for that Year, would be only to take in some considerable Post, and make good the Ground they had gotten for the next Campaign: For it would be a Madness to pursue their Victory, into the Heart of an Enemy's Country, and leave so many strong Garrisons upon their Backs, which would undoubtedly cut off all their Convoys, and starve them.

But this is still the Supposing of a Thing not to be supposed; for the French, in this Case, would stand upon the Defensive, and not to come to a Battle. Or in Case they should, and be worsted, they have Men enough in Garrisons, for Recruits, that would immediately reinforce them.

Now on the other Side, what if the Imperialists should chance to be routed? The Garrisons, which the French hold in Lorrain, Burgundy, and Alsatia, would, in such a Case, totally destroy that broken Army, and cut out such Work in Germany, as has not been known in the Empire for many Ages.

In this Extremity, let us suppose that the Empire should yet bring another Army into the Field, and try the issue of a second Battle, and miscarry: And that the Duke of Bavaria, with other disaffected Princes of the Empire, should declare themselves for the Enemy; all that Part of Germany that lies within two, or three Days Journey of the Rhine, would be irrecoverably lost; a great Part of it being so harassed already, that it is not able so much as to furnish

furnish an Army upon a March, much less for a Winter-Quarter.

Now to the Business of a Siege, the *French* have taught us, by *Philipsburg*, and *Maestricht*, that they want neither Skill to fortify a Place, nor Courage to defend it. So that, without a great Loss of Time, and Men, it cannot be expected that the *Imperialists* should make themselves Masters of any considerable Place; and when they shall have carried it, what will a Town in *Lorraine*, or *Burgundy*, signify to the Saving of the *Spanish Netherlands*, which if once lost, are hardly to be retrieved?

Now taking this for granted, if *England* does not step in, with all the Speed and Vigour imaginable, see what will be the End on it; *First*, that the *French*, being Masters of all the Posts, Passes, and strong Holds in *Lorraine*, and *Burgundy*, may dodge and trifle the *Imperialists* at Pleasure, and make them spend out the Year, without any Advantage to the *Netherlands*. The Way would have been for the *Imperialists* to have pressed, with an Army of Five hundred thousand Men, directly into the Body of *France*, and the *Confederate* Troops, in the *Low-Countries*, to have made another Inroad, by the Way of *Picardy*, or *Bologne*; but since the taking of *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, and *St. Omers*, there is no Possibility of piercing *France* that Way. So that a very small Army now upon the *Spanish Netherlands*, with the Help of the *French* Garisons, is sufficient to amuse and tire out the whole Force of *Spain*, and *Holland*, upon that Quarter.

Secondly, *France*, being thus secured on that Side, will unquestionably fall in with all their Power upon the *Empire*; unless diverted by the Alarm, they have now received from *England*. Now admitting this to be the Condition of *France*, let any Man of Sense judge, what good the *Imperial* Army can do to the *Netherlands* (upon which single Point, depends the Fortune of *Christendom*.) What if they should march up to the Borders of *France*, with Fifty thousand Men? Will not the *French* encounter them there, with as many, or more? And with this Odds too, that the *Imperialists* suffer a thousand Incommodities in their March, through a ruined Country; whereas the *French* have good Quarters, and Plenty of all Things at Hand, watching the others Motions, and improving all Advantages against them.

Thirdly, In this Posture of Affairs, the *Confederates* must never expect to do any great Matter upon the *French*, in these Provinces,

unless they do very much out-number them.

And it is likewise to be considered, that these Troubles falling out in the Minority of his *Catholic Majesty*, the Distractions of that Government, the Revolt of *Sicily*, and great Disorders upon the Frontiers of *Spain*; the *Netherlands* have been much neglected, till the Elevation of his Highness *Don Juan of Austria* to the Dignity of *Prime Minister*. And that it is not possible for him, by Reason of the many Exigences of that Crown nearer Home, to send any considerable Succour to the *Low-Countries*, otherwise than by Supplies of Money: So that, by that Time, the *Imperialists* and the *Hollanders* are got into their Winter-Quarters, or at least, before they take the Field again, the *French*, from Time to Time, will be ready with fresh Troops, out of their Garisons, to prosecute their Conquests; which by Degrees must needs break the Hearts of the poor Inhabitants, when they find that neither their Faith, nor their Courage, is able any longer to protect them. And, when that Day comes, what by their Armies, and what by other Influences, the *French* will have as good as subjected two Thirds of Europe. And there will also occur these farther Difficulties: *First*, no body knows where the *French* will begin their Attack; which will oblige the *Spaniards* and *Hollander*, to strengthen all their Garisons, as far as their Men will reach. *Secondly*, when the *Spanish* and *Holland* Troops shall be so dispersed, wheresoever the *French* sit down, they must give themselves for lost, for Want of an Army to relieve them; beside their furious and obstinate Manner of Assault, for they care not how many Men they lose, so they carry the Place. (And then most of the Men too are made Prisoners of War.) Nor is the Season of the Year any Discouragement to them neither; witness their first Irruption into *Burgundy*, and the restless Activity of their Troops, even at this Instant.

So soon as their Work in *Flanders* is over (which only *England*, under Heaven, is able to prevent a Check) the *French* will have an Army, of at least Fifty thousand Men, about *Lorraine*, *Luxemburg*, and *Burgundy*, to face the *Imperialists*; and at the same Time, with as many more perhaps they will seize upon the Duchy of *Juliers* and of *Cleves*, and from thence pass the *Rhine*, to countenance those that are of the *French Cabal*, on the Side of *Westphalia*; and so, in due Time, several other Princes of the *Empire*. It is remarkable, that

in a three Years War against the *Confederates*, his most *Christian Majesty* has not only stood his Ground, without losing so much as one Inch of his ancient Patrimony, but actually, and almost without Opposition, taken several Towns, and some intire Provinces, from the Principals of the *Confederacy*; and made himself almost as considerable at *Sea*, as he is at *Land*: Not only in the *Mediterranean*, and upon the Coasts of *Spain* and *Italy*, but in *America* too; where he has laid a Foundation of great Mischief both to *England*, and *Holland*, in the Point of *Commerce*, if not timely prevented. And he does little less by his *Money*, than by his *Arms*, for he pays all; supports the *Swede*, and with *French Money*, under Pretext of *Neutrality*, maintains considerable Armies in the very Heart of the *Empire*; which, it is feared, will be ready enough, upon any Disaster, to join with the *Common Enemy*. It is the *French Court* that manages the Counsels of *Poland*, and they govern the *Swiss* no less; who, by the Conquest of the *Franche Compté*, are made little better than Slaves. And yet, by a fatal and besotted Blindness, that *Republick* still furnishes the *French* with the best of their Soldiers, and helps forward the Destruction of *Europe*, never dreaming that they themselves are to be undone too at last.

But it is no great Matter, you will say, to impose upon the *Swiss* (which are a heavy and a phlegmatick People) but the *French* Charms have bewitched even *Italy* itself; though a Nation the most clear-sighted and suspicious of all others. For their *Republicks* lie as quiet, as if they were asleep; though the Fire is already kindled in *Sicily*, and the Danger brought Home to their own Doors. It is a Wonder, that they lay Things no more to Heart, considering, *First*, the Passages that the *French* have to favour their Entry. *Secondly*, that there are many and small States; weak and easily to be corrupted, if not so already. *Thirdly*, that though they have been formerly very brave, and in many Particulars remain so still, yet, in the Generality, they are soft and effeminate. And, *Fourthly*, that the *French* is there the Master of the Seas. These Reflexions, methinks, might convince any Man of the Condition they are in. And certainly, they, that were not able to defend themselves against *Charles the Eighth*, will be much less able to encounter *Lewis the Fourteenth*: Or if he gets in, to drive him out again, as they did the other. For they must do it wholly upon

their own Strength, having only the *Turk* in Condition to help them. For *Germany* and *Spain* are sunk already; and the *Swiss* will neither dare to venture upon it, nor are they able to do it, if they had a Mind to it.

As for *Spain*, it is neither populous, nor fortified, and perhaps Want of Provisions may keep it from an Invasion. And yet, for all that, with a Body of Thirty or Forty-thousand Men by the Way of *Fontarabia*, and as many by *Catalonia*, the *French* may, if they please, in two Campaigns, make themselves Masters of *Navarre*, *Aragon*, *Catalonia*, and *Valencia*; and then it is but fortifying the Frontiers, and making his *Catholick Majesty* a Tributary in *Castile*; who must content himself to take what they please to give him, over and above, in Consideration of his Dominions in *Italy*, and the *Spanish Indies*: A Possibility that *England* and *Holland* shall do well to think of: For, when he has the Mines in his Power, and *Europe* under his Feet, there will be no Contending.

After this, they have only the *Swiss*, or the *English*, to fall upon next: For the former, they are neither fortified, nor united, in Affections, or Religion.

As for *England*; They are a People not naturally addicted to the *French*; sensible of their Honour, and of their Interest; and the whole World is convinced of their Courage. They are united under the Government of a gracious Prince; and their Concerns are at this Instant lodged in the Hands of the most loyal and publick-spirited Representatives that ever acted in that Station; beside the Strength of the Island by Situation: So that the *French* would find it a hard Matter, either to make a Conquest here, or, if they should surprize it, to keep it. But yet they have finer Ways to Victory than by Force of Arms; and their *Gold* has done them better Service than their *Iron*.

What have we now to do then, but, in a common Cause, to arm against a common Oppression? This is the Time, or never, for *Italy* to enter into a League for their common Safety, and not only to keep, but, if possible, to force the *French* from their Borders; while the *Imperial Army* holds the capital Power of *France* in Play?

And this is the Time too, for the *Swiss* to recall all their Troops out of the *French* Service, and to strike a general League also for the Recovery of *Burgundy*, the only Outwork of their

Liberties, and to expel the *French* Garisons, and deliver the Places into the Hands of the right Owners.

And will it not concern *Poland*, as much as any of the rest; that stands, or falls with the *Empire*, as the Defence of *Christendom* against the *Turks*, and whose own Turn is next?

This Alarm, methinks, should call off the Princes from the Acquisitions they have made upon Part of the *Swedes* Possessions in the *Empire*, to the Assistance of the *Spanish Netherlands*; and make all the *French Mercenaries* in the *Empire* to bethink themselves of returning from the Delusions which either the *French Artifice* or *Money* has imposed upon them. He that has no Regard for the *Head*, will have less for the *Dependences*, when he has them at his Mercy.

Nay the very *French* themselves should do well to contemplate the Slavery that is now prepared for them. Their Laws and Liberties are trampled upon; and, till the *French Government* be reduced to the Bounds of its ancient Constitution, neither the People, nor their Neighbours, can ever be secure.

In this dangerous Crisis of Affairs, it has pleased Divine Providence to leave *England* the Arbiters of the Fate of *Europe*; and to annex such Advantages to the Office, that the *Honour*, the *Duty*, and the *Security* of this Nation seem to be wrapped up together. In the Point of *Honour*, what can be more generous, than to succour the Miserable and Oppressed, and to put a Stop to that Torrent that threatens *Christendom* with an universal Deluge? Beside the Vindication of ourselves for those Affronts and Indignities, both publick and private, that we have suffered upon our own Account. And then, in Matter of *Duty*, it is not only *Christendom*, but *Christianity* itself, that lies at Stake. For, in the Ruin of the *Empire*, the *Turk's* Work is done to his Hand, by breaking down the only Fence that has preserved us all this while from the Incurfions of the *Ottoman Power*. Now, as nothing can be more glorious, than, at all Hazards, to hinder the Effusion of more *Christian Blood*, and to save *Christendom* itself from Bondage; it is so much our *Interest* too, that we ourselves are lost without it. And, as the Obligation is reciprocal, so the Resolution is necessary. The Choice we have before us being only this, *Either to unite with our Neighbours, for a common Safety; or to stand still, and look on, the tame Spectators of their Ruin, till we fall alone.* This

is so demonstrative, that, if we do not by a powerful Alliance, and Diversion, prevent the Conquest of *Flanders* (which lies already a gasping) we are cut off from all Communication with the rest of *Europe*; and cooped up at *Home*, to the irrecoverable Loss of our Reputation and Commerce; for *Holland* must inevitably follow the Fate of *Flanders*, and then the *French* are Masters of the Sea; ravage our Plantations; and infallibly possess themselves of the *Spanish Indies*, and leave us answerable for all those Calamities that shall ensue upon it; which as yet, by God's Providence, may be timely prevented. But he, that stills the Raging of the Sea, will undoubtedly set Bounds to this overflowing Greatness; having now, as an Earnest of that Mercy, put it into the Hearts of our Superiors to provide seasonably for the common Safety, and in Proportion also to the Exigence of the Affair; knowing very well, that Things of this Nature are not to be done by Halves.

We have to do with a Nation of a large Territory; abounding in Men, and Money; and their Dominion is grown so absolute, that no Man there can call any Thing his own, if the Court says Nay to it. So that the sober and industrious Part are only Slaves to the Lusts and Ambition of the Military. In this Condition of Servitude, they feel already what their Neighbours fear, and wish as well to any Opportunity, either of avoiding, or of casting off the Yoke; which will easily be given by a Conjunction of *England* and *Holland* at Sea; and almost infallibly produce these Effects. *First*, It will draw off the Naval Force of *France* from *Sicily*, *America*, and elsewhere, to attend this Expedition. *Secondly*, The Diversion will be an Ease to the *Empire*, and the *Confederates*, from whence more Troops must be drawn to encounter this Difficulty, than the *French* can well spare. *Thirdly*, It will not only encourage those Princes, and States, that are already engaged, but likewise keep in Awe those that are disaffected, and confirm those that waver.

It is true, this War must needs be prodigiously expensive; but then, in all Probability, it will be short; and, in Cases of this Quality, People must do as in a Storm at Sea, rather throw Part of the Lading overboard, than founder the Vessel. I do not speak this, as supposing any Difficulty in the Case, for the very Contemplation of it has put Fire into the Veins of every true *Englishman*; and they are moved, as by a sacred Impulse,

Impulse, to the necessary and the only Means of their Preservation. And that which crowns our Hopes, is, that these generous Inclinations are only ready to execute what the Wisdom of their Superiors shall find reasonable to command. I need not tell you how *jealous* the People of *England* are of their *Religion* and *Liberties*; to what Degree they have contended, even for the Shadow of these Interests; nor how much Blood and Treasure they have spent upon the Quarrel.

Could an Imposture work so much; and can any Man imagine, that they will be now less sensible, when they see before their Eyes a manifest Plot upon their Religion; their Liberties invaded; their Traffick interrupted; the Honour and the very Being of their Country at Stake; their Wives and Children exposed to Beggary and Scorn; and in Conclusion, *The Privileges of a Free-born Englishman exchanged for the Vassalage of France.*

A true Relation, without all Exception, of strange and admirable Accidents, which lately happened in the Kingdom of the great *Magor*, or *Mogul*, who is the greatest Monarch of the *East-Indies*. As also, with a true Report of the Manners of the Country; of the Commodities there found, with the like of sundry other Countries and Islands in the *East-Indies*. Written and certified by Persons of good Import, who were Eye-witnesses of what is here reported.

London, Printed by J. D. for Thomas Archer, and are to be sold at his Shop in *Pope's-Head Palace*. MDCXXII.

This short Relation is introduced with a Commendation of the Inhabitants and Climate of the Cape of Good-Hope, and proceeds with a Description of the Extent of the Mogul's Country, and some Account of his Riches, Attendance, and vicious Way of Living, His Manner of receiving Ambassadors; his daily Custom of spending the Day, and his summary Way of administering Justice. But what is most entertaining in this Tract, I presume, will be the Punishment the Mogul inflicted on his own Son, who had rebelled against him; the Story of an Ape, that did many amazing Tricks in the Presence of the whole Court, and the Conversion of one of his great Lords from Atheism, to the Profession of a Divine Being, that ruleth in all the World. And then concludes with a few Hints concerning the Riches and Government of the Islands of Zeloon and Japan.

IN the Year of our Lord 1618, and in the Month of June, we arrived at the Cape of Good-Hope, where we found the People of the Country, albeit Heathens and Idolaters, yet very kind and friendly unto us; for some small Quantity of Iron and old Copper, we had of them upon Exchange

Beeves and Mutton. This Cape (otherwise called the Cape of *Bona Speransa*) is very temperate, and agreeth well with the Constitution of our People. Four or five hundred Persons, sick of the Scurvy, and other Diseases of the Sea, they all recovered their Health perfectly within a very few Days.

K k 2

They

They have a very pleasant Drink, which they call *Toddy*, like in Taste to white Wine, which distilleth from the *Palmeto* Trees. At our Departure from this Cape we sailed two or three Days in a Sea like in Colour to Whey, whose Bottom we could not sound.

We came afterwards to the Country of the great *Magor*, or as some call him *Mogul*; his *Lascar*, which is his Train, that followeth and always goeth with him in his Progresses, consisteth usually of Two-hundred Thousand People of all Sorts. These lodge all in fair Tents, richly hanged, which being pitched according to the Order of that Country, they make a very gorgeous and glorious Shew, as of a most beautiful and large City.

This *Magor* hath a Place called the *Maoll*, in which, he keepeth a thousand Women to serve his lustful Desires.

When he maketh his Progress, his Concubines go with him in all sumptuous Manner, carried upon Elephants in Castles, richly covered; or upon Men's Shoulders, in a Frame made like the upper Part of a Coach, but not so close covered. He hath under him Thirty-seven Provinces, and very many goodly Cities: The Length of his Country is Two-thousand eight Hundred Miles, the Breadth Nineteen-hundred Miles.

When he admitteth to his Presence the *Persian* Ambassador, or the Ambassador of any other mighty King, when he giveth them, either loving or kind Speeches, or Looks, then the Ambassadors, in Token of Thankfulness, kiss the Earth. But Sir *Thomas Roe*, the King of Great Britain's Ambassador, would not so much derogate from his Place, to abase himself so demissively. Notwithstanding he was always entertained with more, and greater Respects, than any other Ambassador.

This *Magor* doth every Day weigh himself in a Balance made for the Purpose; first, he weigheth himself with Weights of Silver, next he weigheth himself with Weights of Gold, and lastly, with Jewels and precious Stones: His Weight of Silver and Gold he giveth away liberally at his Pleasure; after he is weighed, he mounteth into his Throne, and then he throweth amongst the Standers-by, a great Quantity of Silver and Gold, made hollow, like to the Form of Nutmegs, and such other Spices which his Country doth afford. These Ceremonies being ended, then he beginneth to carouse and largely to drink with his Nobles, till they be all

drunk. The Scales with which he is weighed, are all of massy Gold, richly beset with precious Stones.

No Man hath any Land in this *Magor's* Country but himself; he giveth Pensions, and taketh away Pensions, at his Pleasure. No Child inherits any Thing which his Father had in Possession, but at the Pleasure of the *Magor*: All Honour and Gentility dieth with the Person who had any, and returns back to the *Magor*.

He sheweth himself, in publick and open Manner to the People, at the least, three Times in a Day; *First*, at the Sun-rising, to which he maketh low Reverence. *Secondly*, at Noon, at which Time he seeth Elephants fight, or some other Pastimes provided for him. *Thirdly*, before the Sun set, but, when the Sun is setting, he descendeth from his Throne, and sheweth as low Obeisance as he did at the Rising.

At all these Times, whosoever cometh unto him as a Suitor, useth no other Means for his Dispatch, but to hold up a Paper in his Hand, and he is heard immediately, and encountereth the best Fortune which Suitors can desire; for either he presently obtaineth his Suit, or hath a present Denial; there are no Masters of Requests, nor any dilatory References upon any Petition.

Magor's People are governed by no other Laws but what lie in his Breast, and the Breasts of his Counsellors; yet there is no Place where Business are sooner dispatched, or where Justice is more uprightly and impartially administered.

Cursero, the eldest Son of *Magor*, being of an haughty and aspiring Spirit, practised to take from his Father both Crown and Kingdom; but *Magor* not only took his Son Prisoner, but, with him, some Two-thousand of his chiefest Followers; having taken his Son, he placed him to see the Execution of those Two-thousand he had taken: The Manner of the Execution being terrible, for they were put into the Ground upon sharp Stakes, and so left to die. After this Execution, *Magor* shut up and sealed his Son's Eyes, so that for three Years, he saw no Light of Sun or Moon at all: Seven Years he kept him in close Prison, but, at this Time, he hath a little more Liberty. This Prince is of a different Disposition from his Father, for he keepeth but one Wife, and is a great Favourer and Protector of *Christians*; he is generally beloved of all Men.

Magor

Magor will not undertake, nor do any Business of Import, but as he shall be directed and counselled by his Astrologers and Magicians; when they tell him the Day and Hour are fortunate, then he adventureth upon any Thing; he cannot endure to hear any Talk or Mention made of Death, which is the most desperate and greatest Folly which our Age can, or doth afford, nay what Madness is it? Not to hear talk, nor make Provision for that which cannot be avoided. God hath appointed nothing more certain than Death, because we should ever consider of it; and nothing more uncertain than the Hour of Death, because, every Hour, we should be provided for it.

Magor being much delighted with Astrologers, Magicians, and Witches, of which his Country is replenished, there came upon a Time one of that Crew unto him, and presented unto him an Ape; telling *Magor*, that the Ape could do strange and admirable Tricks: Well, quoth *Magor*, we will make Trial of your Ape's Skill and Cunning, and thereupon commanded the Ape and her Master to be carried out of that Room, into another, that they might not see what was done in their Absence. *Magor* took a Ring from his Finger, and having always about him a great Number of Boys, two-hundred, or thereabouts, which he keepeth for unnatural and beastly Uses, he gave the Ring to one of the Boys, and bade him hide it; then these Boys flocking together, the Ape and his Master were called for: Now, quoth *Magor*, let your Ape try her Skill; I have lost my Ring, let us see if she can find it: The Ape's Master commanded the Ape to fetch the Ring; the Ape went immediately to the Boy which had the Ring, and took it out of his Bosom, and brought it to *Magor*.

Who wondering much at it, he caused the second Time the Ape and her Master to retire out of Sight, and, in their Absence, he caused his Secretary to write, in several Papers, the Names of twelve or fourteen of the greatest Gods, and Prophets, which either were heard or known to be worshipped, either in his Country, or in any Place of the World; which being written, they were mingled on an Heap, and laid upon a Table; then the Ape was called for, and commanded to take the Name of the greatest God, and truest Prophet, from amongst those Papers; the Ape went presently to the Papers, and turning them up, from amongst them all,

only took out the Name of *Jesus*, and delivered it to *Magor*, whereupon *Magor* and the rest of his Nobles were much amazed; but, upon secret Conference amongst themselves, they resolved to make further Trial: Whereupon the Master and the Ape were commanded to go to a further Room, and some Persons commanded to watch them, that the Suspicion of all deceivable Courses might be taken away and cleared. The Papers were written again with the same Names, and more were added; which being done, the Ape was called for the second Time, and to make Choice as formerly she had been directed; she presently went to the Papers, and made the same Choice which before she had done; which struck *Magor* and his Nobles in a greater Amaze than at the first; notwithstanding a third Trial was made, but with the like and same Success; whereupon a great Nobleman humbly besought *Magor*, that he might make the fourth Trial, which was granted him; this great Man was called *Mattolet Chan*, which in their Language signifieth, *the beloved Lord*. He caused the Names to be written a fourth Time, and mingled together, and cast in a Heap upon the Table; the Ape was called as formerly she had been, and commanded to make Choice of the greatest God or Prophet, whose Name was contained in those Papers. The Ape went presently to the Heap, and slightly and scornfully turned them over, but took up no Paper, but returned to her Master. *Magor* and his Nobles wondered more at this than of what passed before, and asked the Ape's Master, what might be the Cause why the Ape would not bring any Paper, as before she had done, but turned them up in so scornful a Manner? Perhaps, quoth the Master, the Name which the Ape looketh for, is not there amongst them; then the Papers being examined, the Name of *Jesus* was missing; now, quoth *Magor*, let the Ape shew her Cunning to fetch that Paper, wherein that Name is written. The Ape, receiving her Command, made present Haste to *Mattolet Chan*, and leaped upon him, and withal thrust her Hand into his Bosom, and drew out the Name of *Jesus*, which she brought hastily to *Magor*. This, being so strange an Accident, was wondered at of all the Standers-by, whereof some were *Jews*, some *Mahometans*, some *Christians*, with others. This hath been averred to be true by Mr. *Edward Terry*, Preacher to Sir *Thomas Roe*, who heard it credibly reported, as aforesaid. And Sir *Thomas Roe* hath reported

reported the same for Truth, to sundry Right Hon. Personages. Mr. Terry, the Preacher, hath often seen the Ape.

The great *Magor*, and generally all the *Indians* of his Country, are given over to fleshly Pleasures; they may, and do keep as many Wives and Concubines as they will, or are able to maintain. What Misery do these *Indians* endure, to have so many Women about them, when as there be many *Englishmen* are grievously vexed to have the Company but of one. But, perhaps, the *Indian* Women are of a far milder Temper than the *English*, as hereafter shall be shewed. The *Indians* are more jealous of their Women and Wives, than either *Spaniards* or *Italians*. The Father will not trust his Son, after he cometh to twelve Years of Age, except he be gelded. The *Indian* Women in their Houses are commonly covered, and, if any Woman go abroad uncovered, she is reputed a Whore.

Magor's Subjects are tall, and of comely Personage, tho' of a tawny Colour, but they are faint hearted: *Magor* will usually say, that one *Portuguese* will beat three of his Subjects, and one *Englishman* will beat three *Portuguese*. In this Country are many several Sects, some called *Banians*, who will kill nothing that hath Life, no not so much as Snakes. They have Hospitals to keep and cure lame Horses, lame Dogs, lame Birds, or any lame Creature, and, when they be cured, they are set at Liberty. The Manner of that Country is to burn the Bodies of the Dead, and the Wives willingly burn with their Husbands. But of late the Women begin to break that Custom.

The *Indians*, under *Magor*, worship evil-favoured ugly Idols, which they call *Pagods*; their Priests are called *Ioggis*, or *Bramines*; their Church they call *Muskitts*; they go on Pilgrimage to several Places; some to *Meccha* and *Arabia*; some to the Head of the River *Ganges*, wherein they throw Silver and Gold, according to their Abilities, and after wash themselves in the River, and then they think they are pure and clean from all Sin.

These People have many Feasts and many Fasts, which they keep with sundry idle Ceremonies; some of them mourn in blue, others, as *Japanners*, mourn in white. They are skilful in Physick, especially in Simples.

The Learning which they have, which is but small, is in the Mathematicks, and in Natural Philosophy; they have small Store of Books,

because there is no Printing amongst them; all their Books are Manuscripts.

Their vulgar Speech is called *Indostan*. The Speech at *Magor's* Court is usually the *Persian* Language. Their learned Tongue is the *Arabian*; the common People are very apt to imitate any Thing which they see to be done by Strangers.

I cannot let pass a strange and wonderful Report, which fell out in *Magor's* Court, and hath been, by Sir *Thomas Roe*, reported confidently for Truth. There was a *Raja* (so great Princes are called) who was an absolute Atheist, who would always scornfully and disdainfully speak and dispute against the Deity, not enduring either himself, or any other, where he might oppose, to acknowledge any Godhead. This great Prince, sporting himself among his Concubines, one of them, who was most favoured of the Prince, and might be most bold with him, when he was flouting and jesting against the Deity, plucked from his Breast an Hair, and withal a Drop of Blood follow'd, which was not regarded at the first: This very Place, within very few Days, began to fester, and by Degrees grew to that Extremity, that the Pain was intolerable, and withal proving to be a Gangrene; having used all the Means, which Physick, or Surgery might afford him, it proved irrecoverable. This *Raja*, seeing his Estate, and that he had no Hope of Life, but a dreadful Expectation of imminent Death, sent to *Magor* to take his Leave of him; *Magor* sent divers of his Nobles unto him, to comfort him, with all the best Offers and Speeches which any Subject might desire from so mighty a Monarch. Which, when the Nobles had delivered unto him, he made Answer in this Manner: My Lord *Magor* is a great Monarch to command upon Earth, but there is a more omnipotent Monarch, which hath absolute Command and Power in Heaven and Earth. You all know, I was an Opposer, an Enemy, a Contemner of all Deity, and against that omnipotent Majesty of Heaven. He hath now shewed and manifested his Power and Justice upon me, who now lie in Torment, every Minute of an Hour expecting to die. What I would not acknowledge in my Life, I am constrained to acknowledge and confess upon my Death, for we who live at Random, and speak at large in our Lives, when Death worketh Nature's Dissolution, we are then compelled to change our former Opinions, and to acknowledge our former Errors. I was
an

an Atheist; by my own Experience I dare, and can assure you, what is one of the greatest Causes of Atheism: Wicked Livers do wish there were no God to punish their Offences after this Life, and therefore do flatter themselves in their Life; they frame to themselves all the Reasons they can devise, to persuade themselves there is no God. But, my Lord, there is no Atheist, which dare, at the Hour of his Death, maintain and defend that Doctrine of Atheism, which he did in Life, for Nature itself doth constrain them to a terrible Recantation at the Hour of Death, as you may now behold a grievous Example in me: What would not I give? What would not I do, my Lords, if I might have longer Time of Life to acknowledge and confess freely and plainly that Godhead, which formerly I have, with Scorn and Malice, so wickedly denied? who would have imagined that I, being a Soldier, should not rather have died upon some honourable Wound, given by Sword or Lance; than so shamefully to die upon the Plucking of one Hair from my Breast; this Kind of Death, as it is most shameful to me, so it doth more manifest and illustrate the Divine Power to be most omnipotent and miraculous. My Lords, my vital Powers do fail me, I can speak no more, only this for a Farewel, which, I pray you, deliver also to my great Sovereign *Magor*, Do you all fly and take heed of *Atheism*, seek out, with all the Care and Diligence you can, the Knowledge of the only true and omnipotent God; dare not live those wicked Lives, nor maintain those horrible Opinions whilst you are in Health, which, as you see most manifestly in me, are so terrible and horrible at this Hour of my Death. Having ended these Words, this mighty Prince died.

From *Magor's* Country, we sailed towards other Islands, and arrived at an Island called *Zeloon*, which Island yieldeth Cinnamon, and other Spices, in great Abundance: It yieldeth also Pearls, Rubies, Sapphires, Garnets, and sundry other precious Stones.

From *Zeloon*, we arrived at an Island called *Sumatra*, which yieldeth Pepper, Gold, Benjamin, Camphire, with sundry other rich Commodities. Afterwards we sailed to *Patanie*, an Island governed by a maiden Queen.

From this we arrived at *Japan*, which is one of the greatest and goodliest Islands in the World, having great Store of Gold Mines, and of Silver; they have Silver of three Sorts, all unstamped; they have small Plate, which goeth in the Market for buying of Victuals; they have other Pieces of Plate unstamped, of finer Silver, and that goeth in the Country to buy all other Commodities; they have a third Sort of Plate, finer Silver than any *Spanish* Money, and this is carried away by Strangers.

This Country is governed by an Emperor, who hath under him sixty-two Kings. The Revenues of this Emperor are infinite, a great Part raised by Rice. The People of this Country are proud and haughty, very warlike, yet exceeding obedient to their Emperor, and the Kings to whom they are Subjects. They are very kind to Strangers. Justice, in this Country, is severe without Partiality. Thieves are not imprisoned, but presently executed. If a Murder be committed, and the Murderer escape, he, who apprehendeth him, hath three hundred Pounds given him upon the Delivery of the Murderer; so that few or none of the Murderers escape present Execution. In this Country, a Man may walk without Danger, all Hours of the Night, so he does not misbehave himself. If any Controversy arise betwixt Party and Party, it is forthwith decided; their Laws are *Leges talionis*, Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth, Hand for Hand, and Life for Life. They worship and pray all to a Saint, called *Ameda*, whom they esteem to be a Mediator betwixt God and them. When a Soldier dieth, they are persuaded he goeth presently to *Ottango Fatechman*, the God of War.

A Paradox: Proving the Inhabitants of the Island, called *Madagascar*, or *St. Lawrence* (in Things temporal) to be the happiest People in the World.

I Confess (worthy Sir) that I have undertaken an Argument, which, at the first Sight, will seem to most Men idle and impertinent; although I might answer for my Excuse, that I was therefore idle, because I would not be idle; for it may be objected unto me: Will you taken upon you to prefer this poor, naked, and simple ignorant People, before the rich, gallant, understanding Men of *Europe*. These are naked, we are cloathed; these are poor and miserable, we are rich and wealthy; these are simple Innocents, we have Hearing and Experience of many Things, wherein they are altogether ignorant.

All this I confess to be true; yet let us examine their Defects, which are supposed to consist in their Nakedness, Poverty, and Simplicity. As for their Nakedness, I hold them therefore happy, as approaching nearest to the greatest Perfection of Mankind. For *Adam* in the State of Innocency was naked; Sin and Apparel entered both together, those Fig-leaves being sewed together, for a Veil or Covering to hide his Filthiness and Deformities, as his vain Heart conceived, from the Eye of Heaven: For as a Painter or Statuary, having limned a curious Piece, or carved a goodly Image, doth take a great Delight in the Sight of it, as of his Master-Piece, for if it should by some Accident become spotted, or blemished, he will delight no more in the Beholding of it, but is ashamed of his Work every Time he looks upon it, and will therefore either cast it aside, or hide and cover it out of his Sight.

So, when this admirable Piece of Work, this Perfection of Nature, this Master-piece, this Epitome of the World, this Image of the Deity, Man, was spotted and blemished by Sin, it grieved the Almighty to see his Image so defaced in him; who therefore did cloath him, as it were, to hide and cover him out of his Sight.

Apparel is but like unto so many Plaisters and Rollers, to cover our Sores and Deformities;

or like masking Suits, wherein we act not what we are, but what we seem to be; it is the Outside that deceives us, and, by a juggling Trick, makes us take that for a brave Man, which is a Piece of Shreds, a mere Thing of a Taylor's Fashioning.

For Example, put the spruce Gallant into a contemptible Habit, and what is he then? A poor, miserable Wretch, in the World's Opinion, which judgeth by the outward Appearance, and so esteemeth him. But the same Man he was? No, he is a ragged Rogue, a tattered Knave. Again, put such a Rogue, or Knave, into the Accoutrement of a Gallant, let him be scarlified and beverised; let his Jupon be carbonadoed, to discover his damask Purpoint, or his embroidered Camise; arm his Side with Steel, his Heels with Iron, and his Head with Feather; and then, like *Nebuchadnezzar's* Image, every Man is ready to adore him; as, Will it please your Worship to command me any Service? I will wait upon your Worship; it is right as your Worship says. And all this while, we reverence nothing but a Suit of Cloaths, which these happy People, happy in this Want, judiciously contemn. Apparel to them is a Burthen, an Impediment, a very Disease; they care not for it, they count it as an unnecessary Bundle, and know that it will make them dull, heavy, and effeminate. They prefer the good Constructure of the Limbs, and Lineaments of the Body, which they have by Nature, before all our artificial, bombasted Patches. We wonder at them, how they can go naked; but they wonder more at us, how we can endure to go packed up in a Fardle of Clouts sewed together. We are bound up in Prison, whilst they are free, and at Liberty: We are stifled up in our Sweat and Stink, whilst the Exhalations of their Vapours offend them not. Nor doth the Coldness of the Air hurt their naked Bodies, more than it doth our naked Faces; it was our evil Custom that cloathed

ed us, and their Innocency and Freedom of Nature that keeps them naked.

For an Instance of the Premises, I will only call to your Remembrance the Behaviour of the *Rassée*, or Governor *Andrapela*, at that Time, when he, with his Followers, were invited by Captain *Weddel*, a-board the Ship *; the Captain seeing him naked, did judge it to be rather by a forced Necessity, than a free Election, and caused a Suit of his own Apparel to be given him, which he knew not what to do with when he had it: Being told, that they would defend him, and keep him warm, he said that he had no Need of them, and that they would be but a Trouble to him: For, said he, I can pierce them through with my Lance. At last, with much ado, they were put on; but their putting on put him into such a Fear and Agony, as if they had been so many Fetters and Manacles laid upon him. He looked as if he had been ashamed of himself, earnestly intreating the Captain that he might be set a-shore, expressing, in his Countenance, a great deal of Grief and Discontent, to be, as he thought, so discourteously dealt withal. The Barge being manned, I went a-shore with him, to observe his Behaviour; and can testify, that he no sooner set Foot on Land, but he threw away his Suit, flinging his Doublet into one Place, his Hose into another, and at last he tore his Shirt from his Back, as if it had been poisoned with the Blood of *Nessus*, the Centaur; and then, fetching two or three Frisks, he expressed a great deal of Joy, that he was freed from that Bondage and Imprisonment.

As for ourselves, we are compelled (so miserable and poor we are) to be beholding to the unreasonable Creatures for our Rayment, robbing one of his Skin, another of his Wool, another of his Hair; nay, not so much as the poor Worms do escape us, whose very Excrements we take to cover us withal, while they, in the mean Time, are nothing beholding unto us? Was Nature a Mother to them, and a Stepdame to us? No, but, as a kind and loving Mother, she hath sufficiently provided for us. It is our own luxurious Effeminacy, that has stripped us out of our natural Simplicity, and cloathed us with the Rags of Dissimulation. Let us consider the natural Beauies of all the Plants, Fruits, and Flowers; they have no artificial

Coverings, yet they so far exceed Man in Beauty and Magnificence (the Lilly in particular, Truth itself hath spoken it) that *Solomon*, in all his Royalty, was not cloathed like one of them.

The greatest and sole Monarch of the World, *Adam*, was cloathed but with the Skins of dead Beasts, which Divines hold, was to put him in Mind of his Mortality; but now the Height of Apparel is grown to that Excess, that not the Skins of the Cattle, or the other Commodities accruing, but the Soil of a whole Lordship is scarce sufficient to cloath us. Now the Taylor is become the best Surveyor; *Euclid* might have spared his Pains in Geometry, he can measure all our Lands by his Yard-wand. And what are the Effects of this monstrous Pride in Apparel, but the Ruin of many noble Families, the Decay of Hospitality, the Ushering in of Oppression, Bribery and Extortion, Theft, Murder, Coufening and Deceit, and, in the End, Beggary; or, which is worse, a Death with Ignominy.

Now, for Pride, such is the Happiness of these People, that they know not what it means; here is no Man that respecteth another the better for his Outside, but for his inward Virtue, and natural Endowments. If he have but a Clout to cover his Privities, he thinks himself sufficiently appareled.

Concerning their Poverty, I do confess, indeed, that to be poor is to be miserable, contemptible, and wretched; a very Abject of Men, a Reproach to his Kindred, and a Shame to his Friends; but if you admit this Definition of Poverty, which I dare aver to be a true one (Poverty is a Want of all Necessaries useful for this present Life) and if I can prove that they want no necessary Thing for the Use of this present Life, I hope there is no Man that will judge them poor, but will pronounce us poor, who are always complaining of Want, and them rich, which, in their imagined Poverty, express no Token of Discontent.

True it is, that they have not so many superfluous Things as we have, and therein are they happy. When *Diogenes* came by Chance into a Fair, and saw so many Toys and Baubles to be sold, he brake out into these Words:

Oh, how happy am I, that have no Want of any of these Things! And, upon a Time, to

* Aboard the *Charles*, then riding in *Augustine Bay*.

shew how despicable unnecessary Things are, he threw away his Dish, because he saw another lap Water out of the Hollow of his Hand.

These People know, that Nature is contented with a little; and that it is not these outward Things, which make the Possessor any Thing the better. They know that the inordinate Desire of Riches is the Root of all Mischief, a raging famished Beast, that will not be satisfied; a bottomless Gulf that cannot be filled; a very Dropsy, wherein, by Desire of Drink, a Man may sooner break his Bowels, than quench his Thirst.

They know that they are gotten with Labour, Anxiety, and Care; kept with continual Fear, Suspicion, and Watchfulness; and lost with extreme Grief and Despair.

As for Gold, the Soul of the World (as I may call it, for it giveth Life, Motion, and Action to all) these People know it not; or do they know it, they regard it not; at least, I am sure, they value it not. Happy People, unto whom the Desire of Gold hath not yet arrived: But it may be objected here, that although they respect not Gold, yet they are covetous of red Beads. It is true, they affect Ornaments, not as Incumbrances for them; as whilst we lie, as it were, chained and maniced in golden Fetters, they adorn themselves with them, as with Jewels; only here is the Difference, they covet red Stones, and we desire a refined Earth, almost of the same Colour. We think them Fools, because they give us an Ox for a few Beads; but they account us greater Fools to part with such Jewels for so small a Value; for Opinion of Men, not their Virtue, that makes them to be dear, or of small Price.

Those red Beads, which peradventure we value, but at Six-pence, they may rate at six Pounds. But suppose, that they should see us give the Price of twenty Oxen, bought at the dearest Market in Europe, for one white Stone, of the same Bigness; would not they laugh at our extreme Folly? And yet, when it is bought, they will not give you a Calabash* of Milk for it, though there is no more Virtue in the one, than there is in the other†; yet the offensive Condition of the Diamond is notoriously exceeding the Cornelian, for the Powder of the Diamond, taken inwardly, is almost mortal

Poison, and corrodes the Stomach, as learned Physicians have observed, who never could accuse the undervalued Cornelian of such a venomous Quality.

The Golden Age, so much celebrated by ancient Writers, was not so called, from the Estimation, or Predomination, that Gold had in the Hearts of Men; for in that Sense, as one said wittily,

*Aurea Saturni redierunt sæcula, nam nunc
Auro venit hamus, conciliatur Amas.*

This may be truly called the Age of Gold; For it, both Honour, Love, and Friends are sold.

But, from the Contempt thereof, then Love and Concord flourished; then Rapine, Theft, Extortion and Oppression were not known; which happy Age these People do at this Present enjoy. But when Men begin to dive into the Bowels of the Earth, to make Descents, as it were, down into Hell, to fetch this glittering Ore, from the Habitations of Devils, and terrestrial Goblins, with it came up Contention, Deceit, Lying, Swearing, Theft, Murder, and all the seven capital Sins; as Pride, Covetousness, Wrath, Gluttony, and the rest; so that we must needs confess, that it had been happy for us, if Gold had never been known.

For the Attaining whereof, what Labours, what Sorrow, and what Dangers do we endure? We are contented daily to expose ourselves to a thousand Perils, to suffer a thousand Injuries, in hope to enjoy it; and yet scarce one, in a Thousand, attaineth to the End of his Labour.

For this do we suffer a voluntary Exile from our native Country; for this are we contented to be imprisoned in a nasty Ship, to expose our Lives to the tempestuous Fury of the merciless Elements, and to expose our Bodies to the Rage of the Enemy's thundering Ordnance, where, through Heats, Cold, Hunger, Thirst, Watching, ill Lodging, bad Diet, infected Air, and a thousand other Inconveniences, we not only endanger our Lives every Minute, but sometimes lose them.

But grant that we do escape all these Perils, and obtain in some Measure what we have so dearly purchased, it will be so confessed, there

* A Gourd. † This I have tried, by offering them a Diamond and a red Bead; and they have taken the Bead, and refused the Diamond.

is more Care and Danger in the Keeping of them, than in the Attaining of them.

For this do Thieves lie in wait to rob us, Friends to entrap us, and our Enemies to betray us: Nay, suppose we do escape all these outward Casualties, our inward Vices, our disordered Affections, and our evil Concupiscences, do all threaten to ruin us.

The Consideration hereof caused the Lady Catharine* (who out of her own Experience, had tried both Fortunes) that if it were put to her Choice, to suffer the Extremity of Fortune in Prosperity or Adversity; she would chuse Adversity, because the former was never without Danger, nor the latter, without Comfort.

From their Poverty, I come in the last Place to speak of their Simplicity, which (as the simple uncompounded and unmixed Elements are purest) is an Argument, if not of their Freedom from Corruption, yet that it doth not tyrannise over them, and that they enjoy the happiest Condition, which Mankind can live in; out of Doubt, had our first Parents been contented with that Simplicity of Estate, they were at the first created in, and not have been so curious in the Knowledge of forbidden Mysteries, they had not purchased the Wrath of God upon themselves and their Posterity.

But let us see wherein their Ignorance and Simplicity doth consist; it may be objected, that they are ignorant of the Use of the Creatures, which we have attained to, and of many Arts, that we profess, and that they are simple in all their Actions.

For, first, their Houses are but simple Sheds made with a few Boughs heaped together (in Comparison of which) ours are stately Palaces.

That their Diet is gross, and ill cooked; that they eat their Meat half raw and badly dressed; whereas our Tables are furnished plentifully, with sundry Delicacies, curiously dressed by the Art of Cookery, and that with great Variety.

That their Drink is Water simply, which is common to them and their Beasts alike, whilst we are served with all Kind of pleasant Wines, and other artificial aromack Drinks.

That their Simplicity appeareth in their Ignorance of many Sciences, wherein the Well-being of a Commonwealth doth consist; as the Art of Navigation, by Means whereof, we are able to visit the remotest Parts of the World, to

transport our own Commodities to them, and to import theirs to the Enriching of ourselves; as also, that they know not Military Art, nor the Use of Powder and Shot; all which are Evidences of their stupid Ignorance, both in these and all other Sciences.

What an Heat do these small Coals cast? What a terrible Shew do these poor Anticks make? They are just like the Pageants on the Galley-foists, upon the Lord Mayor's Day; deface their Paintings, rip off the Canvas, they wilt find nothing in them, but a few rotten Sticks in the one, and a trimmed Dung-boat of the other.

Let us compare them together by the Square of Reason, and we shall find their Defects, in these Things, to be a main Testimony of their Happiness, and on the contrary, our Excess herein the Cause of our Misery and Wretchedness.

And first for their Buildings, they are such as best suit with their free Estate and Condition, using them but as Tabernacles for the present, and changing them according to the Quality of the Season, and Goodness of the Soil. We may commend the Wisdom of the Stork, and Swallow, for this Cause.

These Men fear not the Oppression of a covetous Landlord, nor the Danger of a cracked Title; his Quarter's Racked-rent tends not his Sleep, nor takes he Care for the Renewing of his old Lease; the Breaking in of Thieves he fears not, for he hath nothing to lose; and the Surprise of Enemies he regards not, for if they be not strong enough for Encounter, they can suddenly remove themselves to a Place of more Security.

I have seen a Town, consisting of above one hundred Families, and all of them busied about their several Employments: Some about their Cattle, some making of Lances, and Darts, and some weaving of Cotton, to make their Aprons, when upon a sudden, suspecting us as Enemies, in the Space of Half an Hour, they have planted and removed their Dwellings.

The Women carrying their Implements for dressing their Food, and their young Infants; their Children driving away the Cattle, and the rest of their People as a Guard unto them, with their Darts, and Lances, some in Front, some in Flank, and the rest in the Rear; when

* Dowager to King Henry the Eighth. † The Cause of their Removal was the Coming a-shore of one with a Fowling-piece, to kill Fowl for the Captain.

again we having understood the Cause of their Departure, with a little Persuasion, they returned and suddenly replanted themselves, and every Man quietly settled himself to his Business as before, without any Noise, Tumult, or Uproar, all which was done in the Space of an Hour.

Whereas we, like so many wild Beasts, can hardly be forced out of our Dens, except Famine, Sword, or Fire do compel us. And then, oh, what Lamentation, what Exclamation, and grievous Complaints do we make!

Yet what are our Houses, but so many strong Prisons, wherein the Owner lies bound in several Actions of Debt, which I forbear to particularise; and although he walk abroad sometimes, he doth but trail his Fetters after him, and is bound to keep within the Rule.

He must endure Discommodity of evil Neighbours, the Unhealthfulness of the Situation, which these happy People can avoid at their Pleasure without much Puddor or Tumult.

And lastly, suppose that one of our Houses should take Fire, by Accident, or otherwise, then what Passion? What Rage? What uncontrolled Fury, do we fall into? Oh, I am undone for ever, Oh, I have lost that Chest, that Box of Writings, that Casket of Jewels, but alas! I am undone; what shall I do? Nay, we are so far out of ourselves, and transported with Fury, that, as if the black Chambers of Death were not to be found otherwise, we sometimes lay violent Hands upon ourselves, and increase the danger of an eternal Death, to prevent a temporal Dereliction.

Whereas, on the Contrary, if any of their Houses happen to be on Fire, he is not moved at all with it, but can patiently stand by, and warm himself at the Flame, and say, Here is a good Fire, I find much Comfort by it. This is the last Benefit my House can do me, and in this Point, they are happier than we are.

Their D I E T.

As for their Food, it may be objected, that it is but coarse and simple; for Defence whereof, I might answer, that it is therefore the more healthful, and agreeable to Nature, who is best pleased with Meats of simple Qualities. But it is further objected, that it is sluttishly dressed, nauseous and loathsome. How know we that? Because we love it not, is it therefore unwholesome? One Man loveth no Fish, another no Cheese, another no Flesh; which are not only

hateful, but Poison to their Constitutions. Should we therefore infer, that Fish, Cheese or Flesh, are Poison; such Judges are we of their Food, which best agreeth with their Constitutions, and preserveth them in Health, Strength, and Vigour; for they eat not, but for Necessity, knowing no other Sauce, than the *Lacedemonian* Sauce, Hunger; eating rather for Preservation of Life, than Delight, or Luxury; whilst we in our Diet are so voluptuous, *that we even dig our Graves with our Teeth* (as the *French* Proverb hath it) the whole World being scarce sufficient to make a *Bacchanalian* Sacrifice for that Deity, the Belly: *France, Spain, Italy, the Indies*, yea, and the *Mollucca's*, must be ransacked, to make Sauce for our Meat; whilst we impoverish the Land, Air, and Water, to enrich a private Table. Thus we live, as if we were born to no other End, but by Gluttony and Surfeiting to oppose Nature, dull the Spirits, subvert the animal Faculties, and heap upon ourselves an innumerable Company of Diseases, it being a Maxim amongst our *European* Physicians, that Gluttony hath killed more than the Sword. Whereas, to the Contrary, such is the Temperance of these People, that I can scarce see one sick or diseased among them.

Now for Wine, the Cherisher of the Heart, the Expeller of Cares and Sorrows, the Reviver of the Spirits, and the Infuser of Valour and Courage, these People know it not; and herein I esteem them (whatever our Epicures think) most happy. For when I consider the dangerous Effects thereof, as namely, how it confoundeth our Reason, disturbeth our Senses, dultheth our Understanding, consumeth our Memory, depraveth our Judgment, and finally transformeth us from Men to Beasts: I know not whether I should bewail our own miserable Condition, or applaud their happy Estate.

Heretofore, in our Country of *England*, all foreign Wines were sold in Apothecaries Shops, for the Relief of the Sick, Weak, and Aged; then Physicians walked on Foot, for the Service of God's People; but when it once came to be sold publickly in Taverns, then they rode on Horseback like Princes; the Excess of Wine being a main Upholder of theirs; thence proceed Fevers, Convulsions, Epilepsies, Vertigo's, Lethargies, Gouts, and all Exotick Diseases, unknown to our Ancestors.

Besides, what horrible and execrable Actions hath it not perpetrated? What Sacrileges, what Rapes, what Murders, have not been committed

ted by the Excess of Wine? The Examples of this Kind are infinite, and the Consideration thereof moved some Kings and Princes * to prohibit, and lay great Mulcts and Penalties upon them which used it, though with Moderation; knowing that it transporteth Men unto all unjust Actions, and transformed them into Beasts.

Where, to the Contrary, Water produceth no evil Effects; for it asswageth Thirst, refresheth the Spirits, abateth Choler, quickeneth the Senses, and temperately doth humect and moisten the inward Parts of the Body. And, had not the Distemperature of our Parents, our evil Education, and our natural Corruptions prevailed against us, we might have enjoyed the like Happiness which these People possess.

And may not their Ignorance, in the Art of Navigation, be deservedly accounted a Happiness? Certainly, by this Means they are not contaminated with the Vices and evil Customs of Strangers, when we have derived to ourselves, with our Commerce with foreign Nations, with their Wares and Commodities, their Vices and evil Conditions; as our Drunkenness and Rudeness from the *Germans*; our Fashions and Factions from the *French*; our Insolence from the *Spaniards*; our *Machiavillianism* from the *Italians*; our Levity and Inconstancy from the *Greeks*; our Usury and Extortion from the *Jews*; our Atheism and Impiety from the *Turks* and *Moors*; and our voluptuous Luxury from the *Persians* and *Indians* †; which, perhaps, might have passed without Censure by natural Men, had not we been infected, by this Means, with some Diseases of the Body, as well as Corruption of the Soul. Besides, to balance the Account, what are our Ships fraught withal, but with Toys and Vanities, which we might well be without, and serve but as *fomenta luxuriosa*, stirrers up of Pride, Luxury, and Wantonness; for which Cause only, some Nations ‡ are forbidden to have any Commerce or Traffick with Strangers, lest they should be infected with their Vices and evil Customs.

Besides, those happy People have no Need of any foreign Commodity, Nature having sufficiently supplied their Necessities, wherewith they remain contented. But it is we that are

in Want, and are compelled, like famished Wolves, to range the World about for our Living, to the Hazard both of our Souls and Bodies; the one by the Corruption of the Air, the other by the Corruption of Religion.

Their A R M S.

As for their Ignorance in the Military Profession, though they be not trained up in the Practice of those Arms our Moderns have lately invented, they retain the Use of those Weapons, which have been in Use from all Antiquity, I mean, the Lance and Dart; wherein they have attained to such Perfection, that therein I believe, no Nation in the World doth equal, I am sure cannot exceed them. But you will say, they want defensive Armour, and Places of Strength and Retirement. It is true, they have no other Armour than their own Valour; nor Forts, but Fortitude and Courage; who, like the *Parthians*, fight flying, making their Retreat as dangerous to the Enemy as their first Encounter.

And lastly, for the Use of Powder and Shot, and the Managing of great Ordnance, whereof they are altogether ignorant: Herein they are happy also, above all other Nations; it being one of the most damnable Inventions that ever was forged in the Devil's Conclave; against the Fury whereof neither the Courage of the Valiant, nor the Strength of the Mighty can prevail; so that if *Hercules* himself, whom the Poets falsely, or *Sampson*, whom the Scriptures truly deliver for the strongest of Men, were living in these Times, a Child might kill them with a Pistol. Let us examine the Invention, State, and Progress of this pernicious and cruel Engine.

All Writers do agree, that a *German* Monk was the first Inventor of the Materials thereof; and, as it is thought, not without the Devil, to shew his Hatred to Mankind. The first Invention was but rude and simple, but Time and the Wickedness of Men have added to the first Project, even to the Mounting them upon Wheels, that they might be the easier transported, and run, as it were, to the Ruin of Mankind. From hence hath proceeded these Monsters of Cannons, and double Cannons, and Cul-

* As the *Turkish* Emperor, and all the *Eastern* Princes.

† As the Pox, brought into *England*, by the first Discovery of *America*.

‡ As the *Chinese*, who will suffer no Stranger to come into their Country. N. B. The *Chinese* have altered this Law since this Author's Time.

|| *Pareus*, lib. xi. in Præf.

verins, these furious Basilisks and Murtherers, those fiery Falcons and Sakers; wherein it seems the Inventors knew well what they did, when they imposed on them the Names of Snakes, Serpents, and ravenous Birds; the very Names of them being terrible, and apt to beget in us a Horror and Detestation of them. I forbear to speak of lesser Engines, but of greater Danger; as, the Dagger and Pistol, which may be concealed in a Man's Pocket, wherewith many have been treacherously slain without any Provocation. Out of this miserable and cruel Magazine have issued these Mines, Counter-mines, Fire-pots, Fire-pikes, Oranges, Granado's, Hedge-hogs, Petards, and the like; a most cursed Invention, wherein the Malice of Man to Man is grown to that Height, whom we ought to love as our Brother; that such, as can invent the most wicked, cruel, and execrable Project to destroy Men withal, are held the most worthy to receive the greatest Honour, Respect, and Reward; and now, if ever, it may truly be said, *Homo homini Dæmon*; that is, *One Man is a Devil to another*.

All Inventions, as they are but the Imitations of Nature, do ever fall short of the Pattern; but in this they have exceeded Nature. Take it thus briefly: The Thunder and Lightning which these *Salmonians* would imitate,

transcend the other in Fury and Violence; for the Thunderbolt, as natural and accidental, falleth sometimes on a Tree, Mountain, a Tower, seldom on a Man; but this infernal Engine, guided by the Malice of Man, aims only at Man, to whose Destruction it is wholly directed. There are some Countries, that by Reason of the Coldness of the Climate, as *Russia, Tartary, Greenland*, at certain Seasons of the Year, are exempt from Thunder. But no Country or Season can privilege the Inhabitants from the Fury of this pernicious Engine. The Thunderbolt, by the Means of the Lightning and Noise in the Air, giveth some Warning to Men, to avoid the ensuing Danger; but this thundereth in Striking, and striketh in Thunder, sending the mortal Bullet, as soon into our Bowels, as the Sound into our Ears. Therefore, we have good Reason to detest the Author of this so pernicious and damnable an Invention.

And here I cease not presuming to advise Kings and Princes (this being but a Paradox) in the Use of the Instrument (for I know it to be as well defensive as offensive) but magnifying the Mercies of God towards this People, whose Simplicity hath herein made them more happy than our too dear bought Knowledge hath advantaged us.

A most learned and eloquent Speech, spoken or delivered in the Honourable House of Commons at *Westminster*, by the most learned Lawyer, *Miles Corbet*, Esq; Recorder of *Great Yarmouth*, and Burgefs of the same, on the Thirty-first of *July*, 1647, taken in Short-hand by *Nocky* and *Tom Dunn*, his Clerks, and revised by *John Taylor*.

This was a fictitious Speech, published in the Year 1679, intended to expose the Bombast of the rebellious Speakers, as well as the real Misfortunes, which the Nation laboured under, by the Usurpation, in those Times of Anarchy and Rebellion.

Mr. Speaker,

I know not how to speak, I know no Man weaker than myself, who do acknowledge, I am as unfitting to speak in this honourable Assembly, as *Phormio* was to prattle an Oration of War's Discipline to the great Soldier *Hannibal*, in the Presence of King *Antiochus*; yet out of the Debility of my Knowledge, the Inability of my Learning, the Imbecillity of my Judgment, the Nobility of this conscript Senate, the Mutability of their Censures, the Instability of Opinions, the Probability of Offending, the Volubility of Scandal, and the Impotency of my Utterance, I have (maugre all these perillous Impediments) adventured to unbofom and disburthen my Mind before these unmatched Patriots.

Mr. Speaker, I am not ignorant that you are appointed in this Parliament, to be the Ear of this Kingdom, and Mouth of the Commons; and I desire that your Hearing may not take any Offence against my Words; nor your Tongue to retort me a Reproof, instead of an Applause.

Mr. Speaker, In my Introduction to Grammar, vulgarly called *The Accidence*, I found eight Parts of Speech, which is now an Introduction to me to divide my Speech into eight Parts; that is to say:

- I. *What we have done for Religion.*
- II. *What we have done for the Church..*
- III. *What for the King.*
- IV. *What for the Laws.*
- V. *What for the Kingdom.*
- VI. *What for the Subjects.*
- VII. *What for Reformation.*
- VIII. *What for ourselves.*

Of all these in Order, as my infirm Loquacity can demonstrate.

Mr. Speaker, I do not herein declare either or neither the Opinions of this honourable Assembly, or any Fancy of my own, but I will make plain unto you, how the Malignants esteem of us, and into what *Odium* we are fallen amongst foreign Nations.

First, For Religion: They say we have thrust out one Religion, and taken in two; that we have thrown down *Protestantism*, and erected *Anabaptism* and *Brownism*; that by our Doctrines we do abuse the famous Memory of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and consequently King *Charles*; that in their Religions they were Papistically minded (which their Lives and Acts have and do manifest the Contrary) and they say, it is no less than odious, and High-treason, to traduce either of those deceased or surviving Princes, with such false and scandalous Aspersions.

Mr. Speaker, I would not be mistaken; I say not my own Words, but I say what the Malignants say of my Lord Say and of us; they say, That the Protestant Religion was wont to be, and ought, an *inward* Robe or Vestment, for the Souls and Consciences of all true Believers; and that the Bishops, ancient Fathers, and all Orthodox Divines, had a Care to keep her neat, clean, and handsome, in as spotless Integrity as a Militant Church in this imperfect Age could keep it. But they say, that we have made Religion an *outward* Garment, or a Cloke, which none do wear amongst us, but Sectaries, Fools, Knaves, and Rebels. They say, this Cloke being, with often Turning, worn as threadbare as the publick Faith, full of Wrinkles, Spots, and Stains, neither brushed, sponged, nor made clean, with as many Patches in it, as in a Beggar's Coat, kept by Coblers, Weavers, Ostlers, Tinkers, and Tub-preachers; so that all Order, and decent Comeliness, is thrust out of the Church; all laudable Ornaments trod down and banished, under the false and scandalous Terms of Popery; and, in the Place thereof, most nasty, filthy, and loathsome Beastliness, our Doctrines being vented in long tedious Sermons, to move and stir up the People to Rebellion, and traitorous Contributions, to exhort them to Murder, Rapine, Robbery, and Disloyalty, and all Manner of Mischief that may be, to the Confusion of their Souls and Bodies.

All these damnable Villanies, our Adversaries say, are the accursed Fruits which our new moulded Linsey-wolfey Religion hath produced; for, they say, our Doctrine is neither derived from the Old, or New Testament; that all the Fathers, Protestant Doctors, and Martyrs, never heard of any such; that *Christ* and his Apostles

Apostles never knew it; and, for the Book of Common Prayer, they say in Verse:

*Ten-thousand, such as we, can ne'er devise,
A Book so good as that which we despise;
The Common-Prayer they mean. If we should sit
Ten-thousand Years, with all our Brains and
Wit,
We should prove Coxcombs all; and, in the End,
Leave it as 'tis, too good for us to mend.*

And so much they say we have done for Religion; which is the first of my eight Parts of Speech; and as my Weakness, and your Patience will permit, I will more briefly and compendiously proceed to the second.

Secondly, We are taxed with profane and barbarous Pollutions of the Church, or Houses, dedicated to God's Service: They say, that we never built any, but have taken too much accursed Pains to deface and pull down many, perverting the right Use of them into Stables, Receptacles of Strumpets, luxurious Villains, and infernal stinking Smokes of Mundungo at the Communion-Table, destroying those Things, which we, with great Maturity of Judgment, Learning, and Wisdom, set in Order, enacted by former Parliaments, most execrably spoiling all by the usurped Power and Protection of this Parliament.

Mr. Speaker, It is a rigorous Medicine for the Tooth-ach to knock out the Brains of the Patient; he is no wise Man that takes violent Physick and kills himself, to purge a little Phlegm; nor is he a prudent Builder, if his House wants some slight Repairs, will pull it down: A Man, that loves his Wife, will not put her away for a few needless black Patches that her Face is disfigured withal. In like Manner, if any Thing were amiss, either Ornament, Gesture, Ceremony, Liturgy, or whatsoever might have been approved unfitting, scandalous, or justly offensive, it is conceived it might have been removed, or reconciled, in a more Christian Way than by ruining, demolishing, tearing, and violently defacing all, without Regard of Humanity, Christianity, or Order, either from God or Man, as too many Places in this unjointed Kingdom can most truly and wofully testify. And these sweet Pieces of Service (our Adversaries say) we have done for the Church.

Thirdly, Concerning our Loyalty and Obedience to the King. It is manifest that we have all taken the Oath of Allegiance to his Majesty, and that we have also taken Oaths and Covenants to make War against him. Our Enemies would fain know who had Power to dispense or free us from the former Oath, and likewise by what Authority the latter Covenants and Oaths were imposed upon the Consciences of Men. For my own Part, if there were none wiser than myself, this ambiguous *Ænigma* would never be unriddled. But it is reported, that if we had kept our first Oaths conscientiously, and not taken the second most perniciously, and performed them most impiously, then we had never so rebelliously opposed and offended so gracious a Majesty.

Mr. Speaker, Our Adversaries do further allege, That our Obedience to his Majesty is apparently manifest by many strange Ways: We have disburthened him of his large Revenues, we have eased him of the Charge of Royal House-keeping, we have freed him of paying of his Navy, we have cleared him from either repairing of (or repairing to) his stately Palaces, magnificent Mansions, and defensive Castles and Garisons; we have put him out of Care for Reparations of his Armories, Arms, Ammunition, and Artillery; we have been at the Cost of keeping his Children, and most trusty Servants, from or for him; we have taken Order, and given Ordinances, that he shall not be troubled with much Money or Meat; and that his Queen and lawful Wife shall not so much as darken his Door. And we have endeavoured, by open Rebellion, to release him of a most troublesome Life and Reign, by hunting him like a Partridge over the Mountains; and by shooting Bullets of all Sizes at his Person for his Majesty's Preservation, on Purpose to make him a glorious King in another World. We have eased him of a great Number of his faithful Friends, loyal Subjects and Servants, by either charitable Famishing, brotherly Banishment, liberal and free Imprisonment, Parliamentary Plunder, friendly Throat-cutting, and unlawful Beheading and Hanging, or ruining as many as we could lay Hands of, that either loved, served, or honoured him.

All these heavy Burthens we have eased him of, and overladen ourselves with the usurped Ponderosity of them; so that our Adversaries say,

say, that the Weight of them will either break our Backs, our Necks, or sink us for ever: And they say, that, since the World's Creation, never so good a King had so bad Subjects to use him so hardly.

Fourthly, Mr. Speaker, It is questioned what we have done for the *Laws*: There are some that are not afraid to say, That we have transformed or metamorphosed the *Common Laws* of this Land, into the Land's common Calamities: that, instead of the common Benefit which the *Laws* in Community should yield to all Men in general, we have perverted those *Laws* to the private Profit of ourselves, and some other particular Persons. The *Civil Law* is turned into an uncivil Civil War; Blasphemy, Atheism, Sacrilege, Obsceneness, Profaneness, Incest, Adultery, Fornication, Bigamy, Polygamy, Bastard-bearing, Cuckold-making, and all Sorts of beastly Bawdry are so far from being punished, that they are generally connived and winked at, or tolerated by us. And those which should be the Punishers of these gross and crying Crimes, as Judges, Officials, Deacons, Proctors, and other Officers, these are derided, reviled, libelled against, cried down, and made a common Scoffing-stock of every libidinous incontinent Whore, and Whore-monger.

The *Law of God*, contained in the Decalogue or Ten Commandments, we have razed out of the Church, not so much as suffering them to be read: And the *New Commandment*, which was the last that *Christ* commanded, *That we should love one another*, we have turned that the foul contrary Way, to the Spoiling and Murdering one another. The *Law of Nature* is most unnaturally changed to brutish, heathenish, devilish, barbarous Inhumanity; Parricide, Fratricide, and Homicide, hath been, and is by us defended, maintained, and rewarded; no Affinity, Consanguinity, Alliance, Friendship, or Fellowship, hath or can secure any true Protestant, or loyal Subject, either of his Life or Goods, Safety or Freedom. These are the best Reports, our Adversaries, the malignant Party, do give us.

It is farther said, That we have infringed and violated the *Law of Arms* here, and the *Law of Nations* abroad; for whereas Messengers and Ambassadors have always had, and ought to have free and safe Passage, with fair and courteous Accommodation and Entertainment, which the *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Jews*, and *Cannibals* always observed most obsequiously and punctually: But

we, contrary to them, and repugnant to *Christianity*, have suffered Ambassadors to be rifled, robbed, and evil entreated. And we have caused his Majesty's Messengers to be hanged, whom he hath most graciously sent to us with Conditions of Peace.

By the *Vox populi*, or common Vote of those People, we are pleased to call Malignants, Papists, Enemies to the *State*, with other Scandals and Epithets (which they utterly deny both in their Words and Practice:) We are justly taxed to be the main Incendiaries, and pestilent Propagators, of all the Mischiefs which this afflicted miserable Kingdom groans and bleeds under; for they say, That the old Statutes of *Magna Charta* are overthrown by us, under Pretence and Colour of supporting them: And that, by our Votes, Ordinances, Precepts, Proclamations, Edicts, Mandates, and Commands, we have countermanded, abrogated, annihilated, abolished, violated, and made void, all the *Laws of God*, of *Nature*, of *Arms*, and of *Arts* too; and, instead of them, we have unlawfully erected *Marshal Club*, *Club Law*, *Stafford Law*, and such lawless *Laws* as make most for Treason, Rebellion, Murder, Sacrilege, Ruin, and Plunder. But as for the King himself, we have not allowed him so much *Law* as a Huntsman allows a Hare. These are our Enemies Words, and so much they say we have done for the *Laws*.

Fifthly, Mr. Speaker, This Question or Query is, what have we done for the *Kingdom*: It is said, that we have *done* and *undone* the *Kingdom*; this ancient famous flourishing *Kingdom*; this Envy of the World for Happiness; this *Eden* of the Universe; this terrestrial *Paradise*; this Abstract of Heaven's Blessings, and earthly Content; this Epitome of Nature's Glory; this exact Extract of Piety, Learning, and magnanimous Chivalry; this Nursery of Religion, Arms, Arts, and laudable Endeavours; this Breed of Men; this Wonder of Nations, formerly renowned, feared, loved, and honoured, as far as ever Sun and Moon shined; this *England*, which hath been a *Kingdom*, and a *Monarchy*, many hundred Years, under the Reigns of one hundred and sixty-eight Kings and Queens; this *Kingdom* which hath conquered *Kingdoms*; that hath *India*, *Syria*, *Palestina*, *Cyprus*, tributary Tremblers; that hath made *France* shake, and *Spain* quake; that relieved and defended *Scotland* from *French* Slavery, and saved and protected the *Netherlands* from *Spanish* Tyranny.

M m

Now

Now we have made this *Kingdom*, this *England*, a miserable Slave to itself, an universal *Golgotha*, a purple Gore, *Aceldama*, a Field of Blood, a *Gehenna*, a Den of Thieves, or infernal Furies, and finally, an earthly Hell, were it not for this Difference, That *here* the best Men are punished, and in *Hell* only the worst are plagued; here no good Man escapes Torment, nor any bad Man is troubled: The King is abused for being good and just, and his true and loyal Subjects and Servants are ruined and massacred for their Fidelity. The *Protestants* are called *Papists*, because they will not be *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and Rebels. And our Adversaries are so bold to say, That we have plotted and laboured long to turn this glorious Monarchy into a pedling roly poly *Independant* Anarchy, and make this *Kingdom* to be no *Kingdom*; and so much we have done for this *Kingdom*.

Sixthly, Mr. Speaker, They do question us what Good we have done for the *Benefit* or *Liberty* of the *Subject*: Many of them say, that they know too well and too ill, what and what not; they find (by lamentable Experience) that we have turned their *Liberty* into Bondage, their Freedom into Slavery, and their Happiness into an unexampled Infelicity. Nay, it is reported, that we have found two Ways to Hell, which are, either to be Rebels, or perjured; to fight in Person against the King, and to be forsworn by a Covenant to owe him no Obedience, or dutiful Allegiance: They say we say, Tush, these are but Trifles, which may be answered at an easy Rate, a small Matter will clear this Reckoning; it is no more than everlasting Damnation, for which, *Mr. Speaker*, I am bold to make use of a Speech in the distasteful Litany, *Good Lord, deliver us*.

The Malignants do compare this *Commonwealth* to an old Kettle, with here and there a Fault or Hole, a Crack, or a Flaw in it; and that we (in Imitation of our worthy Brethren of *Banbury*) were intrusted to mend the said Kettle; but, like deceitful and cheating Knaves, we have, instead of stopping one Hole, made three or four Score; for the People chose us to ease them of some mild and tolerable Grievances, which we have done so artificially, that they all cry and complain*, that the Medicine is forty Times worse than the Disease, and the Remedy a hundred Times worse than the Me-

dicine. And so much is reported that we have done for the *Subject*.

Seventhly, Mr. Speaker, The Malignants Query, or Question, is, what we have done for *Reformation*: What, by our industrious Care, and long Sitting, we have reformed; how the Service of God is by us more religiously, sincerely, zealously, fervently, and ardently preached or practised; what we have amended either in Church or Kingdom; how either the King is more honoured and obeyed than he was before this Parliament; what Good we have done this four or five Years; with what Faces can we look upon the Freeholders and Corporations in every Shire, County, City, Town, and Borough in this Kingdom, who cried us up, and with their Voices elected us to be *Knights* and *Burgesses*; which Way we can answer the same, for our many Breaches of that great Trust which they intrusted us withal? I tell you, *Mr. Speaker*, these are home Questions; and they plainly say, that all our Reformation is Nonconformation; and, by sure Confirmation, true Information, certain Affirmation, we have by cunning Transformation turned all to Deformation: So that if our Predecessors and Ancestors that are departed this Life (to a better or worse) should, or could rise out of their Graves, and see the Change, Alteration, and unmannerly Manners, that have overspread this Church and Kingdom, they would think they were not in *England*, but either in *Turky*, *Barbary*, *Scythia*, *Tartary*, or some Land that is inhabited by *Infidels* or *Pagans*; for *England*, as it is, looks no more like *England*, as it was five Years ago, than a Camel, or Cockle-shell, are like an Owl, or a red Herring.

Eighthly and Lastly, Briefly and compendiously, the Question is, what have we done for *ourselves*: We have run the Hazard of our Estates to be justly forfeited by Rebellion, against a just, merciful, and truly religious King; our Lives are liable to the Rigour of such Laws as former Parliaments have enacted against Rebels and Traitors; and ourselves are in Danger of perpetual Perdition, if Submission, Contrition, and Satisfaction be not humbly and speedily performed, or endeavoured; for we, and none but we, have altered this Kingdom's Felicity to Confusion and Misery; from a pleasant mer-

* See the next Tract that follows, intituled, *Awake, O England*.

ry Comedy, to a dismal bloody Tragedy, sufficient to fill a large History of perpetual Memory of us and our Posterity.

And thus, Mr. *Speaker*, have I, with as much Brevity as I could, run over my eight Parts of

Speech, whereby may be perceived, how the malignant Adversaries do esteem of us and our Actions. I could speak more than I have said, and I could say more than I have spoken; but, having done, I hold it Discretion to make an End.

Awake O England: Or the People's Invitation to King Charles.
Being a Recital of the Ruins over-running the People and their Trades; with an opportune Advice to return to Obedience of their Kings, under whom they ever flourished.

*Navita de ventis, de tauris narrat Arator:
Enumerat Miles Vulnera; Pastor Oves.*

“ Let Mariners observe the Winds, and painful Ploughmen till
“ their Grounds;
“ Let honest Shepherds feed their Flocks, whilst Soldiers glory in
“ their Wounds.”

And so God save all who cry,

G O D save the K I N G.

London, Printed for *Charles Prince*, and are to be sold at the
East End of *St. Paul's*. MDCLX.

WE *Plebeians* assuming the Name, not of a House, but of a Kingdom of Commons, having, for twenty Years, stood fearfully staring (like our innocent Sheep at the Barking and Howling of Dogs and Wolves) not daring to tune our Pipes of Pastime, which to us and them were much more acceptable Musick than the shrieking Trumpets and affrighting Drums, that, like Thunder, warn us to our Cottages, as in Prevention of a Storm.

We, who have been robbed of that rich Treasure, our Liberty, and of that honest Freedom, whereby we drew our wholesome Country Air with Safety, more natural to us than Parliamentary Pills or Military Lances, even we also find ourselves to be in the Condition of our poor rustick Neighbour, who hearing herself abused, and in Danger to be ruined by her knavish and corrupted Lawyer, cried out to the Judge, that, in bearing ten Children, she felt not so much Pain as at that Time she did to hold her Peace, whilst she was wrongfully divested of her

her Livelihood; therefore, our Silence breaks forth.

But our Case is far worse, for ours is already gone, even all the Substance that we had; and being much against our Will wasted (not, like Prodigals, upon Harlots, who, nevertheless, would have shewed some Remorse towards them they had ruined). Our Lot is rather like theirs, who, having fallen into the merciless Hands of Thieves and Pyrates, are left wounded and stripped, yet not at all regarded by our hard-hearted Landlords, or by our Leech-like Lawyers, nor yet by our uncharitable Clergy, who load us with Duty to Death, and for Example are the first that fly from the Trial.

Even we *Plebeians*, beholding ourselves to be the Moral of that Emblem which presents the *Prelate* praying for all, and the Lawyer pleading for all, and the Soldier fighting for all, and the Countryman feeding all, have sadly found that we only, the despised Peasants, have dearly paid for all; therefore (if Losers have Leave to speak) let no Man censure us, if we, being brought to the Hog's Ordinary, to beg the Husks of them who devoured the Kernels and Substance of our Food, be yet denied that Relief; that we, remembering when we bore Obedience to our pious Princes, and enjoyed a heavenly Father who provided for us, do now return to him and to our gracious King, his lawful Deputy, and, with unfeigned Repentance and Humility, cry out, saying, *O heavenly Father, O earthly divine Sovereign, we, even we, have sinned and rebelled against Heaven and against thee, and are no more worthy to be called thy Sons; make us yet thy Servants, O God, and O King; that so, our timely Repentance finding thy gracious Pardon, we may become thy Sons again.*

We now behold ourselves to be as the Brutes in the Wilderness, and hoping our Lions, who by their Power, and by the Subtlety of their Fox-like Adjutants, have made themselves beastial Kings over us, would, indeed, relieve and feed us according to their Promises and our Wants, do, on the contrary, find and feel, that, instead of Help, our Hunger is increased; instead of the Liberty which they proclaimed, we languish in Prisons, so that for the Showers of Joy (after which we have long gaped) our Hearts are filled with Heaviness, and our Tongues utter only Lamentations.

The Oil and Honey promised us by *Oliver*, is turned into Gall and Bitterness; *Lambert's* free Quarterings have licked up the little that

was left in our Cruses; *Lawson* hath lost the Honour of our Seas; and we who have so long feared and disclaimed, and cursed the Papists, are now forced and glad to fly to a *Monk* for Safe-guard, whom, nevertheless, we worthily bless; we worship him with our Bodies, and endow him with our own and others worldly Goods, yea, we willingly would espouse him also, did not his *Order* forbid him to marry Kingdoms; however, we will honour him as our *Joseph*, for his Wisdom and Courage in preventing us from devouring each other, as undoubtedly that Famine, which we foresee, and he most prudently endeavours to prevent, would bring upon us.

The World admires and derides our causeless Confusions, beholding that the Quarrels of the most mighty Potentates of *Europe*, for Crowns and Kingdoms, grounded upon Justice and Right, are soon and happily composed, whilst our unjust and unnatural *Cannibal* Confusions are unwilling to look towards an End.

Was our Royal State and unparalleled Government the Garden which we intended to weed? Behold, our foolish and unskilful Hands have, together with our glorious *Monarchs*, instead of calumniated evil Counsellors, plucked up our Inheritance in Law and Liberty, and swept away our Freedom and Safety with our *Solomon's* beautiful and magnificent Tents; was our Religion, that goodly Corn-field, said to be over-run with Tares and Thistles, and Cockle? Behold the ignorant Man hath been that evil Husbandman, who, refusing the wise Instructions of his Lord, has maliciously eradicated the Wheat Root and Branch, and scattered over the whole Field Tares and Thistles, and Briars and Thorns.

Our Scriptures which instruct us, by the Fall of *Israel's* Nation, whose Prophets had admonished them by Judgments which they found infallible, have no where repeated to us such Provocations from that People, as we have given to our God, until those, when their Combinations took Counsel against the Son of God, and crucified the Lord of Life; and surely our unchristian Rebellion, or at least theirs, which have practised such Treasons, have produced such Effects, as no mortal Man came nearer the Sufferings of our Saviour's Humanity, than did our Royal and Divine Sovereign, crucified by Lawyers, Preachers, and Soldiers.

Our Magistracy and Judicatures, which are the pretended Sanctuary to our Liberty, and inheritable Interest to Justice and Right, which
by

by our ancient Laws, were founded upon God's Law, have, through Usurpation of Power, been intrusted in such viscous and bird-limed Fingers, as none could have the Benefit of them, but such as could give most for their Sentence, inso-much as that, which was formerly under Condemnation or Bribery, hath lately grown to publick-Sale; whereby Justice is become as valuable and common at Rates as Cardons at *Rome*.

We remember, that in the Beginning of our late transcendent Parliament (which none before it could reach in Comparison of dangerous Issues and deadly Fruits) how high the Cries went against Ship-money, Patents, Monopolies, illegal Imprisonments, and such other Breaches into our free-born Interests, as appeared by the then condemning Complaints, which searched our Sores to the Worth of a Sin; and yet amongst all those Lamentations, which hooded our Eyes, and deafened our Ears, whilst our Pockets were picked, and our Wives Fingers stripped, we never heard of Excises, fifth and twentieth Parts, Sequestrations, Taxes and Contributions, and amongst all the Oppressions, Gifts to maintain foreign Rebellions; but well we remember, that whilst we honestly paid our Tithes, we and our Ministers enjoyed such a double Blessing, as our Souls fed upon the Food which now they want; and our Ministers rested contented with their Dues, for which they returned grateful Hospitalities, without the new ungodly Encumbrances of Augmentations, whereby robbing *Peter* to pay *Paul*, many of our Church Doors have so lost their Keys, as none have entered into them for many Years.

When we paid Ship-money, which amounted not to so much as one of our *Friday Night Suppers*, in the whole Year, by the Pole, we had Safeguard to our Seas, our Wool went to the Workmen, our Cloathing passed by the Merchants to all Parts of the World; Returns were made, of all Things we wanted at easy Rates, even to Richness, Glory, and Plenty; our Navigation was as sure as our Travel from one Market to another; our meanest Seamen, who took Charge, had noble Receptions at Home and Abroad; we enjoyed our Houses and Lands in Peace, and had no complaining in our Streets; our Woods were guarded by Laws, and supplied by Plantation; our Fleets were formidable upon all Seas, and our People of all Conditions, as well Civil as Soldiery, brought Honour and Dignity to our Kingdoms.

Instead of these Rejoicings, we are filled with Howlings; our Trades are generally lost, and there is none to give us Work; our Wool and Leather, and Corn, and Butter, and Cheese, are daily transported, and whilst we are lessened in our Manufactures, and Vocations and Industries, we are raised in Rents, and Food, and Taxes, and all Things belonging to our Livelihood; the Mysteries of our Crafts, and the Materials of our Manufactures, do find such acceptable Receipt in foreign Parts, as unconscionable Men have brought the Ruins of their own Country into a Trade; and those Laws, which for the chief Benefit of the People, and the very Life of Trade, are made, are so boldly affronted, as the good Patriots, who for the Benefit of themselves and Country, endeavour to prevent the great Damages, which come by such bold Attempts, are by cunning Practices of Clerks, and the Remissness of superior Officers, so discouraged, as that Law, which was made to defend and encourage them, is carried fully against them, and the Plaintiffs are sued at Law, till they have neither Cloke, nor Coat, nor Bed, nor Board, nor House, but a Prison to receive them; Widows wring their Hands, and *Orphans* lament, whilst there is none to deliver them; every Man oppresseth his Neighbour, for it seems good in his own Eyes so to do, because, alas, we have no *King*.

If we look into our neighbour Nations, we are the Subjects of their Mirth, and the Song of the Scornful; we (as if we were all guilty) are stiled Murtherers, King-killers, and the very Abjects among them trample upon us, for the blasphemous People among us have committed so horrible Treasons, as ought not once to be named among us; if we turn our Eyes and Ears from these dismal Spectacles and Groans, we presently encounter another Object of our Sorrows, the Body of our Trade is anatomized, dissected, and, from the most intrinsick Secrets thereof, is discover'd to Foreigners; all Workings in Wool, which together with that Material have, by the Providence of our Ancestors, been, with all their Wisdom, restrained from other Nations, are now so much at Liberty, and, by false-hearted *Englishmen*, made so familiar to Strangers, as not only our Mysteries are held open, but our Materials are made theirs, and that Trade of Cloathing, which, in one valuable Kind or other, maintained eleven or twelve Parts of our Kingdom, is almost totally lost to
England,

England, which, for many Hundreds of Years, hath made them be both loved and feared of all other Nations.

As for our Fleets, which were formidable, and our Navigation, which was honourable throughout the World, our Ships are now daily brought into Captivity, insomuch as, through our short and improvident War, made with *Spain*, above Two-thousand *English* Vessels have been carried into their Ports, and all the Goods in them are made Prizes; many, who have been very able Merchants, who have not only kept Hospitality at Home to the great Relief of the Needy, but have built and maintained tall Ships Abroad, to the Honour and Strength of our Kingdom, and to the Increase of Mariners and Trade, have in these Times been and still are brought to compound their Debts, not with more Disrepute to their Credit than Grief to their Hearts, and Ruin to their Families.

We could launch forth into an Ocean of our Calamities, did we not hold it to be more material and timely to prescribe Remedies, which, being like to prove a long Work by Precept, we will shut it up into Example: Look we, therefore, upon our neighbour Nations, among whom, though there have been long Divisions by Claims, each thinking himself to be in the right, and each having the unanimous Affection and Assistance of their own Subjects, have yet thought fit, if not been forced, to compound their Differences, which they embraced with no small Joy; our Case is more formidable, the Members of the same Body continue fighting against their natural Head, for Maintenance of which Quarrel they have too long destroyed each other; therefore, in Obedience to the Divine Doctrine, and in Compassion to yourselves and Posterity, dear Country, return in Duty to your lawful native Sovereign, fall to your honest Vo-

cations; fear God and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to Change; you have dearly paid for the Knowledge of this Truth, and let not now your Obstinacy longer destroy you. Let him, who hath illegally gotten any Thing by the late unnatural Wars, make Haste and restore it, and learn of that holy and inspired King *David*, *That a small Estate, rightly gotten, is more and more prosperous than innumerable Riches of unrighteous Purchase or Plunder.* Tho' the *Israelites*, by God's Command, divested the *Egyptians* of their Wealth and Jewels, yet it turned but to their own Confusion; for even their most holy Priests and Instructors ensnared them with the Works of their own Hands, and though he called the molten Images which he made out of their plundered Ear-rings, and other Ensigns of Pride and Luxury, their Gods which brought them out of *Egypt*, yet, doubtless, the Devil had set such Idols in higher Esteem and Honour with them than was the God of their Deliverances. Their Sufferings thereby are recorded for our Example.

In a Word, let no Man be ashamed to return to his honest Vocation; if God have hitherto used them as his Rod, let them not be high-minded but fear, that the angry Father may, by the Tears, and Prayers, and Humiliations, and Returnings of Children to Duty in Expression of his reciprocal Love to his Children, return also in Affection, and, in Sign of the same, cast his Rod into the Fire, where shall be Weeping, and Wailing, and Gnashing of Teeth, because you had not Compassion on your Brethren, truly penitent for their and your Sins.

Repent, dear Countrymen, and take a Heathen Poet's, Propertius, Advice, as most properly becoming each Man.

The Copy of an Order agreed upon in the House of Commons,
upon *Friday* the Eighteenth of *June*, wherein every Man is
rated according to his Estate, for the King's Use.

Printed in the Year MDCXLI.

DUKES, One-hundred Pounds.
Marqueſſes, Eighty Pounds.
Earls, Sixty Pounds.
Viſcounts, Fifty Pounds.
Lords, Forty Pounds.
Baronets and Knights of the Bath, Thirty Pounds.
Knights, Twenty Pounds.
Eſquires, Ten Pounds.
Gentlemen of One-hundred Pounds *per Annum*, Five Pounds.
Recuſants of all Degrees to double Proteſtants.
Lord Mayor, Forty Pounds.
Aldermen Knights, Twenty Pounds.
Citizens fined for Sheriffs, Twenty Pounds.
Deputy Aldermen, Fifteen Pounds.
Merchant Strangers, Knights, Forty Pounds.
Common-Council Men, Five Pounds.
Livery-Men of the firſt twelve Companies, and thoſe that fined for it, Five Pounds.
Livery-Men of other Companies, Fifty Shillings.
Maſters and Wardens of thoſe other Companies, Five Pounds.
Every one free of thoſe Companies, One Pound.
Every Freeman of other Companies, Ten Shillings.
Every Merchant that trades by Sea, inhabiting in *London*, Ten Pounds.
Every Merchant Stranger, that trades within Land, Five Pounds.
Every *English* Merchant reſiding in the City of *London*, and not free, Five Pounds.

Every *English* Faſtor that dwells in *London*, and is not free of the City, Forty Shillings.
Every Stranger Proteſtant, Handy-craft Trade, and Artificer, Two Shillings.
Every Papiſt Stranger and Handy-craft, Four Shillings.
Every Widow a third Part, according to her Huſband's Degree.
Every Judge, a Knight, Twenty Pounds.
Every King's Serjeant, Twenty-five Pounds.
Every Serjeant at Law, Twenty Pounds.
Every one of the King's, Queen's, and Prince's Council, Twenty Pounds.
Every Doctor of Civil Law, and Doctor of Phyſick, Ten Pounds.
Every Biſhop, Sixty Pounds.
Every Dean, Forty Pounds.
Every Canon, Twenty Pounds.
Every Prebend, Twenty Pounds.
Every Archdeacon, Fifteen Pounds.
Every Chancellor, and every Commiſſary, Fifteen Pounds.
Every Parſon or Vicar at One-hundred Pounds *per Annum*, Five Pounds.
Every Office worth above One-hundred Pounds *per Annum*, to be referred to a Committee, to be rated every Man that may ſpend Fifty Pounds *per Annum*, Thirty Shillings.
Every Man that may ſpend Twenty Pounds *per Annum*, Five Shillings.
Every Perſon that is above Sixteen Years of Age, and doth not receive Alms, and is not formerly rated, ſhall pay Six-pence *per Pole*.

The

The History of the Life and Death of *Oliver Cromwell*, the late Usurper, and pretended Protector of *England*, &c. truly collected and published, for a Warning to all Tyrants and Usurpers. By *J. H. Gent*.

London, Printed for *F. Coles*, at the *Lamb* in the *Old-Bailey*, MDCLXIII.

CHAP. I.

Shewing the Birth and Parentage, and Place of Nativity of the said Oliver Cromwell.

THE unparalleled Actions of this Man have made People more curious, than otherwise they would be, to know his Rise and Birth, which otherwise might better, to the Advantage of his Memory, have been yet obscured and concealed; for it will neither add Praise nor Commendation, either to his Country or Relations; both which have publicly protested their Shame and their Abhorrence of him. So that, without Prejudice to his Family, who have cleared themselves of any Participation of his Facts, and did, and do, detest both him and them: You may understand, he was the Son of *Henry Cromwell*, alias *Williams*, the younger Son of Sir *Henry Cromwell*, of *Hinchbrook*, in the County of *Huntingdon*, Knight,

who so magnificently treated King *James* in that Place, at his Coming into *England*; who so loyally and affectionately loved King *Charles the Martyr*; and, who, lastly, so hated and abominated this *Oliver*, his Nephew, God-son, and Name-fake.

He was born at *Huntingdon*, in the Year 1599, where his Father, being a Cadet, or younger Brother, as we have said, having no large Estate, had intermarried with a *Brewer's* Widow, by whom he had some Addition of Fortune, and from her sprung that Story of *Oliver's* being a *Brewer* in *Huntingdon*. He was, from his Infancy, a lusty, active Child, and of a sturdy rough Temper; which, to remedy, in his younger Years, his Father prudently took this Course:

CHAP. II.

How Oliver was educated and brought up in the University of Cambridge, and afterwards in Lincoln's-Inn, in the Study of the Law.

ABout the Age, therefore, of thirteen or fourteen Years, his Father sent him to the University of *Cambridge*, to have him tempered and managed, by the severe Tuition and Discipline of the University; but his Tutor

quickly perceived the boisterous and untractable Spirit of his Pupil, who was more for Action than Speculation, and loved Cudgels, Foot-ball-playing, or any Game and Exercise, better than his Book; so that there was no Hopes of making him

him a Scholar, or a learned Man; and much ado there was to keep him so in Compass, that he became not an open and publick Dishonour to his Friends; (here he was made an Actor in the Play of the five Senses, where he ominously stumbled at a Crown, which he had also dreamed he should once wear) whereupon he was presently removed, his Tutor weary, and afraid of Disgrace by him, to *Lincoln's Inn*, where he might with less Imputation and Observance, if his Bent were so given, roister it out, and yet, without much Trouble, attain

some Knowledge in the Laws, to qualify him for a Country Gentleman, and that little Competency his Father could leave him. But no such *Rudiments* would sink into him; he was for rougher Arguments and Pleas, Club-law; and, indeed, what Occasion had he to know and be versed in the Law, whose Designs, and wicked Practices afterwards, were directly opposite to all Laws, both Divine and Human? So that he continued not long there, but was called Home, his Father dying soon after, and leaving him to his Swing.

CHAP. III.

Of his Manner of Life and Conversation in the Country.

OLIVER, being come down into the Country, and growing sturdy, and of Man's Stature, frequented all Manner of wild Company; who but he at any Match or Game whatsoever, where he would drink and roar with the rudest of his Companions? And when his Money, which he had sparingly from his Mother, who yet kept the Purse, failed him, he would make the *Victuallers* trust him, to such a Ruin of his Credit and Reputation, he being as famous for his Ranting and his Scores, as after for his Prayers and Victories, that the Ale-wives of *Huntingdon*, if they saw him coming, would set up a Cry, Here comes

young *Cromwell*, shut up the Doors, and so keep him out. But he had better Success in the War, for then there was no shutting of him out, no Garrison or Castle, or Strength whatsoever, was sufficient to debar him. But that may be imputable to the Luck of his former Achievements, Fortune being tied at his Girdle, and keeping a constant Tenor with him; for, at this Age, he would make nothing of beating of Tinkers, and such mastey Fellows at Quarter-staff, or any such Weapon they would chuse; so that he was dreaded by all the Ale-drinkers, as well as Ale-wives of the Country.

CHAP. IV.

How Oliver was reclaimed from these lewd Courses, and how he joined himself to the preciser Sort, and became an Hypocritical Convert.

BY these debauched Courses of Life, and regardless Thoughts how the World went, as long as Drink and Company could be had, no Matter how nor where; he had so endangered his small Estate and Patrimony, and was so far in Debt, that he was forced to retire himself, and get out of the Way, and live privately, for fear of private Arrests and Judgments, which were brought against him. In this solitary State, he had Time to bethink himself of his Condition; and having nothing else to do, having played a Part at *Cambridge*, to personate another at Home, seeming very pensive and melancholy, and much reserved in his Talk and Discourse, which, from vain, and frivolous, and

wild Speeches, was now altered into serious, and modest, and grave Language, and sober Expression; which, accommodated and set forth with a more staid and solemn Aspect and Gesture, made him appear to be another Kind of Person, having run from the one Extreme to the other, from stark Naught, to too Good; and it will be a Question, whether by the first he were more destructive to himself, or by the latter, more pernicious to his Country.

This Humour soured him at last into a precise Puritanism, with whom his zealous Design was to ingratiate himself; who increasing every Day, and being grown to a headstrong Faction, he doubted not, but if Time should serve,

which his daring Spirit (if he had not a Familiar) told him was a coming, to be principal Person among them, and howsoever, to make up his Decays on his Fortunes, by the kind-hearted Supplies and Loans of the Brotherhood, who were very proud of such a Profelyte.

In a short Time after, he had learned to pray, and attained a very ready Faculty therein, which he made no Nicety to manifest upon all Occasions, both in their publick and private Meetings; so that he was looked upon by those

of his godly Party, as their chiefest Ornament, and by the rest of the World, as a strange Wonder. This artificial Devotion did not only then advantage him, but served him thereafter through the whole Course of his Life, and was the main Ingredient of all his Policies and Successes. A Friar was an Ass to him for saying of Prayers, he was able to give him two for one with his Beads and by Rote, and out-strip him *Extempore*.

CHAP. V.

How Oliver, being noted for his pretended Sanctity, was chosen a Burgess of Cambridge for the Long-Parliament; and, the War breaking out, was made a Captain of Horse.

BY this sanctimonious Vizor, and manifested Zeal for Reformation, which was then in every Man's Mouth, he was looked upon as the fittest Instrument to promote it in the Parliament, which the King had called in 1640, to redress the Grievances of the State and Church, and to supply his Necessities; and, therefore, the Puritan Faction, and his Relations by Marriage, as Mr. Goodwin, and also *Hambden* of *Buckingham*, laboured, in Election of Burgesses for the Town of *Cambridge*, to have him chosen. The Town was generally infected with the same Disease, and therefore it was no hard Matter to effect it. Sitting in Parliament, as a Member, he quickly saw which Way the Stream

went, and therefore resolved to run one of the first with it; and therefore helped out the Noise and Cry for Privilege, proving a great Stickler against the Prerogative, and, to that End, endeavouring to widen the Breach; and made Way, by Malepertness of Tumults, against the King's Person and Court; insomuch that he became conspicuous and noted for his Aversion to the Government. The Flame of those inward Burnings now breaking out, and because of his Influence in his Country, and his bold, confident Spirit, he was courted with a Commission (which he accepted) under the Earl of *Essex*, the Parliament's General, and was made a Captain of a Troop of Horse.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Exploits Cromwell did in the Beginning of the War.

HAVING raised his Troop, he marched not presently with the gross and main Body of the Army, but was ordered to continue about his own Country, that so his own Enterprizes might be the better observed, and he taken Notice of; so that he was a rising Man from the very first Beginning of our Civil Confusions. The first Service that he appeared in, was the Seizure of Sir *Henry Conisby*, the Sheriff of *Hertfordshire*, when, in a gallant Contempt of the Parliament, he was proclaiming the Commission of Array at *St. Albans*, and sending him, and other Gentlemen his Assistants,

to *London*; which sudden and meritorious Exploit of his was well resented, and highly commended by the Parliament. His next Piece of Diligence was the like Seizure of Sir *John Pettus*, and forty Gentlemen more, of the County of *Suffolk*, who were forming a Party for the King, and securing them; by which Means, he broke the Neck of any future Design in that, or the next County of *Norfolk*, for the Royal Interest; so that he had brought all the Eastern Part of *England* to the Parliament's Subjection, by a bloodless and easy Conquest: But his other Victories, which were princi-

principally ascribed to him, though they were joined with him, were very sanguineous, and fatally cruel.

As his last home Employment, he was ordered to purge and to inspect the University, wherein he proceeded with so much Rigour against that Place of his own Nurture, &c. it was conceived he would at last as mercilessly use his Mother, then bleeding *England*: Which Work being over, and unhappily effected, *Cromwell* was the only Man; his Prudence, Fortune, and Valour every where applauded and extolled, and he reputed for one of the most eminent and able Commanders in the Parliament's Army.

It was Time, therefore, now to shew him abroad, having armed, disciplined, and paid his Men so carefully, that there was no Doubt of their prevailing upon any equal Enemy, and under the Conduct of so vigilant and wary a Leader, whose only Aim it was to keep up his Reputation to greater Undertakings. Therefore, in order to a Conjunction and Assistance of the *Scots*, who were entered *England*, he was made Lieutenant General to the Earl of *Manchester*, who had raised his Army out of the associated Counties, as *Cambridge*, *Huntingdon*, *Bedford*, *Suffolk*, &c. Those Armies

being joined, and mastering the Field (the Marquis of *Newcastle*, who opposed them, retreating into *York*) they resolved to besiege that City: To the Relief whereof, Prince *Rupert* came, and forcing them to draw off from their League, he gave them Battle on *Marston Moor*, July 2, 1644. In the Beginning of the Fight, Prince *Rupert* had utterly discomfited the right Wing of the Army, where Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the *Scots* Horse stood, and disordered the main Body of the Foot, so that the Day was given for lost, the *Scots* running and throwing down their Arms; when *Cromwell*, with his *Curassiers*, and the rest of my Lord *Manchester's* Horse, who were placed in the right Wing, fell with such Force and Fury upon the Lord *Goring's* Brigades on the Right, that they presently broke them in Pieces, and following their Success, before the Prince returned, obtained a compleat Victory, killing no less than Five-thousand Men, gaining their Camp, Bag and Baggage; and, as the Price of all, the City of *York*: Hence he acquired that terrible Name of *Ironsides*, his Troops being reported invulnerable and unconquerable. By this Defeat, he lifted up himself to those great Titles and Places he went through afterwards.

CHAP. VII.

A Continuance of his Successes against his Sovereign and his Forces; his treacherous and disloyal Dealing with his Majesty.

THE next Field we find him in, was that of the second *Newberry*, October 27, 1644, where with the same Felicity and Valour, he had the better, on that Part of the Field, where he fought, and contributed mainly to that Piece of a Victory the Parliament Forces had there; when, to cloud and damp this rising Martialist, he was articted against by his superior Officers, for some Miscarriages and Practices in the Army, to the Hinderance of the Service, which was indeed his ambitious Insinuation into the Affection of the Soldiery; but this was never prosecuted, his Friends, the Grandees of the Independent Party, interposing and justifying him, for a godly, expert, and valiant Commander.

This Independent Faction was now grown too crafty, and had supplanted their Brother of Presbytery, by new modelling the Army, turning out most of *Essex's* Officers, and dismissing all

Members of Parliament from their several Commands therein; among which Number, *Cromwell* should have been included, but his *Partisans* wrought so, that he was continued for forty Days, and those expired longer and longer, even till the War ended. By this said Model Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was made Lord General, and *Cromwell*, after some Time, Lieutenant General, being the only Man looked upon able to carry on the Independent Interest. The first Action he engaged in, in this Quality, was his routing of the Queen's Regiment and some other Troops (come from *Worcester* to fetch the King from *Oxford*, then designed to be besieged in the Beginning of the Year 1645) at *Islip Bridge*; then his immediate summoning and taking *Blechindon House*, April 24, where, after as he was designing a Stratagem upon *Faringdon House*, he was set upon by as vigilant a Commander as himself, the Lord *Goring*, and received a

Smart Brush, and the only one throughout the War; which now hastening to an End, at the fatal *Naseby*, he was called from out of the *Isle of Ely* (whither he had been lately sent to secure it, it being thought the King would have turned his now successful Arms thitherward) to assist the General, who, by his Letters to the Parliament, had desired it. That unfortunate Day the 14th of *June* 1646, owes its Dismalness to the Fortune of this Rebel, whose Troops alone could glory in that Atchievement; for the left Wing of that Army, where *Ireton*, his Son-in-Law, commanded, was absolutely routed, and the main Body sorely distressed; so that *Cromwell* alone assured that Victory.

So ended the first War, with the Praises and Triumphs of this Man of War, adored and worshipped by his Party, who stuck not to blaspheme God and his Scriptures, attributing all those *Hosanna's*, and Psalms, and Songs of Deliverance and Victory to this their Champion, in Effect, making a meer Idol of him; which Phanatick religious Veneration he missed not to improve, though, for the present, he covered his Ambition with Modesty and Humility, ascribing all Things, in a canting Way of Expression, to the Goodness and Omnipotence of God, which he frequently and impiously abused, intituling it to all his wicked and villainous Designs and Actions.

The War thus ended, and the King having escaped their Swords, and so the main Rub yet lay in the Way to his projected Sovereignty; he resolved by Treachery to ruin him; to this Purpose, that he might render the King indisposed to the Terms and Propositions of the Parliament, which were hard and unreasonable enough besides, he pretended to the King, that the Army should take his Part, and declare for him; as on the other Side (in the Parliament House, and privately in the Army, telling them that the King's Design of Peace and Agreement was only to get them disbanded, and then hang them for their Rebellion) he exasperated them against the King, adding that God had hardened his Heart against any Composure, and had rejected him; and when all this would not do, but that the People every Day more and more were undeceived, and he conceived a Fear, they might rescue the King from *Hampton Court*,

and bring him to *London*, which the King and all good Men desired; he contrived another wicked Device to the King's final Overthrow, by scaring him with the Adjutators (such were two selected, out of each Company and Troop) Conspiracy to assassinate him, and so making him fly to the *Isle of Wight*, a distant and sure Prison, from whence he never came but to his Death. The King a while before was not ignorant of these treacherous Arts of *Cromwell*, seeing nothing performed, as to substance, of whatever he promised, and therefore did roundly tax him with his Faithlessness; who, at the Upshot, told the King, that he did misconstrue his Words, or else he remembered no such Matter; and that, if it were so, yet it were no Time to perform them, till the Discipline of the Army was recovered, and those Adjutators in a Capacity to be questioned, who were now most outrageously and uncontrollably violent against his Person and Government, with many more such Flams and Delays, and traitorous Fallacies.

The King being in Prison at *Carew Castle* in the said Isle, by the Juggling of *Cromwell* with *Hammond* the Governor (Brother to one of the King's most affected Chaplains) an ungrateful Fellow, who owed himself to the King's Bounty, several fresh Attempts were made for his Restitution; that, which particularly concerned this *Oliver*, was the *Welch* Insurrection at *Pembroke*, which Town, in *July*, after a brave Defence, was surrendered to him; and the *Scots* Invasion under Duke *Hamilton*, whose Army, to which were joined some three-thousand *English* under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, he totally defeated at *Preston* in *Lancashire*, on the 17th of *August* (and not long after the General *Fairfax* took in *Colchester*, which had stood out three Months in Expectation of Relief from this Army, upon the same Account) and pursued his Victory as far as *Scotland*, marching to *Edinburgh*; and there making sure of a Party, dealing with Bribes, and other forceable Persuasions, and making them disarm themselves to give him no Disturbance or Interruption, in the accomplishing his most execrable Regicide, for which he was now ready, the expected Advantages and Opportunities being now in his Hand.

C H A P. VIII.

Cromwell turns out the Parliament, murders the King, and sets up a Commonwealth, who, invading Scotland and Ireland, make him their General.

Cromwell posting to London, he and his Son Ireton put the Council of Officers, to demand Justice upon the King, as the capital Offender, and Author of all the Troubles and Bloodshed; which he so eagerly prosecuted, that though the Parliament had nearly concluded with the King in the *Isle of Wight*, after a full Treaty, he by Col. Pride, one that would venture upon any Thing he was commanded by him, secludes twice the Major Part of the Members, and then packs up a Junctio of Army Blades, of some Fifty, who constitute a *High Court of Justice*, by which the Martyr King was traiterously and barbarously condemned and beheaded, *January 30*. By the same Junctio and Rump of a Parliament, the Kingship and Government by a single Person was voted useless and dangerous, to which Cromwell freely assented, as purposing to time his Ambition, now the great Obstacle was removed.

But, though the King and his Interest were defunct in *England*, yet they were not in *Ireland* or *Scotland*; whereupon Cromwell is made General for the *Irish Expedition*, and though he was the only Dissuader of the Soldiery from that Service, during the Quarrel, between the Independents and the Presbyterians, and while he had accomplished his mischievous Ends upon the King; yet now he is severely bent to transport such as the Lot should appoint: Which the

Levelling Party, the Adjutators, Whelps of his own Litter, refusing and mutinying, them likewise under Pretence of a Treaty, and giving and receiving Satisfaction (their usual Expressions) he betrays and surprises at *Burford* (not daring to venture a Fight with them, for fear of a total Defection of his own Party) and had the Ring-leaders shot to Death.

Having surmounted this Difficulty, he wafts his Army over into *Ireland*, and presently storms *Tredagh*, and understanding it was the Flower of the King's Army, set there to give him a Repulse, having twice been beaten off, he led his Men himself the third Time, and entered, and put all to the Sword (having amused the Defendants who maintained the Breach, but, having then lost their Colonel, were in some Confusion, through Offer of Quarter, and by that Device got Admittance) with a like Baseness, Treachery, and Cruelty.

After that followed the Rendition of most of that Kingdom, the Lord Lieutenant thereof, the Marquis of *Ormond*, being in no Condition to resist him: Whereupon the *Scotch War* then newly Beginning, Cromwell was sent for over, and the Presbyterian Ministers, set on, no Doubt, by some of his Agents, having inveigled *Fairfax* with the Unlawfulness of his engaging against their good Brethren, he laid down his Commission, which was readily conferred on, and taken up by Cromwell.

C H A P. IX.

Of Cromwell's March into Scotland, his Victories at Dunbar and Worcester, and the Reduction of that Kingdom.

Gladly did Oliver undertake this War, for now he was sure to make the Army his own, by placing and displacing of Officers; long it was, and many Delays were used by the *Scots*, before they would be brought to fight, intending to starve the *English Army*, which was near done to their Hands, and Oliver sneaking away Home, when the precipitate *blue Cap*, greedy of Spoil and Victory, would

needs fall upon them at *Dunbar*, *Sept. 3, 1650*. and were there, by the Prowess and desperate Valour of their Enemies, totally overcome. Cromwell; therefore, now marches back again to *Edinburgh*, and buys that impregnable Castle of the Traitor *Dundas*, and advances against King *Charles the Second*, who lay encamped by *Stirling*; but he not stirring out of his fortified Camp, and there being no other or further

further Passage into *Scotland*, but over the *Frith*, an Arm of the Sea: *Cromwell* wafts over most Part of his Army, and defeats a *Scott* Party, while the King gives *Cromwell* the Go-by, being two Days March before him, and after a tedious March came to *Worcester*, August 22; whither, not long after, came *Cromwell* in great Doubt and Perplexity by the Way (having left General *Monk*, to carry on the War in *Scotland*, who, shortly after, reduced the whole Kingdom) and beset the Town, being recruited, and made up with his old Army, to above forty-thousand Men; what shall I say of that unfortunate Day? The King was worsted, and most miraculously escaped, and so *Cromwell* might have Leave to play.

But no such Matter, the Time was come, he had long expected to act his own Game, and

appear in it for himself, for by the Year 1653, *Scotland* and *Ireland* being wholly subdued, and in the Hands of his most trusty Privado's and Confidants, his new Son-in-Law *Fleetwood* (for *Ireton* was dead of the Plague at *Limerick*) being Deputy of *Ireland*, and General *Monk* Governor of *Scotland*; he proposeth to the Parliament the Desires of the Army, for their Dissolution, to make Way for Succession of a new Representative; which they endeavouring to delay, and to impose upon him with the Necessities of their fitting a While longer, his Ambition could brook no longer Retardments, but sent Major General *Harrison* on the 20th of April 1653, to cut their Rump-ships; which he accordingly did, to the general Rejoicing of the People, who considered nor cared, who should come next, so they were rid of these.

C H A P. X.

How Cromwell ordered the Government afterward, and how he made himself Lord Protector of England.

AFTER the *Rump* was thus dissolved, *Oliver* by the Advice (forsooth) of his General Council of Officers, erected a Council of State, of such as were true to his Interest, and the Army, and were well fledged with the Spoils of the Kingdom; but, perceiving that was but a slender Authority to derive the Government to himself, which was the first and last Thing intended, he called a picked Conventicle, of the like Batch as himself and his Followers, all of the Godly Party, whom he stiled a Parliament; the Name whereof was enough to authorize and dignify the Resignation of the Authority they had from, to, him; and their odious Actions, moreover, would make

a single Person (himself) more acceptable; for these wild Fellows were upon abolishing the Ministry, and opening the Floodgate to Heresy and Atheism; when *Cromwell* dissolved them, and with them discarded his old Friend, and their Darling, Major General *Harrison*, who was tempering with the Army to unhorse *Oliver*; but he smelt him out, and cashiered him, as he did his trusty Friend *Lambert*, soon after, as finding as they were both greater in the Army than his Safety and Interest would suffer: So impossible it is for Brethren in Iniquity long to continue in Love and Friendship, *Oliver* would endure no Competitor, but resolved to be single and supreme.

C H A P. XI.

How Oliver was sworn Protector, and how he managed the Government, briefly.

THAT little or foolish Parliament being divided among themselves, one Part thereof resigned their Power unto *Oliver*, who straightwith caused the Commissioner of the Seal, Mr. *Lisle*, to administer him an Oath, on the 16th of December 1653, before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, in *Westminster Hall*, to observe a Model of

Government in forty-two Articles; which Instrument of his, as was said, was found in my Lady *Lambert's* Placket, and thereupon he was proclaimed Lord Protector; in February he was feasted sumptuously in the City, and knighted the Lord Mayor, as he did many others afterwards, upon whom he had better have pissed: He made also one Lord, but he never owned it.

it. Now, tho' he was proclaimed Protector, yet he knew the People took him for no such Thing; therefore he called a Parliament according to Form, thinking to have been declared so by them; but they would not own him, or his Authority. Seeing, therefore, he could neither get Reputation nor Money at Home, he resolved to have it from the King of Spain's West Indies; but, at Hispaniola, his Forces under General Venables, were strangely defeated, and forced to plant themselves in Jamaica, and fight for Bread instead of Gold. He likewise started several Plots (the Fox was the Finder) against Cavaliers, such as Colonel Gerrard, and afterwards Colonel Penryddock (maintaining Intelligence, at the Price of One-thousand-five-hundred per Annum, with one Manning, a Clerk to the King's Secretary, who then resided at Coleen, who discovered most of the King's Council, till he was discovered himself, and executed) on Purpose to terrify People, and those especially, from rising against him.

Now, when Oliver saw he could not attain his Will by whole Parliaments, he resolved on his old Expedient, to garble a Parliament, call it, and then cull it, which he did, and secluded those Members that would not, before they entered, recognise and own his Highness; by which Means two Parts of three were excluded, and he, by the Remainder, complimented with the Stile of King; but, for fear of Lambert and Harrison, and, indeed, the whole Kingdom, especially the Army, he durst not accept of it; but was content to take the Title of Protector from their Hands; and was accordingly, on the 16th of June 1657, solemnly installed by the Speaker, Sir Thomas Widdrington, again, in Westminster Hall, and the Parliament adjourned, who had likewise passed an Act for erecting

of a Thing called another House, consisting of such Lords as *Pride, Hewson, and Barkstead*; but, upon the Meeting of a full House, after the Adjournment, all this new Structure was questioned, even to Oliver himself; who thereupon, in a Passion, and transported beyond his vizarded Sanctity, with an Oath, by the Living God, dissolved them.

In the Year 1658, he assisted the French against the Spaniards, and helped them to take *Dunkirk*, which, for his Pains, he had delivered to him; and, no Doubt, it was the best Service he ever did to his Country. But, during this unenvied Triumph, having drenched his polluted Hands in more innocent and loyal Blood, namely, that of Dr. Hewet, and Sir Henry Slingsby, God put a Hook into the Mouth of this *Leviathan*, and having snatched away his beloved Daughter, *Claypoole*, just before, on the 3d of September 1658, his great successful Day, he was hurried in a Tempest out of the World, which he had so long troubled; and, on the 16th of November following, was most magnificently buried, to the only Sorrow of those who furnished the Mourning and Pageantry thereof, leaving his Wife, *Elizabeth*, alias *Joan*, with two Sons, *Richard*, who succeeded, till he tamely and cowardly resigned, and is now fled for his Father's Debts; and *Henry*, and a Daughter, called *Frances Rich*. A Person, as it is well charactered of him, fit to be a Prince of Tartars, or Cannibals.

Before the King returned into England, Colonel Henry Cromwell, Son of Sir Oliver Cromwell, obtained License of the King to change that hateful Name into *Williams*, which was the Name of this Family before they married with a Daughter and Heir of Cromwell; which was upon Condition they should take her Name as well as Estate.

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The World's Mistake in *Oliver Cromwell*; Or, a short Political Discourse, shewing, that *Cromwell's* Male-administration (during his Four Years and Nine Months pretended Protectorship) laid the Foundation of our present Condition, in the Decay of Trade.

London, Printed in the Year MDCLXVIII.

OF all the Sins that the Children of Men are guilty of, there is none, that our corrupt Natures are more inclinable unto, than that of Idolatry; a Sin, that may be towards Men, as well as other Creatures, and Things; for, as that which a Man unmeasurably relies, and sets his Heart upon, is called his God, even as that which he falls down before and worshipeth; so when one hath the Person of another in an Excess of Admiration, whether for Greatness, or Richness, &c. which we are subject to adore, we are said to idolise him; and therefore the wise *Wentworth*, who, of all Men, are most jealous of their Liberty, considering that, as the Nature of Man is not prone to any Thing more than the Adoration of Men, so nothing is more destructive to Freedom, have, for preventing the Mischiefs of it, made it unlawful, even so much as to mourn for their *Duke* at his Death: intimating thereby, that their Felicity and Safety depends not upon the uncertain Thread of any Man's Life, but upon the Vertue of their good Laws, and Orders, well executed, and that they can never want virtuous Persons to succeed: And how do such Principles in Men, led by little more than Morality, reprove those, who have a great Measure of Gospel-light, for their senseless Excess, in their adoring the Remembrance of *Cromwell*? For as the Objects of Idolatry are mistaken Creatures, or Things, proceeding sometimes from Self-love, as well as other Causes, so the undeserved Approbation, and Applause, that

Cromwell's Memory seems to have with his Adherents, amounting to little less, than the Idolising of him, appears to me to be the Product of an excessive Veneration of Greatness, and a selfish Partiality towards him; for that, the more Honour is given to him, the more Praise they think will consequently redound to them, who were his Favourites; and they fortify themselves herein, with the Credit, they say, he hath Abroad, though there is little in that; because the Opinion, that Strangers have of him, may well be put upon the Account of their Ignorance, in the Affairs of *England*, which Travellers do find to be so great, even amongst Ministers of State, as is to be admired. And now, as this Error in Idolising *Oliver* hath two moral Evils in it (besides the Sin in itself:) The one a Reflexion upon the present Times, as if the former were better than these; and the other, the unjust Defrauding the *Long Parliament* of that, which is due to them, to give it idolatrously to him, to whom it doth not belong; I esteem it a Duty incumbent upon me to discover the Mistake. I am not insensible, that I shall, by this, draw the Envy of those upon me, who, being jealous of their Honour, will be angry for touching them in their *Diana**; but, knowing myself clear from the Vices of envying Virtue in any, how contrary soever he may be to me in Judgment, as well as from being unwilling to allow every one their due Commendations, I will cast myself upon Providence, for the Success of this Paper; and in Reference to *Cromwell's* Govern-

* Or, Favourite.

ment, and the present Times, make some Observations relating to both, and, in Order thereunto, shew,

First, That the *Original Cause* of the low Condition that we are now (*in Relation to Trade*) reduced unto, had its Beginning in *Oliver's Time*, and the Foundations of it, laid either by his ignorant *Mistaking* the Interest of this Kingdom, or wilfully doing it, for the Advancement of his own particular Interest.

Secondly, That his Time, for the short Continuance, had as much of *Oppression*, and *Injustice*, as any former Times.

Thirdly and Lastly, That he never, in his latter Days, valued either *Honour* or *Honesty*, when they stood in the Way of his Ambition, and that there is nothing to be admired in him (though so much idolised) but that the Partiality of the World should make him so great a Favourite of Ignorance, and Forgetfulness, as he seems to be.

When this late *Tyrant*, or *Protector* (as some calls him) turned out the *Long-Parliament*, the Kingdom was arrived at the highest Pitch of *Trade*, *Wealth*, and *Honour*, that it, in any Age, ever yet knew. The *Trade* appeared, by the great Sums offered then for the Customs and Excise, *Nine-hundred Thousand Pounds a Year* being refused. The *Riches* of the Nation shewed itself, in the high Value that Land and all our Native Commodities bore, which are the certain Marks of Opulency. Our *Honour* was made known to all the World, by a conquering Navy, which had brought the proud *Hollanders* upon their Knees, to beg Peace of us, upon our own Conditions, keeping all other Nations in Awe. And besides these Advantages, the *publick Stock* was *Five-hundred Thousand Pounds* in ready Money, the Value of *Seven-hundred Thousand Pounds* in Stores, and the whole Army in Advance, some four, and none under two Months; so that, though there might be a Debt of near *Five-thousand Pounds* upon the Kingdom, he met with above twice the Value in Lieu of it.

The Nation being in this flourishing and formidable Posture, *Cromwell* began his Usurpation, upon the greatest Advantages imaginable, having it in his Power to have made Peace, and profitable Leagues, in what Manner he had pleased

with all our Neighbours, every one courting us then, and being ambitious of the Friendship of *England*; but as if the Lord had infatuated, and deprived him of common Sense and Reason, he neglected all our golden Opportunities, misimproved the Victory, God had given us over the *United Netherlands*, making Peace (without ever striking a Stroke) so soon as ever Things came into his Hands, upon equal Terms with them: And immediately after, contrary to our Interest, made an unjust War with *Spain*, and an impolitick League with *France*, bringing the first thereby under, and making the latter too great for *Christendom*; and by that Means broke the Balance betwixt the two Crowns of *Spain*, and *France*, which his Predecessors, the *Long-Parliament*, had always wisely preserved.

In this *dishonest War* with *Spain*, he pretended, and endeavoured, to impose a Belief upon the World, that he had nothing in his Eye, but the Advancement of the *Protestant Cause*, and the *Honour* of this Nation; but his Pretences were either fraudulent, or he was ignorant in Foreign Affairs (as I am apt to think, that he was not guilty of too much Knowledge in them.) For he that had known any Thing of the Temper of the *Papish* Prelacy, and the *French-Court-Policies*, could not but see, that the Way to increase, or preserve the *Reformed Interest* in *France*, was by rendering the *Protestants* of necessary Use to their King, for that, longer than they were so, they could not be free from Persecution; and that the Way to render them so, was by keeping the Balance betwixt *Spain* and *France* even, as that, which would consequently make them useful to their King: But by overthrowing the Balance in his War with *Spain*, and joining with *France*, he freed the *French King* from his Fears of *Spain*, enabled him to subdue all Factions at Home, and thereby to bring himself into a Condition of not standing in Need of any of them; and from thence hath proceeded the Persecution that hath since been, and still is, in that Nation, against the *Reformed* there; so that *Oliver*, instead of advancing the *Reformed Interest*, hath, by an Error in his Politicks, been the Author of destroying it.

The *Honour* and *Advantage* he propounded to this Nation, in his pulling down of *Spain*, had as ill a Foundation: For if true, as was said,
O O that

that we were to have had *Ostend* and *Newport*, as well as *Dunkirk* (when we could get them) they bore no Proportion, in any Kind, to all the rest of the King of *Spain's* European Dominions, which must necessarily have fallen to the *French* King's Share, because of their Joining and Nearness to him, and Remoteness from us, and the Increasing the Greatness of so near a Neighbour must have increased our future Dangers.

But this Man, who, through Ignorance, is so strangely cried up in the World, was not guilty of this Error in State only, but committed as great a Solecism, in his designing the Outing of the King of *Denmark*, and Setting up of the King of *Sweden*: For had the *Swedes* but got *Copenhagen* (as in all Probability, had *Oliver* lived, they would have done) they had wanted nothing of Consequence, but the Cities of *Lubeck* and *Dantzick* (which, by their then Potency, they would easily have gained) of being Masters of the whole *Baltick* Sea, on both Sides, from the *Sound* or Mouth down to the Bottom of it; by which, together with all *Denmark*, *Norway*, and the *Danes* Part of *Holstein*, which would consequently have been theirs (they then having, as they still * have, the Land of *Bremen*) there would have been nothing, but the small Counties of *Ouldemburg* and *East-Friesland*, which would easily have fallen into their Mouths, betwixt them and the *United Netherlands*, whereby *Sweden* would on the one Side, to the North and North-East, have been as great, as *France* on the other, to the South and South-West; and they two, able to have divided the Western Empire betwixt them.

And whereas it had in all Ages been the Policy of the *Northern* States and Potentates, to keep the Dominion of the *Baltick* Sea divided among several petty Princes and States, that no one might be sole Master of it; because, otherwise, most of the necessary Commodities for Shipping, coming from thence and *Norway*, any one Lord of the Whole might lay up the Shipping of *Europe*, by the Walls, in shutting only of his Ports, and denying the Commodities of his Country to other States. *Cromwell*, contrary to this wise Maxim, endeavoured to put the whole *Baltick* Sea into the *Swedes* Hands, and undoubtedly had (though, I suppose, ignorantly) done it, if his Death had not given them that succeeded him, the *Long-Parliament*, an

Opportunity of prudently preventing it: For, if he had understood the Importance of the *Baltick* Sea to this Nation, he could not have been so impolitick, as to have projected so dangerous a Design against his new *Utopia* †, as giving the Opening and Shutting of it to any one Prince. I am not ignorant, that this Error is excused, by pretending that we were to have had *Elfsborg* and *Cronenburg* Castle (the first, the Town, upon the narrow Entrance of the *Baltick*, called the *Sound*, where all Ships ride, and pay Toll to the King of *Denmark*; and the latter, the Fortrefs, that defends both Town and Ships) by which we should have been Masters of the *Sound*, and consequently of the *Baltick*; but they that know those Countries, and how great a Prince the *Swede* would have been, had he obtained all the rest; besides, *these two Bawbles* must confess, we should have been at his Devotion, in our holding of any Thing in his Countries: And further, if the dangerous Consequence of setting up so great a Prince had not been in the Case, it had been against the Interest of *England*, to have had an Obligation upon us, to maintain Places so remote, against the Enmity of many States and Princes; and that for these Reasons:

First, because the ordinary Tolls of the *Sound* would not have defrayed half the Charge, and, to have taken more than the ordinary Tolls, we could not have done, without drawing a general Quarrel upon us, from most of the Princes and States of the *Northern* Parts of *Europe*.

Secondly, because the Experience of all former Times sheweth us, that foreign Acquisitions have ever been chargeable and prejudicial to the People of *England*, as *Sir Robert Cotton* makes it clearly appear, That not only all those Pieces of *France*, which belonged to us by *rightful Succession*, but also those we held by *Conquest*, were always great *Burthens* to our Nation, and Cause of much Poverty and Misery to the People. And it is not our Case alone, to be the worse for Conquests (though more ours, than other Countries, because of the Charge and Uncertainty of the Winds and Weather, in the Transportation of Succours and Relief by Sea; which contiguous Territories, which are upon the Main, are not subject to) but the Case also of (I think I may say) all other Kingdoms. In *France* their *Burthens* and Oppressions have grown in all Ages, with the Greatness of their Kings: Nay, even after their last Peace with *Spain*, by which

* In the Year 1658.

† Meaning his own new Sort of Government.

they had given them Peace with all the World, besides many Places in the *Spanish Netherlands*, and *Catalonia*, to boot: Upon which the poor People promised themselves, though vainly, an unquestionable Abatement of Taxes; instead of that, they found their Pressures increased daily, and their King, though overgrownly great and rich, himself, yet the People so poor, that Thousands are said to die in a plentiful Year, for Want of Bread to their Water, nothing being free there, but fresh Water, and Air: For, except in some few privileged Places, wherever they have the Conveniency by their Situation of Sea-water (lest they should make use of the Benefit of that, which God and Nature hath given them, for saving the Charge of Salt) every Family is forced to take so much Salt of the King, at his own Rate (which is above ten Times the Price it is sold for to Strangers, for Transportation) as is judged they may spend in a Year; the Lord deliver all other Countries from their Example. In Sweden, that King, Court, and their Military Officers are the better for their Conquests, in Germany, Denmark, Russia, and some Places anciently belonging to Poland; but the Commons the worse: Spain is undone, by the great Number of People sent thence to the *West-Indies*, which hath depopulated the Country, France reaping more Benefit by keeping their People at Home to Manufactures, than Spain doth by sending theirs Abroad for Silver and Gold; and now, though by these Instances it may appear to be the Interest of the People of other Nations, as well as ours, to live in Peace, without coveting Additions; yet it is more our true Interest, because, by reason of our Situation, we have no Need of foreign Frontier Towns, our Ships, well ordered, being better than other Princes bordering Garisons, than any other Kingdoms, to neglect especially European Acquisitions, and Colonies, and apply ourselves,

First, to the improving of our own Land, of which we have more than we have People to manage.

Secondly, to the Increasing our home and foreign Trades, for which we have natural Advantages above any other Nation.

Thirdly and Lastly, by our Strength, which Trade will increase. To make Use of it, together with the Helps that God and Nature hath given us in our Situation, and otherwise, in keeping the Balance amongst our Neighbours. For, if the Province of Holland, which is but Four-hundred-thousand Acres of profitable Ground,

is, by the Benefit of Trade, able to do so much as we experienced the last War, what might we do, if Trade were improved, who have much more Advantages for it, than they have: I ascribe what was done by the *Netherlands*, in the late War, to the Province of Holland; because that, though the Provinces are seven in Number, Holland's due Proportion of all Charges is $51\frac{1}{3}$, in a Hundred, to all the others $41\frac{2}{3}$, of which $41\frac{2}{3}$, Holland gets little more than 20 honestly paid them, insomuch that it alone may be reckoned to bear four Fifths in a Hundred, to one Fifth that all the other six bear; and how prodigious a Thing is it, that Holland, no bigger than as before-mentioned, should be able to cope with England, Scotland, and Ireland; and, that, though their Charges in the late War was abundantly greater than ours, yet, by their good Management, be so little the worse for it, as, at the Conclusion of the War, to have their Credit so high, that they could have commanded what Money they had pleased at Three in the Hundred, and all this by the meer additional Benefit of Trade and good Order; and how by Cromwell's indiscreet Neglecting of Trade, and Choosing War, when he was in Peace, did he miss the true Interest of England, as, by his ill-founded Designs, he did the Interest of the Reformed Religion: For, if he had succeeded in his unjust Invasion of the *Spanish Territories* in the *West-Indies* (as God seldom prospereth dishonest Understandings) it being intended for a State Acquisition, the Benefit would not have been diffusive, but chiefly to himself and Favourites, and prejudicial to the People in general, though, at the Expence of their Substance, the Acquests would have been made: For, had he met with so much Success in the gaining those Counties, and in them, that Plenty of Gold and Silver as he vainly hoped for, we should have been as unhappy in them (in the depopulating of our Countries, by the Loss of the Multitude of People that must have been sent thither, and in impoverishing our Nations by the vast Charges of a continual War) as Spain is, and to no other End, than the making of him only rich, able to enslave the remaining People, and to make himself absolute over them; for the Preventing of which, in such Tyrants as Cromwell, surely Moses had an Eye, when he said that they should not greatly multiply Silver and Gold. And thus, as Cromwell's Designs must, to an impartial Judgment, appear to have been laid some dishonestly, others impolitickly, and all

contrary to the Interest of the Kingdom, so the Issue of them was damageable to the People of England: As,

First, in his sudden Making a Peace with Holland, so soon as he got the Government, without those Advantages for Trade, as they who beat them did intend to have had, as their Due, and just Satisfaction for their Charges in the War.

Secondly, in his War with Spain; by the Loss of that beneficial Trade to our Nation, and giving it to the *Hollanders*, by whose Hands we drove, during the War, the greatest Part of that Trade, which we had of it, with Twenty-five in the Hundred Profit to them, and as much Loss to us.

Thirdly, by our Loss, in that War with Spain, of 1500 *English* Ships, according as was reported to that Assembly, called *Richard's Parliament*.

Fourthly, in the disgracefullest Defeat at *Hispaniola*, that ever this Kingdom suffered in any Age or Time.

Fifthly and Lastly, in spending the great publick Stock he found, and yet leaving a vast Debt upon the Kingdom, as appeared by the Accounts brought into *Richard's Assembly*; which had, I believe, been yet much higher, but that they, who under him managed the Affairs, were a Sort of People, who had been long disciplined, before his Time, to a Principle of Frugality, and against Cheating; though at censuring the poorer People, for their Masters Benefit, some of them were grown as dexterous, as if they had been bred in the Court of Spain: For, besides Imposing *Richard* upon the People, after his Father's Death, by a forged Title, according to the very Law they took to be in being, when, by his Assembly, they were ordered to bring in an Account of the Receipts, and Payments of the Kingdom; they made above Sixty-thousand Pounds spent in *Intelligence*, whereas it cost not above Three or Four-thousand at most; and calculating the rest by these, it may well be concluded, that they were expert in their Trades.

It is confessed, that *Oliver's* Peace and League with France was upon honourable Articles; but, as the tottering Affairs of France then stood, much more could not have been sooner asked, than had: For *Mazarin*, being a Man of a large and subtle Wit, apprehending the Greatness of England at that Time, which was then dreadful to the World, and the vast Advantages France

would have in pulling down, by their Help, of Spain, granted him, not only any Thing for the Present that he demanded, but disregarded also even his Party's making their Boasts of the Awe he had him under: Considering, that when *Cromwell* had helped him to do his Work, in bringing under the House of Austria, and therein casting the Balance of Christendom on his Side, he should afterwards have Leisure to recover what then he seemed to part with: And though nothing is more ordinary, than to hear Men brag, how *Oliver* vapoured over France, I do esteem *Mazarin's* Complying with him, for his own Ends, to be the chief Piece of all his Ministry; for, by that Means only, and no other, is his Master become so great at this Day, that no Factions at Home can disturb his Peace, nor Powers Abroad frighten him. Which is more than any King of France, since *Charles the Great*, could say: And, when his neighbour Nations have, too late I fear, experienced his Greatness, they will find Cause to curse the Ignorance of *Oliver's* Politicks; and therefore, when a true Measure is taken of *Cromwell*, the Approbation, that he hath in the World, will not be found to have its Foundation in Sense, or Reason, but proceeding from Ignorance and Atheism: From Ignorance, in those that take all that was done by him, as a Servant, and whilst under the Direction of better Heads, than his own, to be done by him alone; and from Atheism, in those that think every Thing lawful that a Man doth, if it succeed to his Advancement. But they that shall take an impartial View of his Actions, whilst he was a Single Person*, and at Liberty to make Use of his own Parts without Controul, will find nothing worthy Commendations, but Cause enough from thence to observe, that the Wisdom of his Masters, and not his own, must have been that by which he first moved; and to attribute his former Performances, whilst a Servant, as is truly due, to the Judgment and Subtlety of the Long-Parliament, under whose Conduct and Command he was. And now, from *Cromwell's* neglecting to live in Peace, as, if he had pleased, he might have done with all the World, to the great Inriching of this Nation: The Improvement of our Victory over Holland in his Peace with them; his being the Cause of the Loss of our Spanish Trade, during all his Time; of the Loss of 1500 *English* Ships in that War; besides, by it breaking the Balance of Europe; of the Expence of the pub-

* Protector.

lick Stock and Stores he found, with the contracting a Debt of Nineteen-hundred-thousand Pounds, according to his own Account (which, for aught I know, he left behind him, but am apt to think the Debt was not altogether so great, though made so to his Son *Richard's* Assembly, as a Means to get the more Money from the poorer People :) And lastly, of the dishonourable Overthrow we met with at *Hispaniola*. It may be well concluded, that he laid the Foundation of our present Want of Trade, to what we formerly enjoyed; and that the Reason, why his Miscarriages were not sooner under Observation, is, because our Stock of Wealth and Honour, at his Coming to the Government, being then unspeakably great, stifled their Appearance, until, having since had some unhappy additional Losses, they are now become discernible as first Losses, to a Merchant, who concealely bears up under them, are afterwards discovered by the Addition of second Losses, that sink him. When I contemplate these great Failings, I cannot but apprehend the sad Condition any People are in, whose Governor drives on a *distinct contrary* Interest to theirs; for, doubtless, *Cromwell's* over-weening Care to secure his *particular* Interest, against his Majesty, then Abroad, and the Long-Parliament, whom he had turned out, with a prodigious Ambition of acquiring a glorious Name in the World, carried him on to all his Mistakes and Absurdities, to the irreparable Loss and Damage of this famous Kingdom.

To prove the *second* Assertion, That *Oliver's* Time was full of Oppression and Injustice, I shall but instance in a few of many Particulars, and begin with *John Lilburne*, not that I think him, in any Kind, one that deserved Favour or Respect, but that equal Justice is due to the worst as well as best Men, and that he comes first in Order of Time.

1. *John*, in 1646, was, by Order of the then *Parliament*, tried for his Life, with an Intent, I believe, of taking him away; but, the Jury not finding him Guilty, he was immediately, according to Law, generously set at Liberty by those, that had Quarrel enough against him. This Example in the *Parliament* of keeping to the Laws in the Case of one, who was a professed implacable Enemy to them, ought to have been copied by *Cromwell*; but on the Contrary, to shew that there was a Difference betwixt him and his Predecessors (the *Long-Parliament's*) Principles, when the Law had again, upon a second Tryal, occasioned by *Oliver*, cleared *Lil-*

burne, the *Parliament's* Submitting to the Law was no Example to him: For, *contrary to Law*, he kept him in Prison, until he was so far spent in a Consumption, that he only turned him out to die.

2dly, *Mr. Coney's* Case is so notorious, that it needs little more than naming: He was a Prisoner at *Cromwell's* Suit, and being brought to the *King's Bench* Bar, by a *Habeas Corpus*, had his Council taken from the Bar, and sent to the *Tower*, for no other Reason, than the Pleading of their Client's Cause; an Act of Violence, that, I believe, the whole Story of *England* doth not parallel.

3dly, *Sir Henry Vane*, above any one Person, was the Author of *Oliver's* Advancement, and did so long and cordially espouse his Interest, that he prejudiced himself, in the Opinion of some, by it; yet so ungrateful was this Monster of Ingratitude, that he studied to *destroy* him, both in Life and Estate; because he could not adhere to him in his *Perjury* and *Falseness*. The Occasion he took was this, He, appointing a publick Day of Humiliation, and Seeking of God for him, invited all God's People in his Declaration, to offer him their Advice in the weighty Affairs then upon his Shoulders. *Sir Henry*, taking a Rise from hence, offered his Advice by a Treatise, called *The Healing Question*: But *Cromwell*, angry at being taken at his Word, seized, imprisoned, and endeavoured to proceed further against him, for doing only what he had invited him to do; and some may think, that *Sir Henry* suffered justly, for having known him so long, and yet would trust to any Thing he said.

4thly, In *Richard's* Assembly, certain Prisoners in the *Tower*, under the then Lieutenant, and some sent thence to *Jersey*, and other Places beyond the Sea, complained of false Imprisonment. The Jailor was sent for, and being required to shew by what Authority he kept those Persons in Hold, produceth a Paper all under *Oliver's* own Hand, as followeth: *Sir, I pray you seize such and such Persons, and all others, whom you shall judge dangerous Men; do it quickly, and you shall have a Warrant, after you have done.* The Nature of this Warrant was, by *Richard's* Assembly, debated, and having first *Richard's* own Council's Opinion in the Case, as Serjeant *Maynard*, &c. they voted the Commitment of the Complaints to be *Illegal, Unjust, and Tyrannical*; and that, *first*, because the Warrant, by which they were committed, was under the Hand of the then (as they called him) *Chief Magistrate*,

Magistrate, who, by Law, ought not to commit any by his own Warrant. *Secondly*, because *no Cause* was shewn in the Warrant. And, *Thirdly*, in the Case of those sent out of the Reach of a *Habeas Corpus*, which in Law is a Banishment, because no *Englishman* ought to be banished by any less Authority than an *Act of Parliament*. And therefore, for these Reasons, they voted farther, that the Prisoners should be set at Liberty without paying any Fees or Charges, but the turning out, and Punishing the Lieutenant by the Assembly (for obeying so unjust a Warrant) was prevented by their sudden Dissolution.

5thly, the Tyranny, in the *decimating* a Party restored to common Privileges with all others, and the publick Faith given for it, by a Law made to that End, by the then Powers in being, is sufficiently shewed in the Mentioning of it, only there is this aggravating Circumstance in it; That *Cromwell*, who was the principal Person in procuring that Law, when he thought it for his Advantage not to keep it, was the only Man for breaking it: But to the Honour of his first Assembly, next following, it may be remembered, that they no sooner came together, than, like true *Englishmen*, who are always jealous of the Rights and Privileges of the People, they damned the *Act of Decimation* as an unjust and wicked Breach of Faith.

The *third* Assertion of *Cromwell's* knowing *no Honesty*, where he thought his particular Interest was concerned, is made good; *First*, (tho' therein he mistook his Interest) in his *adious* and *unjust* War with *Spain*, without the least Provocations, meerly out of an ambitious and covetous Design of robbing that Prince of his Silver and Gold Mines; and because he judged it for his Credit to disguise his unlawful Desires, he proceeded in it, by employing his Creatures in the City, to draw the Merchants to complain of Injuries done them by *Spain*, and to petition for Reparations; but, by a cross Providence, his Project had a contrary Success; for, instead of answering his Seekings, the Merchants remonstrated to him the great Prejudice that a War with *Spain* would be to *England*; and shewed, that that King had been so far from injuring us, that he had done more for Compliance, and Preventing a Breach with *England*, than ever he had done in Favour of any other Nation; but, when *Oliver* saw his Method would not take, he called the *Remonstrators*, Malignants, and begun

the War of *his own Accord*, in which, he was highly ungrateful in designing the Ruin of that Prince, who all along had been most faithful to his Party.

Secondly, his *Falseness* and *Ingratitude* appeared superlatively in turning out his Masters*, who had not only advanced him, but made themselves the more odious by their partial Affection towards him; and in his doing it, with the Breach of a positive negative Oath, taken once a Year, when made a Counsellor of State, besides the Breach of all other Engagements, voluntary Imprecations, Protestations, and Oaths, taken frequently upon all Occasions in Discourse and Declarations; and yet further (when he had turned them out) and left them void of Protection, and exposed them to the Fury of the People, in pursuing them with false reproachful Declarations, enough to have stirred up the rude Multitude to have destroyed them, wherever they had met them.

Thirdly, his *Want of Honour*, as well as *Honesty*, appeareth, yet further, in that having, by a long Series of a seeming pious Deportment, gained, by his *Diffimulation*, good Thoughts in his Masters, the *Long-Parliament*, and, by his *Spiritual Gifts*, wound himself into so good an Opinion with his Soldiers (Men, generally, of plain Breeding, that knew little besides their military Trade, and religious Exercises) that he could impose, in Matters of Business, what Belief he pleased upon them; he made use of the Credit he had with each, to abuse both, by many vile Practices, for making himself popular, and the Parliament and Army *odious* to one another; and, because the Artifices he used are too many to enumerate, I shall but instance in some few: As his sly complaining Insinuations against the Army to the Parliament, and against them to the Army: His being the chief Cause of the Parliament's giving Rewards to his Creatures, and then, whispering Complaints among his Officers, of their ill Husbandry: His obstructing the House in their Business, by long drawling Speeches, and other Ways, and then complaining of them to his Soldiers, that he could not get them to do any Thing that was good: His giving fair Words to every one, without keeping Promise with any, except for his own Advantage, and then excusing all with Forgetfulness: And his deserting his Major Generals, in their Decimations, crying out

* The Long-Parliament.

most against them himself, when he only had set them at Work, because questioned by his Assembly, is not to be forgotten, &c.

I would not be understood to remember any Thing here, in Favour of the Long-Parliament, for what might be wicked in him, might be just as to them: And though, if what he did, had been for the Restoration of his Majesty, he might have been excused, yet, being for his own single Advancement, it is unpardonable, and leaves him a Person to be truly admired for nothing but *Apostasy* and *Ambition*, and exceeding *Tiberius* in Dissimulation. I am not ignorant that some think it Matter of Praise in him, that he kept us in Peace, *four Years*, and *nine Months*; but that hath little in it, his Majesty having done the like, almost double his Time, since his Return, with one fifth Part of that Number of Soldiers which he commanded; though he hath also had the Trouble of pressing, and sometimes forcing *Uniformity* in Religion, which he found under several Forms; whereas *Oliver* kept the Nation purposely divided in Opinions, and himself of no declared Judgment, as the securest Way of engaging all several Persuasions equally to him; which Artifice, together with his leaving the Church Lands alienated as he found them, were all the true Principles of Policy that I know of, which he kept unto.

The Honesty of these Principles I refer to the Judgment of every Man's Conscience; but, if we may judge of Things by Experience and Success, they seem to have been very happy in the World: For, in comparing the Condition of the *Protestant* Countries at Present, to what they were in Times of *Popery*, we shall find them more considerable now than formerly; for, in taking a true Survey of the *Reformed* Dominions, we shall discover them to bear no Proportion at all, in Largeness, to the *Popish**; and that there is nothing that keeps the Balance betwixt the two Parties, but the Advantage that the First hath, in being free from the Bondage of the Church of *Rome*, and the Latter's being under it: For, as the Church of *Rome*'s Mercies are (by their Principles) Cruelties†, so, had they Power answerable to the natural Richness of the Soil of their Countries, and Extent of their Territories, they would long before this have swallowed up the *Protestant* Churches,

and made Bonfires of their Members; but, as God, in his Mercy and Wisdom, hath, by his over-ruling Hand of Providence, preserved his Church; so, for the *Romish* Church's Inability to effect that which they have *Will* and *Malice* enough to carry them on to do, there are these natural Reasons:

First, There being generally, of the *Popish* Countries, above one Moiety belonging to *Churchmen*, *Monks*, *Friars*, and *Nuns*, who, like Drones, spend the Fat of the Land, without contributing any Thing to the Good of Mankind, renders them much the less considerable.

Secondly, Marriage being forbidden to all these Sorts and Orders, occasions great Want of People every where, they being incapable of any Children but those of Darkneſs‡, except in *France*, which is an extraordinary Case, proceeding partly, by not being so subject to *Rome*, as other Countries of that Belief are; but especially from the Multitude of *Peotestants*, that are among them.

Thirdly, The blind Devotion of these People, carrying them on to vast Expences, in the building and richly adorning of many needless and superfluous Churches, Chapels, and Crosses, &c. with the making chargeable Presents by the better, and Pilgrimages by the meaner Sort, to their Idols, keeps all Degrees under.

Fourthly, The many *Holydays*, upon which, the labouring Man is forbidden to work, adds much to their Poverty.

But, *Fifthly* and *Lastly*, The vast Number of *begging Friars*, who living idly, and purely upon the Sweat of other Men's Brows, without taking any Labour themselves, make it impossible, for the lower Sort of People, who think they are bound, in Conscience, to relieve them, ever to get above a mean Condition; now whosoever shall seriously weigh and ponder these Circumstances, under which the *Popish* Countries lie, and consider the *Reformed*'s Advantage in being free from them, must confess it the less Wonder, that the *Evangelical*|| Princes and States, with their small Dominions, compared to the others great, are able to bear up against them; and now, as the Alienation of *Church-lands*, the Turning out the *Romish* Vermin, the *Priests*, *Monks*, *Friars*, and *Nuns*, who devour all Countries wherever

* See page 32, &c.

† See page 28, &c.

‡ Viz. Bastards.

|| Protestant,

so called, because they take the Word of God for their Rule of Faith.

they

they come, and Freedom from the *Popish* Imposition upon Conscience, hath mightily increased the Greatness of the *Protestant* Princes and States, to what they anciently were, and the not doing the same, in the *Popish* Countries, keeps those Princes under; so, even amongst the *Reformed*, where the Church-lands are most alienated, and Liberty of Conscience most given, they prosper most, as in *Holland*, and some Parts of *Germany*, with other Places. And, on the Contrary, *Denmark*, where Church-lands are least alienated of any of the *Reformed* Countries, and the City of *Lubeck*, where, of all the free Imperial Cities of *Germany*, Liberty of Conscience is least given, they thrive least in both Places. And, I think, it will also hold, that, as this famous Kingdom, in the Times of *Popery*, was, in no Measure, so formidable as now it is; so before the Restoration of our *Hierarchy* to their Lands, their Hoarding up the Money, which before went in Trade, and their Discouraging and Driving into Corners the industrious Sort of People, by imposing upon their Consciences, it flourished more, was richer, and fuller of Trade, than now it is; and I dare undertake to be a Prophet in this, That, if ever any *Protestant* Country should be so far forsaken of the Lord, as to be suffered to turn unto *Popery*, these Observations will be made good in their visible Loss of the Splendor, Riches, Power, and Greatness, that they now know.

Had *Cromwell* been a Person of an open prophane Life, his Actions had been less scandalous; but, having been a *Professor of Religion*, they are not to be pleaded for; neither can it be consistent with Religion to palliate them, which have been of so much Offence, and, as may be feared, made so many Atheists in the World; and I cannot but stand amazed, when I hear him extolled by some, not ignorant of his Practices, knowing in Religion, and, as I hope, fearing God.

Now I will suppose, I may be suspected to have been injured, or disobliged by *Oliver*; but

I can with Truth affirm, I never received either Good or Evil from him in all my Life, more than in Common with the whole Kingdom, which I think, may be allowed to render me the more a competent Judge in his Case; and, that I am so far from being moved unto this, out of any Quarrel to him, that, as I have here mentioned some few of many Injustices and State-errors, that he was guilty of in his short Time, if I were conscious of any Thing more, during his *Protectorship*, worthy Applause, than I have here mentioned, I should not envy it him, but freely remember it; and, if any think I have not said enough on his Behalf, and too much to his Disadvantage, I have this for my Buckler, that I wish I could have said more for him, and had known less against him; professing, that, besides what I have here hinted, I am wholly ignorant of any one Action in all his four Years and nine Months Time, done either *wisely*, *virtuously*, or for the *Interest of this Kingdom*, and, therefore, that I am none of his Admirers, I ought to be pardoned by my Readers.

Much more might be said upon this Subject, but this may suffice to shew, that, if *Mazarin*, at the Hearing of *Oliver's* Death, thought, he had then Reason for calling him a *Fortunate Fool*, if he were now living he would find more Cause for it, *Cromwell's* Lot, as to *Reputation*, having been exceedingly much greater since his Death, than whilst he was in the World: And that from Forgetfulness of his impolitick Government, from whose Entrance we may date the Commencement of our *Trade's Decay*; and, through Want of Memory, in Men's giving to him the Cause of our former Wealth and Prosperity, which truly belongeth to others. But, what Opinion soever *Mazarin* may have had of *Oliver*, he was, without all peradventure, a Person of *more than ordinary Wit*, and no otherwise a *Fool* than as he wanted *Honesty*, no Man being *wise* but an *honest* Man.

The

The Wars and Causes of them, between *England* and *France*, from *William the First* to *William the Third*, with a Treatise of the *Salique Law*. By *D. J.* and revised by *R. C. Esq.* MDCXCVII.

*Great and various have the Actions been between England and France since the Invasion of the Normans, Anno Dom. 1066, which makes September next * just 629 Years; but that the French Nation should make a Conquest of England hereby, nothing is more manifestly untrue, that People being a distinct Nation from the French, who conquering that Province by main Force, from Neustria, called it Normandia, in the Reign of Charles le Simple; whence, by the Way, it is worth remarking, what Kind of Kings France hath often had, and what Sort of Epithets their own Chronicles give them, which stand upon publick Record to all Posterity, as Charles le Simple, Charles le Chauve, Charles le Gros, Charles le Gras, Charles le Phrenetique, Philip le Long, Lovis le Begue, &c. Now, though there have been many and mighty Quarrels, warlike Encounters, and Feuds betwixt England and France, yet, in the Reign of the Saxon Kings, the Historians made little Mention of any; but since England was joined, as it were, to the Continent, by the Addition of Normandy, there have been as frequent Traverses of War as have happened between any two Nations; for, of those Twenty-eight Kings and Queens, which have reigned here, from William the First to William the Third, there have been but a very few of them free from actual Wars with France; yet, in so long a Tract of Time, when the French were at their highest Pitch of Power, they never did nor had any adequate Power to invade England; it is true that they took Footing once or twice in the Isle of Wight, but it quickly grew too hot for them. And touching Lewis the French King's Son, who did stay, and sway the Sceptre here about two Years, whereof they so much vaunt: That was no Invasion but an Invitation, being brought in by the discontented Barons in England; so that, in a Manner, France was the Theatre of the War between the two Nations, down from William the First to the present Time.*

As for the great Battles which were fought from Time to Time, it is confessed by the French Historians themselves, that the English were at most but half in Number to them in almost all Engagements; insomuch that, by pure Prowess and Point of Sword, the English possessed two Parts of three in that populous Kingdom, and, how all came to be lost again, will appear by the Sequel of the Story: But here I cannot omit one remarkable Accident, that was concomitant with the English Arms in France, and that is, that, when the English were at the Height of their Conquests in that Kingdom, the Pope came to reside at Avignon in France, and there was a common Saying, which continues still in Memory among the Vulgar, Ores! le Pape est devenu Francois, & Christ est devenu Anglois, i. e. Lo! the Pope is become a Frenchman, and Christ

an Englishman; which related to the marvellous Exploits and Successes the English had in that Kingdom, which were such that Sir Walter Raleigh, speaking of the famous *Punick Wars*, puts this Query: If one should ask, which was the Valiantest, the Roman or the Carthaginian? One might answer, the Englishman, who performed greater Feats of Arms than either of them; insomuch that some foreign Authors give this Character of France, that it was the Stage whereon the English acted their Valour so often.

It is true that in Canvassing of Treaties, in Subtleties or Shuffling the Cards, and mental Reservations they were mostly too hard for the English, who naturally use downright Dealing, and real Integrity; but in Point of Performance of what was stipulated, especially if the Article related to Money, whereof we drew from them vast Sums, they seldom exactly performed the Capitulation of any Treaty, as foreign Writers observe; so that Part of King John's Ransom is yet behind, besides the Money which was to be paid for Tournay, in Henry the Eighth's Time; the Five hundred thousand Crowns, which Edward the Sixth was to have for Bologne; and those great Expences which Queen Elizabeth was to have for sending her Armies to aid Henry the Fourth, and the French Reformists, two Parts of three are not paid to this Day; but of these and other Things more hereafter in their proper Place.

E NGLAND, exclusive of Scotland, which had but very little Share in the Wars we are to treat of, is the greatest, most Southern, and best Part of the Island of Great-Britain, heretofore called *Albion* and *Britannia*; it lies, together with *Wales*, in the Form of a great Triangle, whereof the Southern Shore is the Base, and *Berwick* the opposite Angle; it was divided by the Romans into five Parts, by the Saxons into seven Kingdoms, and now, *Wales* included, into Fifty-two Shires or Counties. It is a fruit-

ful Country full of valiant and industrious Inhabitants; but, in Regard to its Boundaries, bears no Proportion to *France*, even considered in its narrowest Limits, over which, notwithstanding, it has so often and so gloriously triumphed, as will manifestly appear in the Series of the ensuing History.

But because, the Wars with *France*, in the Time of the Saxons, are very obscurely recorded as to their Time, Cause and Effects, we will, therefore, begin with,

WILLIAM I.

WHO was invidiously termed the Conqueror, by the Monks of those Times, as the learned Sir William Temple has well observed; though it is as true, he could not claim in Right of Succession, himself being illegitimate, and *Edgar Atheline*, of the Saxon Blood Royal, to take Place before him, but must, therefore, reign by Virtue either of a Compact or previous Choice of the People of *England*, the Sword which he had then in his Hand, no Doubt, powerfully disposing of them also to such an Election; he proved to be a warlike King of *England*, as he had been a successful Duke of *Normandy*. But, though he had wonderful Success in the Battle of *Hastings*, which was fought, October the Fourteenth, An. 1066, and

got the Day with the Slaughter of above Sixty-thousand of his English Enemies, yet Things did not succeed so well with him in his *Kentish Expedition*; for, directing his March towards *Dover*, with a Design to reduce *Kent* first under his Obedience, as considering this Country to be the Key of *England*, and that what he had already done, would be of little Account, if this were not accomplished: The *Kentish* Men, upon Report hereof, assembled to Archbishop *Stigand*, at *Canterbury*, and, after serious Consultation, resolved to arm, and to force the Conqueror either to confirm their ancient Liberties, or to die valiantly in the Field in Defence of them; and so, under the Command of the Archbishop and the Abbot *Eglesine*, rendezvoused at *Swanescomb*,

Swanefcomb, where, it was agreed, all the Passages should be stopped, and that they should make Use of the adjacent Woods for a Covert from the Discovery of the Enemy, till he were fast within their Net. The Duke, next Day, expecting no such Ambuscade, in his March, finds himself with Part of his Army surrounded all of a sudden, with numerous Squadrons of Horse, and Battalions of Foot; which seemed the more surprising to him, because that, every Man for a Signal, as it was agreed upon, carrying a green Bough in his Hand, they appeared unto him like a moving Wood, wherein he was in Danger of quickly losing himself. *Stigand* approaches to the Duke, tells him the Occasion of such an Assembly, what their Demands were, and what their Resolves, if refused. The Duke, wisely considering the Danger, grants all their Requests, and, upon that, was admitted into *Rochester*, and had the Earldom of *Kent* and *Dover* Castle yielded to him.

The former Part of this King's Reign, as may be well imagined, was taken up in making Provision for his Adventurers, and in Subduing, Settling, and Modelling of his new English Subjects, amongst whom were frequent Tumults and Insurrections, occasioned mostly thro' the Insults of the Normans, that but too readily provoked them upon every Occasion, presuming no doubt, very much upon the Favour of the King their Countryman, who, on Times, shewed too much Partiality in that Regard. It is true, he had not been a Year inthroned, before he was obliged, upon Commotions there, to pass over into Normandy; but we do not find, till about ten Years after, that he had any foreign Wars, when, passing over into *Bretagne*, he laid Siege to the Castle of *Dolence*, belonging to Earl *Ralph*; which engaged *Philip*, King of France, into the Quarrel, and so with a mighty Army marches against King *William*, who, finding himself hereby much streightened for Provision, broke up his Siege, not without Loss, both of Men and Horses, and of some of his Baggage, and hereupon ensued an Accommodation; but, not a Year after, *Robert*, the King's eldest Son, to whom, upon his Assuming of the English Crown, he had assigned the Dukedom

of Normandy, in the Presence of King *Philip* of France, because now his Father, as he pretended, would not suffer him to enjoy the said Dukedom in Quiet, went into France; and, being by the said King *Philip* assisted with Forces, committed great Ravages in Normandy, burning many Towns, and, at length, engaged with the King his Father in Battle, near the Castle of *Garbery*, in France; the King, according to his usual Manner, charged with great Resolution, and spared not to expose his Person to all Dangers, insomuch that he had in this Action, first, the Misfortune to be unhorsed himself, his Son *William* wounded, and many of his Family slain, and, as an Addition thereunto, through intemperate Anger to curse his Son *Robert*, who, it was observed, never prospered after. Things, after this, continued in a tolerable State of Amity between *Philip* and this King, till the last Year of his Reign, when residing in Normandy, and being grown very corpulent, the French King was pleased to speak reproachfully of him, saying, *The King of England lieth at Roan, and keeps his Chamber as lying-in Women do, and there nourisheth his fat Belly*, did so offend King *William*, that he said, *Well, when after my Delivery I go to Church, I shall offer a Thousand Candles to him, and swear to the same by God's Resurrection and his Brightness*; and this he made good the latter End of August, the same Year, when he entered France, with Fire and Sword, and burnt down the City of *Meaux*, together with the Church of *St. Mary*, and two Friars inclosed therein, who superstitiously persuaded themselves they ought not to forsake their Cell in such Extremity, though to the apparent Hazard of their Lives. This King died at *Roan*, Anno Dom. 1087, when he had reigned twenty Years, eight Months, and sixteen Days, and lived threescore and four Years, and was buried at *Caen* in Normandy.

The Causes of his Wars were, First, An Irruption made by the French into Normandy, contrary to the Articles of Peace; and, Secondly, The contumelious Language used by King Philip, concerning his Person.

WILLIAM II.

Surnamed *Rufus*, or the *Red*, during his twelve Years and about eight Months Reign, had no Wars with *France*, neither do we read of any just Cause given to engage him thereto; but he unjustly invaded *Normandy*, then subject to his Brother *Robert*, and dispossessed him of the County of *Owe*, many Castles, and some Monasteries; but was, in the mean Time, by divine Justice, assaulted by his younger Brother, *Henry*, in his own Dominions, and it had like to have cost him his Life, for he was bore down in Fight, from his Horse, by a valiant

Knight, who, taking his Sword to kill him, was stopped by the King's crying out, *Hold thy Hand, Knave, I am the King of England*; which Words so struck the Knight with Reverence, that he mounted him on another Horse; and the King, to recompense his Valour and Submission, swore, by *St. Luke's* Face, he should be his Knight, and be written in his White Book. He was accidentally killed by *Sir Walter Tyrrell*, as he was hunting in the *Now Forest*, Anno 1100; buried at *Winchester*, and died unlamented.

HENRY I.

WHO for his Learning was called *Beauclerk*, was youngest Son to *William the Conqueror*; he, passing over into *Normandy*, made War against the Earl of *Anjou*, who kept *Maine* against his Will, and this engaged *Lewis*, the *French* King, to take Part with the Latter; whereupon ensued many fore Battles, both in *France* and *Normandy*, between them with various Success; at length, taking *Anjou's* Daughter for Wife to his Son *William*, Peace was concluded. But it will not be amiss to give the Reader a Taste of the high Spirit and Resolution of this King, in a personal Quarrel he had in *France*. In his Father's Life-time, he accompanying his eldest Brother, *Robert*, into that Kingdom, while the Latter associated himself with the then *French* King; *Henry*, according to the Suitableness of their Years, took up with the Company and Divertisements of the *Dauphin*, and being one Evening at *Chefs*

together, the *Dauphin* happened to lose a considerable Sum of Money to the Prince at that Game; whereat the former grew so enraged, that, after some reproachful Language, he struck the Prince, who, not brooking the high Affront, with the *Chefs-board* knocks the *Dauphin* fairly down to the Ground, and being intent to pursue his Revenge, his Brother, *Robert*, fortunately came in, and, minding him of the Danger, away they both fled, and with great Haste and Difficulty recovered the next Part of *Normandy*, before their Pursuers could reach them. This King made his Exit, as his Father before him, in *Normandy* in the Year 1135, after he had reigned thirty-five Years and four Months.

The Cause of this War we have before assigned, to wit, the King of France's Taking Part with Anjou against Henry.

STEPHEN.

KING of *England*, was Son to *Adella* a Daughter of *William the Conqueror*, and Nephew to the two last Kings; he laid Claim to the Kingdom of *England* in the Year 1135, notwithstanding his Oath to *Maud*, the Empress and Daughter to *Henry the First*, to the Contrary; wherefore, without looking Abroad into *France* for any Wars, his whole Reign, which was eighteen Years and about ten Months, was, in a Manner, taken up in intestine Broils and Contests about his Right to the *English*

Crown; wherein he was stiffly opposed by several Nobles, and by the said Empress *Maud*, and her Son *Henry*, afterwards *Henry the Second*, whom she bare to *Geoffery Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*, and Duke of *Normandy*; from whence sprang the noble Family of the *Plantagenets* that so long governed *England*. He was once made Prisoner at *Bristol*, and at last, notwithstanding he had Children of his own, was forced to adopt *Henry* for his Son and Heir, and the Nobles swore Fealty to him accordingly.

HENRY

HENRY II.

SON of *Maud* and *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, as aforesaid, at the Age of Three and Twenty Years, and even in the Life-time of his Mother, under whom he claimed, began his Reign over *England*, in the Year 1154. This Prince, notwithstanding his Domestick Troubles, and famous Atchievements against the *Welch*, and his Conquest of a great Part of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, so as he was the first of our *English* Kings, that was stiled the Lord of that Country, yet found Opportunity to make War in *France*, upon several Occasions; the Alliance he had made with the *French* Court by the Marriage of his Son *Henry* to King *Lewis's* Daughter, *Margaret*, proving rather an Incitative to Contention and Discord, than a Bond of Peace and Amity: The famous City of *Thoulouse* was chiefly the Seat of this War, which was once and again bravely assaulted by King *Henry*, and as vigorously defended by *Lewis*. In his first Expedition against this Place, he was accompanied with *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, a *Welch* King, and with others of highest Rank and Dignity in *England*, *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, *Anjou*, and *Gascoigne*; during his second Expedition in *France*, the Earls of *Bulloign* and *Flanders*, with Six-hundred Sail of Ships, attempted to make a Descent into *England*; but their Undertaking proved frustrate and abortive through the Vigilance, Courage, and Prudence of *Richard Lacy*, who then governed *England*: This King is famous, or rather infamous in History, for the many base Children he had, being no less than Nineteen in Number; for his fair Concubine *Rosamond*, for whom he built that celebra-

ted Labyrinth at *Woodstock*, the Recesses whereof could not be penetrated into; but by insuperable Jealousy, the Queen, as it was said, by the Help of a Clew of Thread, finding of her out at last, and so used her that she lived not long after: And no less to be mentioned for the Troubles he met with, from that proud Prelate *Thomas a Becket*; to whose Shrine, after his Murder, much blind Devotion has been paid even by the greatest Potentates. Though his Son *Henry*, who was crowned King in his Life-time, and died before him, gave him much Disturbance, yet when he found, after his Death, that others, and particularly his Son *John* conspired against him, he was so stricken with Grief that, cursing his Son and the Day of his own Birth, he died, July 6, 1189, aged 61, having reigned Thirty-four Years, and almost seven Months.

The Causes of the War were, that King *Lewis* did incite the Prince his Son against the Laws of Nature to oppose *Henry* his Father; in the War Time *Lewis* had promised, upon the Word of a King, to meet him in Order to a Treaty, but he failed for his own Advantage, whereupon *Henry*, being sensible of the Fraud, sought him out with his Army, and made him give Ground; thereupon another Interview being appointed, betwixt *Terwin* and *Arras*, Histories relate that, as the two Kings were busy in Conference, there fell a Clap of Thunder between them, and meeting the next Day, the like Accident happened; which struck a Consternation in both Armies, as inclined the Kings the more to an Accommodation.

RICHARD I.

WHO for his Valour was surnamed *Cœur de Lion*, was the third Son of *Henry the Second*, but the Eldest when his Father died, aged 35 Years when he began his Reign, the former Part whereof was spent by him in the Wars, in the Holy Land, *William Longshamp* Bishop of *Ely*, and Chancellor of *England*, governing the Kingdom during his Absence; in this War, he signalised his Valour to a Wonder, having first taken *Cyprus* in his Way thither; and, at *Acon* in *Syria*, so behaved himself, that he became an Object of Envy to other

Christian Princes, especially to King *Philip* of *France*, as you shall see hereafter; wherever he went, Terror was his Forerunner, insomuch that it grew common, amongst those Eastern People, to terrify their Children with the Apprehension of King *Richard's* Coming; in his Return, being driven upon the Coast of *Dalmatia*, and thinking to pass Home by Land, incognito, he was made Prisoner by the Duke of *Austria*, who brought him to the Emperor *Henry*, and was detained by him in Custody for a Year and five Months, till he paid a great Ransom;

Ransom; his unparalleled Valour and Bravery was the Occasion of this Misfortune; these and other Princes bearing him Envy, especially the French King, who invades Normandy during his Absence, which obliged Richard to make a Peace with Saladin for three Years, much to the Disadvantage of the Cause they fought for. Philip attacked Gisors and had it surrendered to him and many other Places, and then halted to lay Siege to Roan, but found such a vigorous Defence made by the Valiant and Noble Earl of Leicester, that he was forced to quit his Enterprise, and so returned into France. On the 12th of March 1194, King Richard landed at Sandwich, was recrowned again, reduced the Kingdom intirely to his Obedience, which was much divided because of his Brother John's Pretensions in his Absence, and, hearing the King of France had besieged Verneuil, he passed over into Normandy, and arrived at Harfleur with a Hundred Ships full of Horsemen, Armour, &c. The Noise whereof so frightened the Monsieus, that he left the Siege and went his Ways; whereupon Richard enters the French Dominions, and takes in several strong Places, but the Noble Leicester had the Misfortune to be taken Prisoner, who afterward paid a great Sum of Money for his Ransom, and soon after ensued a Truce for a short Time; which was no sooner ended, but Richard takes the Field, possesses himself of the Castle of Brisen, Novencourt, &c.

THE Brother of Richard, who died without Issue, and youngest Son of Henry the II, succeeded his Brother to the Prejudice of Arthur, Geoffrey his elder Brother's Son, who was the real Heir of Course: This Arthur in Right of his Mother was Earl of Bretagne in France, so that, by this Exclusion, England lost one of the best Provinces in that Kingdom; and, by advancing John to the Throne, we not only lost almost all our Possessions in France, but England itself became Vassal to the Pope, the Clergy of those Times growing strangely bigotted to Rome, and perverse to the King: King John was in Normandy, when his Brother died, and though he wasted over into England, with all possible Speed, to take Possession of the Crown, and that his Presence was so necessary here for to keep his new Subjects in their Obedience to him, yet he could make no long

the French King, in the mean Time, besieging Albemarle, whither Richard hastening to succour the Place, a sharp Battle was fought between both Armies, wherein the French prevailed, chiefly upon the Account of the English being wearied with their hard March. But Richard had no sooner recruited and refreshed his Soldiers, but he laid Siege to Miligro, took it, and burnt it down to the Ground, whereupon ensued some Overtures of Peace; Albemarle, in the mean Time, fell into the French Hands, and ran the same Fate with Miligro: Some three Years after, Richard turned his Arms against the Barons of Poitiers that rebelled against him, with prosperous Success, till at last besieging the Castle of Chalus, and having brought it to that Extremity, that he would grant no other Conditions but a Surrender at Discretion, he was shot in the left Arm out of a Cross-bow, with an invenomed Dart by one Bertram de Gordon, of which Wound he died the 6th of April 1199, after he had reigned nine Years and nine Months, and was buried at Fontevault, at his Father's Feet.

The Causes were, that, while Richard went on so prosperously in the Holy Land, the French King out of Envy, and contrary to his Sacramental Oath, invaded Normandy, which forced King Richard to make Peace with Saladin, so much disadvantageous to all Christendom.

J O H N.

Stay, for, before a Year came about, he was forced to return into Normandy again, upon Information, that Philip, King of France, had, with a powerful Army, made an Irruption into Normandy, who took the Country of Maine, and several other Places from the English; the Britons at the same Time possessing themselves of the City of Angiers, the Towns of Gorney, Butenant, and Gensoline; Arthur doing also Homage to K. Philip for Anjou, Poitiers, Touraine, Maine, Bretagne, and Normandy; but soon after a Peace was concluded between the Kings, and thereby many Places confirmed to the French King that he had taken, and others yielded up by John, upon the Account of his Niece Blanch's Marriage with Lewis, Heir of France, besides 30000 Marks in Silver paid to Philip; and all this to the great Dishonour, as well as Detriment, of the English Nation. About two Years

Years after this, to wit, the third of the King's Reign, one *Hugo Bruno*, a Nobleman of *Aquitain*, raised a Rebellion against King *John*, in that Province; but he and his Adherents, being not able to withstand *John's* Forces, made Complaint of him to *Philip* of *France*, whereupon he was summoned by the Nobles of *France*, as Duke or Earl of *Aquitain* and *Anjou*, to appear before the *French* King, and to stand to the Judgment of his Peers, which he refused; upon which the Court adjudged him to be deprived of all his Lands, which he or his Predecessors held of the King of *France*.

King *Philip* forthwith raises a great Army, invades *Normandy*, takes in many Castles, and a great Part of the Country without Resistance; but *Arthur*, Duke of *Bretagne*, besieging the Castle of *Mirabe*, with Queen *Eleanor* then in it, King *John* fell upon him there, with such Force and Fury, that he routed his Army, and took *Arthur*, and many others of Note, Prisoners; *Arthur* sometime after was sent Prisoner to the *Tower of Roan*, and was there barbarously murdered, some said, by King *John's* own Hands; but in all this Time *Philip* prospered; insomuch that, in a very short Space, King *John* was in a Manner despoiled of all the Lands he held in Fee of the Crown of *France*. King *John* once and again made great Preparations to recover his lost Dominions, and had the good Success to destroy the *French* Fleet, and recover the Province of *Poitou*, but his domestick Troubles, both from his Barons and Clergy, prevented his further Designs; yet, about the

fifteenth Year of his Reign, having entered into a strong Confederacy with other foreign Princes, he set Sail for *Bretagne*, and laid Siege to *Nantz*, where a bloody Battle was fought, the *French* King being once in great Danger of his Life; but at length proved victorious, and took many Prisoners; whereof of Note were the Earls of *Brabant*, *Holland*, *Flanders*, and *Bulloign*; the Emperor, who was also at the Battle, being driven out of the Field; and 6000 Marks, on the King of *England's* Part, was the Purchase of a Truce for five Years. Commotions in *England* soon followed upon the Neck of this, and for Male-Administration, insomuch that, at length, *Lewis*, the *Dauphin*, was invited over by the Barons, to take upon him the Crown of *England*, who came accordingly, with little Opposition; but, being soon after displeased with their new King, they resolved to cast him off, and so he was fain at last to depart from whence he came. This was an unhappy Reign, but memorable for *Magna Charta*, and for Building of *London* Bridge of Stone. This King died at *Lyn*, as he was marching with his Army to fight the *Dauphin*, when he had reigned seventeen Years and about five Months, and was aged 51 Years, Anno 1216.

The first Ground of this War was, That Philip of France did infringe the Truce made with England for five Years, and invaded Normandy. Then, another Truce being made, he violated that also, and still fomented the Barons Wars.

H E N R Y III.

Commonly called *Henry* of *Winchester*, from his Birth-place, succeeded his Father King *John*, at the Age of nine Years, as next Heir, maugre all the Attempts of *Lewis*, the *Dauphin* of *France*, whose Forces were defeated at *Lincoln*, by the King's Guardian and Brother-in-Law, the famous Earl of *Pembroke*; and so from that Time forward Things went worse and worse with him, most Places yielding by Land, and his Fleet utterly destroyed by Sea, by *Hubert de Burg*, *Eustace* a Monk that commanded it being slain by *Richard*, a Bastard Son of King *John*; he yielded up his Claim to the Crown, and so returned with a Glimmering of it into *France*: *Henry*, about the fourteenth Year of his Reign, determined to make War upon *France*; and, to that Purpose, he assembled at *Portsmouth* all his Nobility, Knights, and

such a vast Number, both of Horse and Foot, as never was done by any of his Predecessors, designing to have recovered all those Territories his Father had lost; but, when they came to be shipped, they had not Carriages enough for half the Army, which he imputed to the Treachery of *Hubert de Burg*, his Chief Justice; and in a Rage, drawing his Sword, would have killed him, had it not been for the Earl of *Chester* that interposed; the Earl of *Bretagne*, who was present, and bound by an Oath to conduct the King to his Country, and others, persuaded him to defer his Expedition for that Season, and so his mighty Preparations for the Present vanished: But, the Year following, King *Henry*, with a mighty Army, sailed into *Bretagne*, and, after he had ravaged and committed great Spoil in the Country, laid Siege to the City of *Nantz*; but,

but, after the Consumption of a vast Treasure, and the Loss of many Men by Sickneſs, and otherwiſe, returned into *England* the ſame Year, but ſet all Things firſt in Order for the Conſervation of the Country of *Bretagne*. The *French*, making Uſe of the Opportunity of the King's Abſence, took the City of *Rochelle*, and ſo, pushing on their Conqueſt, reduced the whole Province of *Poitiers* to their Obedience, which King *John*, his Father, had conquered; whereat *Henry* being nettled, prepared for another mighty Expedition, but with the ſame fatal Succeſs as before: For after ſeveral Bickerings, wherein were loſt many of his Men, he made a Peace, and returned *re infecta*, but recovered at laſt the Province of *Aquitain*. The latter Part of his Reign was ſo taken up with inteſtine Broils in the *Barons Wars*, wherein ſometimes he was

worſted and imprifoned, ſometimes prevailed againſt his Enemies, that he had no Leiſure to look after his Territories Abroad, and call the *French* to an Account for them, till at laſt, after he had lived 65 Years, and of them reigned 56, and odd Days, and lavished away an immense Treasure, he reſigned his Breath to him that gave it, at *Edmundsbury* in *Suffolk*, was buried at *Weſtmiſter*, Anno 1272, and was happy in nothing ſo much as in the Hopes of his eldeſt Son *Edward*.

1. One Cauſe of his Wars with France was, that the French aſſiſted the Scots againſt him.
2. Another was, the Recovery of thoſe Towns and Provinces, the French unjuſtly took from him, and his Anceſtors.

E D W A R D I.

Surnamed *Long-ſhanks*, the Son of *Henry*, was in the *Holy Land* with *Eleanor* his Wife, when the Crown fell to him, being then about 33 Years old. He began his Reign the 16th of *November*, and arrived with his Queen in *England*, the 15th of *Auguſt* following, being in the Year 1273. He proved a warlike, wiſe, and victorious Prince, and may juſtly be ſtiled, *The beſt Law-giver*. He made ſeveral Expeditions againſt *Wales* and *Scotland*; the latter became Tributary to him, and the former he reduced intirely, under the Obedience of the Crown of *England*, and has ſo continued to this Day; but the Stratagem he uſed for to ſatisfy thoſe unruly Spirits, and keep them in Subjection, may be worthy of Obſervation.

Having about the twelfth Year of his Reign reduced all *Wales*, and, by a Statute made at *Ruthyn*, incorporated and annexed it to the Crown of *England*; but, finding he could not win the good Will of the People, unleſs he would engage to reſide amongſt them, or allow them a Prince of their own Nation to govern them, and that, after ſeveral Conferences, no *English* Deputies would do, but that they were content to ſubmit to any Man he ſhould name, provided he were a *Welchman*; at length he privily ſends for his Queen, then big with Child, and cauſed her to remain at *Carnarvan* Caſtle, where ſhe was brought to Bed of a Son, at which Time he ſends for the Barons and chief Men of *Wales*, to come to him at *Ruthyn*, to

deliberate about the Affairs of the Country; and when they came, he told them, he had now Occaſion to go out of that Country, but, before he went, he was determined to name them a Prince, if they promiſed to obey him; they replied, They would, provided he were one of their own Nation; wherefore the King rejoined, he would name one born in *Wales*, and that could ſpeak never a Word of *English*, and who was of unſpotted Life and Converſation, and, when all was agreed to, he named his Son *Edward*, born as aforeſaid.

But, notwithſtanding this King had ſo much to do with *Wales* and *Scotland*, yet he was no ways negligent of his Affairs and Intereſt in *France*; but, as ſoon as he had any Leiſure, which was about the twenty-second Year of his Reign, firſt, like a wiſe Prince, takes Care to have ſufficient Treasure for ſuch an Undertaking; and therefore, in a Parliamentary Way, raiſed a vaſt Sum of Money, and ſo provides an Army, and Fleet of Ships, ſuitable to ſuch an Expedition; the Army rendezvouſed at *Portsmouth*, the Command whereof he gave to his Nephew *John de Brytain*, Earl of *Richmond*, with whom he joined in Commiſſion *John St. John* and *Robert Tripot*, two prudent Knights, from whence they ſet Sail, and landed at *St. Matthews* in *Bretagne* (and in the mean Time ſet out three Fleets for the Guard of the Seas, and to prevent the Depredations of the Enemy) they entered the Mouth of the *Garonne* towards

Bour-

Bordeaux, and took two good walled Towns, *Burgo* and *Bleya*, from whence they marched to *Lyons*, and had the Town delivered to them; about four Years after he generously goes over, in Person, into *Flanders*, for the Relief of *Guy*, Earl of that Country, who was grievously assaulted by the *French King*; and, after many noble Atchievements performed, a Peace was concluded; *Edward* taking to Wife *Margaret*,

Sister to *Philip the Fair*, then King of *France*. This King died in 1307, when he had reigned thirty-four Years, seven Months, and odd Days, aged 68, and was buried at *Westminster*.

1. *One Cause of this Breach with France was the Depredations that were committed at Sea.*
2. *The Relief of Guy, Earl of Flanders, who was in Danger of losing his Country.*

EDWARD II.

Commonly called *Edward of Caernarvan* (the first Prince of *England*, that bore, in his Father's Life-time, the Title of *Prince of Wales*) proved an unworthy Successor to so brave a Father; for he was a dissolute Prince, and wholly guided by his Favourites; the first whereof was *Pierce Gaveston*, who was bred up with him, and on whom he conferred thirty-two Towns, and as many Castles, in *Gascoigne*, besides great Sums of Money out of the Earldom of *Cornwall*, during his Life; which, together with his Arrogance, the Barons, being not able to brook, combined to force the King to banish him; and so little did this Prince understand his true Interest herein, that, instead of parting with such a pernicious Man, and thereby securing his Interest at Home, and taking Measures for the same in *France*, and elsewhere, he intended to give up *Gascoigne* to the *French King*, *Scotland* to *Robert Bruce*, and *Ireland* and *Wales* to others, as hoping thereby to obtain such Aid as might secure him his Fa-

avourite, against all the just Attempts of his Barons to the Contrary; but no sooner was this Man removed, but he had two others, the *Spencers*, Father and Son, that were as pernicious as he, and proved more fatal to *Edward* every Way; for, though they received at length condign Punishment, yet it was through their Advice chiefly, that *Edward* refused to go to the *French King*, to do Homage for *Aquitain*, and other Lands, he held of him, and thereby lost *Anjou*, and the Country of *Poitiers*; and it was his Adherence to them that raised his Barons and Queen against him, which ended in a sad Catastrophe, first in his being deposed, next in making a formal Resignation of the Crown, and lastly, in being soon after barbarously murdered, at *Berkley Castle*, by the Procurement of *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, the Queen's Favourite: He reigned nineteen Years, six Months, and odd Days, and died in 1327.

EDWARD III.

Commonly called *Edward of Windsor*, the eldest Son of *Edward the Second*, succeeded his Father, upon his Resignation of the Crown, being then about the Age of Fourteen, his Reign commencing from the 25th of *January*, in the Year of our Lord 1326. He proved a Blessing to *England*, and was a Prince of great Wisdom, and very successful in his Enterprises; the younger Part of his Reign was much eclipsed by *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, the Queen his Mother's Paramour; but he got quickly rid of him, for he was seized at *Nottingham*, by the King's Order and Concurrence, just as he was going to Bed with the Queen, and for all the Queen's crying out to him, *Bel*

Fils, Bel Fils, ayez pitie de gentil Mortimer, i. e. Good Son, Good Son, take Pity upon gentle *Mortimer*; he was forthwith carried away to *London*, committed to the *Tower*, condemned by his Peers in Parliament at *Westminster*, hanged at *Elmes*, and left hanging upon the Gallows two Days and Nights; and all this unheard, because he had done so by others before: This King made several successful Expeditions into *Scotland*, and made the King thereof do him Homage; but the Seat of his Wars was in *France*, for, *Charles*, King of *France*, dying, the Masculine Line of *Hugh Capet* failed; and the Crown descended to *Edward the Third* (as he alledged) in Right of his Mother *Isabella*, who was Sister

to the said *Charles*; but *Philip de Valois*, Uncle to *Charles*, intruded himself by Force of Arms, and took Possession; and was not only Aggressor in this Respect, but grew so confident of his Power, that nothing would serve him, but he must have all our King had left in *France*, and therefore bends his Force against all the King's Castles and Towns in *Aquitain* and *Poitiers*, and exercises abominable Cruelties upon the *English* Inhabitants, and all this under Pretence of taking Revenge for his Friends the *Scots*. The King in the mean Time holds a Parliament, obtains considerable Supplies, and writes Letters to the *French* King, exhorting him to continue his old Amity; but neither this, nor the Pope's Mediation for a Peace, would do; so King *Edward* makes mighty Preparation, both by Sea and Land, and the first Action happened to be by Sea, and as memorable a one as any in the Records of Time; for he took and sunk 200 Sail of *French* Ships, which *Philip de Valois* had prepared in the Haven of *Sluce* for the Invasion of *England*, which Fleet, like that of 88, was held Invincible; but King *Edward* had equipped another as formidable a Fleet, in Opposition, whereof he was *Generalissimo*, and Admiral himself. It was one of the most glorious Victories that ever was got at Sea; for the Chronicles mention, that the whole *French* Navy perished, and 30000 Men were wounded, slain, and taken. This great Naval Battle was fought upon *Midsummer Eve*, and Heaven appeared much for the *English*, for they had Wind and Sun favourable to them in the Fight; and, to make it more glorious, King *Edward* himself was wounded in the Thigh with an Arrow, whereof he was quickly cured. He then goes in Person to *France*, with 8000 common Soldiers, and 15000 Archers, but he raised most of his Horse in *France*; he took over with him his Son the Prince of *Wales*, then but fifteen Years old, called afterwards the *Black Prince*. He enters *Normandy* like a Whirl-wind, and carries all the Country before him as far as *Poissy*, about ten Miles from *Paris*; and, after divers hot Skirmishes, a main Battle is appointed. The *English* Army encamped near a Village called *Cressy*, where it was divided into three Battalions; the first was led by the Prince of *Wales*, the second by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Northampton*, and in the third was the King himself. The Field being thus ordered, the King mounted upon a white Hobby, and rode

from Rank to Rank, encouraging every one to the Performance of his Duty.

The *French* Army was at least twice more in Number, consisting of above sixty-thousand Combatants, with the Flower of all the *French* Cavalry, whereof the Chief was the Duke of *Alençon* the King's Brother; there were besides the Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Luxemburg*, the Earls of *Flanders*, and *Artois*, with other Foreign Princes: The *French* King was so fierce in Confidence of Victory, that he would scarce admit of any previous Time for Counsel; the old King of *Bohemia* advised, that the Army should receive some Refreshment, before the Fight, and that the Brigade of *Genoa*, whereof there were about fifteen-thousand *Balestiers*, or *Cross-bows*, should make the first Front, and the Cavalry to follow next; which being agreed upon, the Duke of *Alençon* did stomach, that the *Genoese* should have the Honour of the first Rank. This bred such a Discontent that they seemed to be more incensed against their Leaders, than against the Enemy; but, in the *Interim*, there fell such a huge Shower of Rain, that wetted their Bow-strings, which they had not the Wit to cover all the While, as the *English* did, insomuch that, for the Limberness thereof, when they came to engage, they grew useless; at the Ceasing of the Shower, Heaven appeared in the Action for the *English*, for the Sun did shine full in the Faces of the *French*, thereby dazzling their Eyes, but on the Back of the *English*. King *Edward*, being got into a *Wind-mill*, all the While, whence as from a Watch-tower he might explore, and behold the Face of the Enemy, and discerning the Disturbance that happened, because the *Genoese* were put to change their Post, instantly gave Order to charge that Part, which made the *Genoese* recoil; *Alençon*, perceiving this, rides about in a Rage, crying out, *Sa, Sa*, let us make Way, over the Bellies of these *Italians*, for they do but hinder us; so, riding thorough them, he came up to the *English* Wing, where the Prince of *Wales* was; the Fight grew furious, and doubtful, insomuch that the Commanders about the Prince sent up to the King, for a Recruit of Power; the King asking the Messenger, Whether his Son was wounded or slain, and being answered No, he replied, Then tell them who sent you, that, as long as my Son is alive, they send no more to me, for my Will is, that he win his Spurs, and have the Honour

of this Day; so the Combatings, on both Sides, being wonderfully eager, the *French* King had his Horse killed under him, and so withdrew; which being known by the *English*, it added much to their Courage; so that soon after, they became Masters of the Field, and being in Heat of Blood they made no Prisoners, but put all to the Sword; so that the Number of the *French* slain surmounted the whole Army of the *English*, for there fell about thirty-thousand of the *Enemy*, the chief whereof was the Duke of *Alençon*, the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Lorrain*, the Earl of *Flanders*, the Dauphin de *Viennois* Son to *Imbert*, who afterwards gave the Province of *Dauphiny* to the *French* King, provided his first Son should be called *Dauphin in perpetuum*; and, as a Corollary to this mighty Victory, the next Day sending Scouts abroad, there was another *French* Army discovered, under the Conduct of the Archbishop of *Roan*, whom the *English* encountered also, and utterly defeated. There was one assage very remarkable in this Battle, whereof Sir *Watler Rawleigh* makes mention: *That, a Day before the Engagement, the King sent one Captain David Gam, a Welchman, to explore and view the French Army; which he did, with no less Danger than Fidelity, and brought Word, that there were, in the Enemy's Army, Men enough to kill, enough to take Prisoners, and enough to run away; which proved true, and so the Welch Captain was knighted in the Field.*

This mighty Victory was seconded, a few Years after, by another more memorable, for the *Black Prince*, having now won his Spurs, and being tapered up to his full Growth, was sent to *Gascogne*, where, the Truce being expired, he over-runs all the Country, as far as *Touraine*; thereupon *John*, the then *French* King, raised a potent Army, more numerous than that at *Cressy*, and going to find out the Prince of *Wales*, he heard of him about *Poitiers*, having not above ten thousand effective Men in his whole Army, and they also having been tired with long Marches, whereas the *French* were fresh, and were six Times as many; whereupon the Prince being advised to turn, falls about towards *Bordeaux*, when he was suddenly surrounded by the *French* Army, upon which a Battle being intended, there came two *Cardinals*, to mediate an Accommodation; but the *French* King would hearken to none, unless the Prince, as a vanquished Man, would render up himself, and his whole Army, to Discretion;

this was of hard Digestion, to a Prince of such a Courage, therefore he answered: That at the Mediation of the Holy Father, he was willing to restore such Places, which he had taken *en bonne Guerre*, provided this might be done without Prejudice to his Honour, whereof he was accountable to the King his Father, &c. the *French* King, not hearkening to this, resolved to fight; thereupon the Prince also resolved, for his Part, to part with his Life, at as high a Rate as he could in such a Straight, wherefore making a Virtue of Necessity, by a happy Providence, he makes Choice of an advantageous Ground; for, finding that the *French* Army consisted most in *Cavalry*, he intrenched among the adjacent Vineyards, where, when the *French* Horse furiously entered, being wrapped and entangled amongst the Vines, the *English* Archers did so ply, pelt, and gall them, that being thereby disordered, unranked, and routed, the whole Army, in a short Time, was totally defeated. But it seems, that this Battle was not so fierce as that of *Cressy*, where no Quarter was given; for in this a great Number of Prisoners were made, among whom was King *John* himself, and *Philip* his youngest Son, whom the Prince brought to *England*; and, as the *French* Historians themselves confess, he was so civil unto him all the While, that, he knew not whether he was in Quality of a free King, or of a Captive.

And here a fair Occasion is given to discover, and vindicate a great Truth touching the individual Person, who first took King *John*; and he was a *Welch* Gentleman, one *Howel*, of the Life-guards to the Prince, which Guard used to carry a Kind of Battle-axes, or Partisans; this *Howel* it seems, being one of them, in the confused Medley, and Fury of the Fight, did fortunately meet with the King, and seized upon him; but, suddenly in the Hurly-burley, some *Frenchmen* of the Prince's Army rush'd in, and the King, knowing one of them, called to him, whose Name was *Myrobrecht de Artois*, who going on, with others, to present the Prisoner to the Prince, there was a Contest, who took him first, and the King was desir'd to point at him; so he pointed at *Howel*, and said, This is the Man who took me. There are authentick Records in some *Welch* Manuscripts that confirm this; moreover, they have a general Tradition, and some Songs, which continue fresh to this Day, how *Howel* did put a Bridle in the *French* King's Mouth, with many

ny other Expressions, touching this great Act. Now, for that signal Exploit, the Prince knighted him in the Field, and he was ever after called, Sir *Howelly Fuyall*, Sir *Howel* with the Ax; he had the Constableship of *Crykyth* Castle given him, with the Farms of *Chester* Mills, and other considerable Things conferred upon him; which surely would not have been, but for the Merit of some high signal Service. The *British* Records (besides Tradition and common Report) that mentioned this, were to be found in *John Wynn's* Library, an honourable knowing Knight, who was a curious Collector of Antiquities.

These and many other glorious Exploits were done by this King in *France*, who ceased not his Pursuits till he had got the Key of it hanging at his Girdle, to wit, the Town of *Calais*, that, in those Days, was looked upon to be impregnable, which he carried, after a long Siege. This King's Reign is also memorable upon many other Accounts; as for the Institution of the noble Order of the *Garter*; for removing the Staple of *Wool*, from *Flanders* into Eng-

land; for that great Champion against *Rome*, the famous *Wickliff*; and for his own numerous Issue, by his heroick Queen *Philippa*, being no less than seven Sons, and five Daughters; his Sons were these, *Edward the Black Prince*, the Hopes of *England*, and who died before his Father; *William of Hatfield*, *Lionel Duke of Clarence*, *John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster*, *Edmund of Langley*, Duke of *York*, *William of Windsor*, and *Thomas of Woodcock*, Duke of *Glocester*; he died at *Richmond* in 1377, when he had reigned fifty Years and odd Months.

The Cause of the War, betwixt the English and French, in Edward the Third's Time, was a Claim to the Crown and Kingdom of France, in Right of his Mother Isabel, which they would make invalid by their Salick (or Distaff Law) to which the greatest Civilians do allow no Effence at all; and Du Haillan, the great French Historian, hath no better Opinion of it, but to be a meer Chimera, or imaginary Thing, but of this more presently.

Of the Salick Law.

‘ **H**ERE I judge it no way impertinent to be a little more particular yet, touching the Claim of this King *Edward* to the Crown of *France*, and what Grounds the *French* had, by Virtue of this *Salick Law*, for the Exclusion of him, claiming from a Female; and, first, we will briefly state his Claim, as it then stood, and then come to the Law itself, and it was thus: *Philip the Fourth*, surnamed the *Fair*, had three Sons, *Lewis the Contentious*, *Philip the Long*, and *Charles the Fair*, (all these successively reigned after him, and died without Issue inheritable) he had likewise a Daughter named *Isabel* (I purposely omit the other, being foreign to the present Affair) married to *Edward the Second*, King of *England*, and so was Mother to *Edward the Third*. The Issue Male of *Philip the Fair* thus failing, *Philip* Son and Heir of *Charles*, Earl of *Valois*, *Beaumont*, &c. (who was Brother to *Philip the Fair*) laid Claim to the Crown as next Heir Male, against King *Edward*, who made Answer to the Objection of the *Salick Law*, that (admitting it was as they asserted) yet he was Heir Male, tho’ descended of a Daughter; and this, in a publick Assembly

‘ of the States of *France*, first about the Protectorship of the Womb (for Queen *Joan*, Dowager of *Charles the Fair*, was left with Child, and delivered of a Daughter named *Blanch*, afterwards Duchess of *Orleans*) was had in solemn Dispute by Lawyers on both Sides, and applied, at length, also to the direct Point of inheriting the Crown, and so adjudged against King *Edward*. What followed hereupon we have, in some Measure, traced in the preceding History of his Wars, and are more at large recorded in *Walsingham*, *Froissart*, *Æmilius*, and a Multitude of more modern Writers; whereby it appears, and will in the Wars of this King's Successors in *France*, how the Denial of this Sovereignty to him, by the *French*, cost the Lives of many Thousands of their Men, and involved that Country into long and miserable Calamities.

‘ But as for the Law itself, whereby they pretended such an Exclusion of him, it may well be said with *Drayton* in his *Poly-Albion*, that every Mouth speaks of it, but few understand the Thing itself, or so much as the Etymology of its Name; and therefore, to clear this Point, as well as we can, we are necessitated

' sitated to ascend a little higher than these
 ' Times, wherein it was made Use of, in Pre-
 ' judice to the *English* Claim, and to begin
 ' with the Original of the *Francks*, with whom
 ' they affirm it was brought into *France*. The
 ' *Francks* therefore (according to many modern
 ' Historians) came originally from *Asia*, into
 ' *Germany*, though others, and perhaps upon
 ' better Grounds, make their Original to be in
 ' *Germany* itself; but this is certain, that, upon
 ' the Decline of the *Roman* Empire, they inha-
 ' bited *Franconia*, a Province of *Germany*, and
 ' about the Year Four-hundred and Thirteen,
 ' or, according to *Davila*, One-hundred and
 ' Nineteen, invaded *France*, under *Phara-*
 ' *mond*, whom they chose to be their King
 ' and Leader (which *Pharamond* they make
 ' to be Son to *Marcovir*, a Prince that go-
 ' verned them in *Franconia*) but, first, before
 ' they began their Expedition, they held a
 ' general Assembly, near unto a River named
 ' *Sala*, and there, by the Advice of the *Salii*,
 ' their Priests, or as others of the *Salians*,
 ' whom they make to be the same with *Francks*,
 ' enacted Laws for Government, and amongst
 ' the rest, one for the Exclusion of *Females*,
 ' from inheriting the Crown, which from the
 ' aforesaid Appellations (whether one or all, it
 ' matters not) came to be denominated the *Sal-*
 ' *lick Law*. But *Goropius*, that fetches all out
 ' of *Dutch*, and this perhaps more tolerably
 ' than many of his other *Etymologies* (deriving
 ' the *Salians* Name from *Sal*, which, in Con-
 ' traction, he makes to be from *Sadel*, Inven-
 ' tors whereof, says he, the *Salians* were) in-
 ' terprets them to be as much as Horse-men,
 ' a Name fitly applied to the warlike and
 ' most noble Persons of any Nation, as *Equites*
 ' in *Latin*, *Chevaliers* in *French*, and *Marchog*
 ' in *Welsh*, do very well agree to; so that,
 ' upon the Whole, the *Salick Law* is made by
 ' him to be as much as a *Chivalrous Law*; and
 ' *Salick Land*, *Quæ ad equestris ordinis digni-*
 ' *tatem & in capite summo & in cæteris membris*
 ' *conservandam pertinebat*; which very well
 ' agrees with a Sentence, given in the Parlia-
 ' ment at *Bordeaux*, upon an ancient Will,
 ' devising all the *Testator's Salick Lands*, which
 ' was in Point of Judgment interpreted to be a
 ' Fief; and who knows not but that Fiefs
 ' were originally military Gifts; but, if Things
 ' be so, how then comes *Salick* to extend to
 ' the Crown, which is held to be merely with-
 ' out Tenure? Therefore (saith a later Lawyer)
 ' *Ego scio legem Salicam agere de privato Patri-*

' *monio tantum*, I know the *Salick Law*, in-
 ' tends only private Possessions. Again, there
 ' are some who pretend to give us the Names
 ' of the Compilers of this Law (and not this
 ' alone, but of many others, as they say) viz.
 ' *Wisogast, Bodogast, Salogast, and Windogast*,
 ' wise Counsellors, about that *Pharamond's*
 ' Reign; the Text of it in this Part is offered
 ' us by *Claude de Seiffel*, Bishop of *Marseilles*,
 ' *Bodin*, and other *French* Writers, as if it were
 ' as ancient as the Original of the Name, in
 ' these Words: *De Terra Salica nulla Portio*
 ' *Hæreditatis Mulieri veniat, sed ad virilem*
 ' *sexum tota terræ Hereditas perveniat*. No
 ' Part of the *Salic Land* can descend to the
 ' Daughter, but all to the Male, and in Sub-
 ' stance, as if referred to the Person of the
 ' King's Heir Female; so much is remembered
 ' by that great *Civilian Baldus*, and divers o-
 ' thers, but rather as a Custom, than any par-
 ' ticular Law, as an Author of that Kingdom
 ' hath expressly written: *Ce'n est point une loye*
 ' *ecrite, mais nee avec nous, que nous n'avons*
 ' *point inventer, mais l'avons puiſſe de la na-*
 ' *ture meme, qui le nous a ainsi appris & donne*
 ' *cet instinct*; that is, This is no Law written,
 ' but learned of Nature. But why the same
 ' Author dares affirm, that King *Edward* yield-
 ' ed upon this Point to the *French Philip de*
 ' *Valois*, I wonder, seeing all Stories and Car-
 ' riages of State, in those Times, are so mani-
 ' festly opposite. *Becanus* undertakes a Conjec-
 ' ture of the first Cause, which excluded *Gynæ-*
 ' *cocracy* among them, gueſſing it to be upon
 ' their Observation of the Misfortune in War,
 ' which their Neighbours, the *Bructerans* (a
 ' People about the now *Over-Iſſel*, in the *Ne-*
 ' *therlands*, from near whom he, as many others
 ' first, derives the *Francks*) endured in the Time
 ' of *Vespasian*, under the Conduct and Empire
 ' of one *Velleda*, a Lady even of Divine Esteem
 ' amongst them. The learned *Drayton*, who
 ' has particularly treated of this Subject, leaves
 ' it at last in Suspence, and concludes thus:

But, howsoever the Law be in Truth, or in-
 terpretable (for it might ill beseem me to of-
 fer Determination, in a Matter of this Kind)
 it is certain, that, to this Day, they have an
 Usage of ancient Time, which commits to
 the Care of some of the greatest Peers, that
 they, when the Queen is in Child-birth be pre-
 sent, and warily observe, lest the Ladies pri-
 vily should counterfeit the inheritable Sex, by
 supposing some other made, when the true
 Birth is Female, or, by any such Means, wrong
 their

their ancient *Custom Royal*. ' But, by his Fa-
 ' your, this is a Custom in *England* as well as
 ' in *France*, where the *Females* do notwithstanding
 ' ing inherit the Crown, and never any Law
 ' pretended to the Contrary: I shall therefore
 ' conclude upon the Whole with this one Re-
 ' mark, that notwithstanding the many Volumes
 ' that have been writ to justify King *Edward* and
 ' his Successors Title to *France* (though it is true
 ' the *English* in that Age were better skilled in
 ' the Sword than in the Pen) and the great Dust
 ' that has been raised by the *French* under Pre-
 ' tence to the *Salick Law*, to impede his Way
 ' to their Crown: Yet after all it appears clear-

ly to me, that the aforesaid Duchefs of *Orle-*
 ' *ans* had a better Title than either King *Ed-*
 ' *ward* or *Philip de Valois*, for she was Daughter
 ' to *Charles the Fair*, the last King of the *Capu-*
 ' *tian* Line; whereas *Edward* was descended
 ' only from *Isabella*, Sister to this same King.
 ' And as for *Philip de Valois*, his Pretensions had
 ' little of Reality in them, when it is plain *Hugh*
 ' *Capet* descended from a Female of the *Carolivi-*
 ' *nian* Line, yet succeeded to the Crown of
 ' *France*; and where was their *Salick Law* then,
 ' whereof they afterwards so much boasted that
 ' it was born with them, and never writ, but
 ' taught by Nature?

RICHARD II.

SON to *Edward the Black Prince*, by *Joan*
 his Wife, Daughter to *Edmund*, Earl of
Kent, the youngest Son of *Edmund the*
First, succeeded his Grandfather King *Edward*
the Third, being but eleven Years old, but had
 neither his Wisdom nor good Fortune; from
Bordeaux, his Birth-place, where his Father
 kept his Residence as Duke of *Aquitain*, he was
 called *Richard of Bordeaux*; in his Minority he
 was governed by his Uncles, the Dukes of *Lan-*
caster and *Gloucester*; his Reign was at first much
 disturbed with the *Scots*, and there were also di-
 verse Traverses of War, especially by Sea with
France; for the *French* began to improve in
 Navigation, and did us much Mischief, for they
 burnt a good Part of *Rye*, *Hastings*, and *Portf-*
mouth, advancing into the River as far as *Graves-*
end, where they likewise took Booties, and burnt
 almost all the Place; they also took Footing in
 the Isle of *Wight*, but were soon repelled: Sir
John Arundel, being sent with a considerable Fleet
 to *Bretagne*, was disastrously cast away, with
 above 1000 Persons more, whereof some were
 of Rank and Gallantry; but, a little after, Sir
Hugh Caverly and Sir *Thomas Piercy* being made
 Admirals, they so scowered and secured the Seas,

and they took such a World of Prizes, that
French Wines were sold in *London* for a Mark a
 Ton; and it is a Passage of some Remark, how
 one *John Philpot*, a Citizen of *London*, manned
 out a Fleet, at his own Charge, took Prizes, and
 did many Exploits against the *French*, yet at his
 Return he was questioned for setting forth Men
 of War without a Warrant from King and
 Council.

This Reign is also remarkable for the famous
 Rebellion of *Wat. Tyler* and *Jack Straw*, for the
 Expedition of the Duke of *Lancaster* to *Spain*,
 but especially so, that famous Interview between
 the Kings of *England* and *France*, between *Ca-*
lais and *St. Omers*, managed with all the Ce-
 remony, Pomp and Grandeur, that could be
 imagined, and where a Knot of Friendship was
 tied, by King *Richard's* Taking the Lady *Isa-*
bella to Wife, the King of *France's* Daughter,
 he being then a Widower, as having buried
 Queen *Anne*, the King of *Bohemia's* Daughter,
 about two Years before: This King, after much
 Male-Administration, was, at length, deposed,
 when he had reigned twenty-two Years and
 about three Months, and was soon after mur-
 dered in *Pomfret Castle* in *Yorkshire*.

HENRY IV.

Commonly called *Henry of Bollingbroke*, the
 first King of this Line, was Son to *John*
 of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, fourth Son
 of *Edward the Third*; he came to the Crown by
 the Power of the Sword, but with the Consent
 of the People, the Issue of *Lionel Duke of Cla-*
rence, third Son to the said King *Edward*, being
 laid aside, that had a precedent Right; he was a

Prince of singular Prowess, but most Part of his
 Time was taken up in suppressing of Rebel-
 lions at Home, and in the old Trade of war-
 ring with *Scotland*; whereat the *French* grew in-
 solent, fitted out divers Fleets, and attempted
 the Coasts of *England*, first under the Count of
St. Paul, who landed at the Isle of *Wight*, with
 7000 Men, where he burnt some Villages, but the
 Island

Island grew quickly too hot for him; *Plymouth* also was plundered, and divers Houses burnt, whereupon the *Western* Men were permitted to set out Ships of War, whereby they sufficiently revenged themselves of the *French*, and at one Time took forty Sail. The *French* take Footing again in the Isle of *Wight*, with 1000 Men, but they were repelled, with the Slaughter of many Hundreds; afterwards the Admiral of *Britany*, with the Lord of *Castile*, and thirty Sail, attempt *Dartmouth*, where, at a fierce Assault, *Du Castile* was slain, with his two Brothers.

The *English*, during this Reign, had Occasion also to signalize themselves by Land in *France*, upon two several Occasions; for a great Feud happening between the Duke of *Burgundy* (whom the *French* King and his eldest Son favoured) and the Duke of *Orleans*, whose Father had been put to Death by the Procurement of the former, it came at last to open Wars between them; but *Burgundy*, finding his Adversary had powerful Assistance from the Kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, the Dukes of *Bisuria*, *Bretagne*, and others, makes his Application to King *Henry* for Aid, who at first gave him good Counsel, and afterwards sent him good Force under the Command of *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, the famous Sir *John Oldcastle*, Lord *Cobham*, and others, with which Reinforcement he prevailed powerfully against his Enemy, insomuch that, about a Year after, *Orleans* also becomes a Suiter to the same King *Henry*, for Assistance against *Burgundy*; which the King also granted, and dispatched away, under the Command of *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, *Edward* Duke of *York*, &c. many valiant Men who landed in *Normandy* where *Orleans*

was to meet them, but did not at the Time appointed; however, they prosecuted their Design, and took many strong Places, and at length *Orleans* and *Clarence* met, and having settled their Affairs, the *English* departed to their Winter Quarters in *Aquitain*. *Henry*, like a wise Prince, designed to make Use of these Diffensions in *France*, and expressed as much to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, saying, *Behold now is the acceptable Time, let us go into France, and win, with small Aid, that which is our Right*; but, being then labouring under a great Sickness, he was by his Lords, with great Difficulty, persuaded to the Contrary; and thus ended his Wars in *France*, he himself dying soon after this last Expedition under *Clarence*, to wit, on the 20th of *March*, Anno 1412, aged 46, when he had reigned thirteen Years, and about six Months, and was buried at *Canterbury* by his first Wife the Lady *Mary*, Daughter to *Bohun* Earl of *Essex*; he had Issue four Sons, *Henry*, that succeeded him, *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, and *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloucester*, of whom it was said they could not be distinguished for their Excellency, save that *Henry* was the Eldest: He had also two Daughters, *Blanch* Duchess of *Bavaria*, and *Philippa* Queen of *Denmark*.

The Causes of this War were first Self-preservation, and that the French assisted the Scots against England, and had also sent 12000 Men to Owen Glendower, a British Prince, who was up in Arms against the King, but, a few Days after they landed at Milford-Haven, they ran again back to their Ships.

HENRY V.

Commonly called *Henry* of *Monmouth*, the eldest Son of *Henry* IV, proved a great Prince, was a Mirror of Magnanimity, and stands to this Day one of the greatest Ornaments of our *English* Chronicles. He no sooner mounted the Throne, but he had his Eye presently upon *France*, for recovering his Royal Right to that Crown; in order whereunto he altered in his Arms the Bearing of *Semy De-luces*, and quartered the three full *Flower-de-luces* as *France* did bear them; thereupon he sent the Duke of *Exeter* in a magnificent Ambassy, attended with 500 Horse to *Paris*, to demand the Crown, and receiving no satisfactory Answer,

but rather a Jeer, the *Dauphin* sending King *Henry* a Sackful of Racket Court-Balls, to employ his Time; he replied, That, for every one of those Balls, he had so many fiery Bullets to bandy at the proudest Towers of *France*, as he should quickly find; and so he presently got over, and encountered the *French* Army at *Agencourt*, the *French* King himself being at the Head of it, which he utterly overthrew, and took more Prisoners than he had common Soldiers. The Battle was fought upon a Sunday Morning about the Time of High Mass; for having sent Notice to *England* before, that extraordinary Prayers should be made in all Churches

their ancient *Custom Royal*. ' But, by his Fa-
 ' your, this is a Custom in *England* as well as
 ' in *France*, where the *Females* do notwithstand-
 ' ing inherit the Crown, and never any Law
 ' pretended to the Contrary: I shall therefore
 ' conclude upon the Whole with this one Re-
 ' mark, that notwithstanding the many Volumes
 ' that have been writ to justify King *Edward* and
 ' his Successors Title to *France* (though it is true
 ' the *English* in that Age were better skilled in
 ' the Sword than in the Pen) and the great Dust
 ' that has been raised by the *French* under Pre-
 ' tence to the *Salick Law*, to impede his Way
 ' to their Crown: Yet after all it appears clear-
 ' ly to me, that the aforesaid Duchefs of *Orle-*
 ' *ans* had a better Title than either King *Ed-*
 ' *ward* or *Philip de Valois*, for she was Daughter
 ' to *Charles the Fair*, the last King of the *Capu-*
 ' *tian* Line; whereas *Edward* was descended
 ' only from *Isabella*, Sister to this same King.
 ' And as for *Philip de Valois*, his Pretensions had
 ' little of Reality in them, when it is plain *Hugh*
 ' *Capet* descended from a Female of the *Caroli-*
 ' *nian* Line, yet succeeded to the Crown of
 ' *France*; and where was their *Salick Law* then,
 ' whereof they afterwards so much boasted that
 ' it was born with them, and never writ, but
 ' taught by Nature?

RICHARD II.

SON to *Edward the Black Prince*, by *Joan*
 his Wife, Daughter to *Edmund*, Earl of
Kent, the youngest Son of *Edmund the*
First, succeeded his Grandfather King *Edward*
the Third, being but eleven Years old, but had
 neither his Wisdom nor good Fortune; from
Bordeaux, his Birth-place, where his Father
 kept his Residence as Duke of *Aquitain*, he was
 called *Richard of Bordeaux*; in his Minority he
 was governed by his Uncles, the Dukes of *Lan-*
caster and *Gloucester*; his Reign was at first much
 disturbed with the *Scots*, and there were also di-
 verse Traverses of War, especially by Sea with
France; for the *French* began to improve in
 Navigation, and did us much Mischief, for they
 burnt a good Part of *Rye*, *Hastings*, and *Portf-*
mouth, advancing into the River as far as *Graves-*
end, where they likewise took Booties, and burnt
 almost all the Place; they also took Footing in
 the Isle of *Wight*, but were soon repelled: Sir
John Arundel, being sent with a considerable Fleet
 to *Bretagne*, was disasterously cast away, with
 above 1000 Persons more, whereof some were
 of Rank and Gallantry; but, a little after, Sir
Hugh Caverly and Sir *Thomas Piercy* being made
 Admirals, they so scowered and secured the Seas,

and they took such a World of Prizes, that
French Wines were sold in *London* for a Mark a
 Ton; and it is a Passage of some Remark, how
 one *John Philpot*, a Citizen of *London*, manned
 out a Fleet, at his own Charge, took Prizes, and
 did many Exploits against the *French*, yet at his
 Return he was questioned for setting forth Men
 of War without a Warrant from King and
 Council.

This Reign is also remarkable for the famous
 Rebellion of *Wat. Tyler* and *Jack Straw*, for the
 Expedition of the Duke of *Lancaster* to *Spain*,
 but especially so, that famous Interview between
 the Kings of *England* and *France*, between *Ca-*
lais and *St. Omers*, managed with all the Ce-
 remony, Pomp and Grandeur, that could be
 imagined, and where a Knot of Friendship was
 tied, by King *Richard's* Taking the Lady *Isa-*
bella to Wife, the King of *France's* Daughter,
 he being then a Widower, as having buried
 Queen *Anne*, the King of *Bobemia's* Daughter,
 about two Years before: This King, after much
 Male-Administration, was, at length, deposed,
 when he had reigned twenty-two Years and
 about three Months, and was soon after mur-
 dered in *Pomfret Castle* in *Yorkshire*.

HENRY IV.

Commonly called *Henry of Bollingbroke*, the
 first King of this Line, was Son to *John*
 of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, fourth Son
 of *Edward the Third*; he came to the Crown by
 the Power of the Sword, but with the Consent
 of the People, the Issue of *Lionel* Duke of *Clare-*
nce, third Son to the said King *Edward*, being
 laid aside, that had a precedent Right; he was a

Prince of singular Prowess, but most Part of his
 Time was taken up in suppressing of Rebel-
 lions at Home, and in the old Trade of war-
 ring with *Scotland*; whereat the *French* grew in-
 solent, fitted out divers Fleets, and attempted
 the Coasts of *England*, first under the Count of
St. Paul, who landed at the Isle of *Wight*, with
 7000 Men, where he burnt some Villages, but the
 Island

Island grew quickly too hot for him; *Plymouth* also was plundered, and divers Houses burnt, whereupon the *Western* Men were permitted to set out Ships of War, whereby they sufficiently revenged themselves of the *French*, and at one Time took forty Sail. The *French* take Footing again in the Isle of *Wight*, with 1000 Men, but they were repelled, with the Slaughter of many Hundreds; afterwards the Admiral of *Brittany*, with the Lord of *Castile*, and thirty Sail, attempt *Dartmouth*, where, at a fierce Assault, *Du Castile* was slain, with his two Brothers.

The *English*, during this Reign, had Occasion also to signalize themselves by Land in *France*, upon two several Occasions; for a great Feud happening between the Duke of *Burgundy* (whom the *French* King and his eldest Son favoured) and the Duke of *Orleans*, whose Father had been put to Death by the Procurement of the former, it came at last to open Wars between them; but *Burgundy*, finding his Adversary had powerful Assistance from the Kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, the Dukes of *Bituria*, *Bretagne*, and others, makes his Application to King *Henry* for Aid, who at first gave him good Counsel, and afterwards sent him good Force under the Command of *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, the famous Sir *John Oldcastle*, Lord *Cobham*, and others, with which Reinforcement he prevailed powerfully against his Enemy, insomuch that, about a Year after, *Orleans* also becomes a Suiter to the same King *Henry*, for Assistance against *Burgundy*; which the King also granted, and dispatched away, under the Command of *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, *Edward* Duke of *York*, &c. many valiant Men who landed in *Normandy* where *Orleans*

was to meet them, but did not at the Time appointed; however, they prosecuted their Design, and took many strong Places, and at length *Orleans* and *Clarence* met, and having settled their Affairs, the *English* departed to their Winter Quarters in *Aquitain*. *Henry*, like a wise Prince, designed to make Use of these Diffensions in *France*, and expressed as much to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, saying, *Behold now is the acceptable Time, let us go into France, and win, with small Ado, that which is our Right*; but, being then labouring under a great Sicknes, he was by his Lords, with great Difficulty, persuaded to the Contrary; and thus ended his Wars in *France*, he himself dying soon after this last Expedition under *Clarence*, to wit, on the 20th of *March*, Anno 1412, aged 46, when he had reigned thirteen Years, and about six Months, and was buried at *Canterbury* by his first Wife the Lady *Mary*, Daughter to *Bohun* Earl of *Essex*; he had Issue four Sons, *Henry*, that succeeded him, *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, and *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloucester*, of whom it was said they could not be distinguished for their Excellency, save that *Henry* was the Eldest: He had also two Daughters, *Blanch* Duchess of *Bavaria*, and *Philippa* Queen of *Denmark*.

The Causes of this War were first Self-preservation, and that the French assisted the Scots against England, and had also sent 12000 Men to Owen Glendower, a British Prince, who was up in Arms against the King, but, a few Days after they landed at Milford-Haven, they ran again back to their Ships.

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Churches about Ten o'Clock in the Morning, he stood upon the Defensive Part all the While till then; but then, making a moving Oration to his whole Army, and, among other Strains, telling them how all *England* was praying for them at that very Hour, he obtained a most glorious and compleat Victory. Besides that great Act of Piety, another of Policy was used; for the King, to prevent the Fury of the *French* Cavalry, appointed divers Stakes studded with Iron at both Ends, of about six Feet long, to be pitched behind the Archers, and ordered that Pioneers should attend to remove them, as they should be directed, which Invention conducted much to the good Success of the Action. The King himself charged the Duke of *Alençon*, who, being beaten off his Horse, was slain. There was also a great Slaughter of all Kind of *French* Prisoners, because the Number was so great, that nothing could give Assurance of Safety, but by making them away.

At length, after many wonderful Feats and Successes performed, especially by himself and noble Brothers the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Bedford*, and *Gloucester*, he was, upon Articles agreed between him and *Charles VI.* then King of *France*, made *Regent* of that Kingdom, and proclaimed both there and in *England* Heir Apparent to the *French* Crown, and did, thereupon, take *Katherine*, the said King's Daughter to Wife; but the *Dauphin* (afterwards *Charles VII.*) who

judged himself much aggrieved hereby, made a strong Part in the Kingdom, and with a great Army laid Siege to the Town of *Cosney*, which King *Henry* was so concerned at, that he resolved to go in Person to the Raising of it; but he was so eager and over-hasty in his March, that he could reach no further than *Senlis* (trusting to his Brother the Duke of *Bedford's* Care in the Prosecuting of that Design, who relieved the Town and obliged the *Dauphin* to retreat) and there his Fever so increased upon him, that he made his last Will, and appointed his Jewels to be sold for the Payment of his Debts, and ordained his Brother, the Duke of *Bedford*, to be *Regent* of *France* and *Normandy*, and so died at *Vincennes*, leaving no Issue but a young Son, whose Education he left to the Cardinal of *Winchester*, and the Government of *England*, during his Minority, to *Humphry*, Duke of *Gloucester*, being the Year of our Lord, 1422, aged Thirty-eight, and having reigned nine Years and odd Months. He had the Mortification to have his Brother *Clarence* slain with many fine Soldiers, at the Siege of *Bauge* in *Anjou*, before he died, but was otherwise in all Attempts successful, and is renowned upon all Accounts, but in nothing so much as in his Piety to God, to whom he gave all the Glory of his Victories.

The Ground of this War was the former Claim to the Crown and Kingdom of France.

HENRY VI.

Commonly called *Henry of Windsor*, proved a religious Prince, but weak and unfortunate; he began his Reign when he was eight Years old, and was crowned King of *France* at *Paris*, Anno 1431, to whom the Nobles, Provost, and chief Burgeses swore Fealty; but lost it, five Years after, to *Charles the Seventh*, and the Loss of that drew on the Loss of the Whole, but it was not without much Struggling. The Beginning of his Reign, which all Persons feared would have been the worst, proved quite contrary, and was the most prosperous; which is to be attributed to the Wisdom, Care, and Resolution of those brave Men that his Father appointed to guard him and his Dominions. Things prospered in *France*, whilst the heroick *Bedford* lived, who won many Towns and Forts, and proved *Victor* in several Encounters and Battles, especially that great Battle of *Ver-*

neuil, where (as a *French* Author confesseth) *Bedford*, *Salisbury*, and *Suffolk* did mighty Exploits, and defeated the whole *French* Power; about which Time, *Bedford* as *Regent*, was obeyed in all Places through *Vimen*, *Poitiers*, and *Picardy*; and from *Paris* to *Rheims*, *Chalons*, and *Troyes* up to the River of *Loyre*; but when this brave Prince died, which was about the fourteenth Year of *Henry's* Reign, and that the Duke of *York* was made *Regent*, Things went very much to Wrack in *France*. *Guienne* was the last Province in *France* that held out for the *English*, where we lost that brave Captain, *John*, Lord *Talbot*, the first Earl of *Shrewsbury* of that Family, and Ancestor to the now illustrious Duke of *Shrewsbury*, and called by the *French* Historians, the Glory of the *English* Nation, as we had done some Years before, at the Siege of *Orleans*, the valiant Earl of *Salisbury*;

a Siege

a Siege which first raised the Fame of the *French Amazon, Joan*, the Shepherdes, commonly called the Maid of *Orleans*, whose wonderful Courage and Success proved very fatal to the *English* (though she was afterwards burnt at *Roan* for a Witch) and which did not a little contribute to hasten our Expulsion out of that Kingdom; all Places at length being reduced, except *Calais*, and the *Norman Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, &c.* And thus was the old Prophecy made good, *That Henry of Monmouth should win all, and Henry of Windsor should lose all*; which was verified to some Purpose in this King, for, to the former Losses, was added that of the

Crown of *England*, he being deposed, after he had reigned thirty-nine Years; but lived eleven Years after, and was murdered by *Crookback Richard*, in the *Tower of London*. He was a King pious in an intense Degree, which made *Henry the Seventh* send to the Pope, to have *Henry the Sixth* canonised for a Saint; but Answer was given, that he would canonise him for an *Innocent*, but not for a *Saint*.

The Cause of this War, in this King's Time, was the Revolt of the French from their Obedience to their true King.

EDWARD IV.

Eldest Son of *Richard*, Duke of *York*, and first of this Line, came to the Crown by Right of Descent, from King *Edward the Third*; for *Anne*, his Grandmother, was Daughter of *Roger Mortimer*, Son of *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, and *Philip* his Wife, sole Daughter of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, third Son of *Edward the Third*, and elder Brother of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*; so that it is plain, in Course of Succession, he had a precedent Right to the House of *Lancaster*: He was fain to maintain his Right, as he had got it, by the Sword; for, to get it, no less than six Battles had been fought by his Father and himself, and six more, to secure it, were fought in his Reign; but, when his Affairs began to receive any Settlement, he revolves upon his old Right to the Kingdom of *France*; wherefore, upon the Request of the Duke of *Burgundy*, his Brother-in-Law, who was already actually in War with the *French King*, he enters into an Alliance with him, for to carry it on with united Forces; and was the more easily induced hereunto, because of the Assistance *France* had lately given the Earl of *Warwick*, Queen *Margaret*, her Son, Prince *Edward*, and their Accomplices, against him. King *Edward* makes very great Preparations for this Expedition, and having got all Things in Readiness, rendezvouses at *Dover*, and so, from thence, sails in a Fleet, consisting of Five-hundred Sail, of all Burthens (whereof, the Duke of *Burgundy* furnished many) and lands at *Calais*, with a greater Force than ever, at any one Time, came into *France*; for he had with him One-thousand Five hundred *Gen d'Arms*, being all Nobles and Gentlemen; Fifteen-thousand Archers on Horseback,

Eight-thousand common Soldiers, with Three-thousand Pioneers (Three-thousand *English* being at the same Time appointed to land in *Bretagne*, for to make a Diversion on that Side).

But, before King *Edward* embarked, he sent an Herald from *Dover*, to the King of *France*, with a Letter of Defiance, written in such Language, that, my Author is persuaded, could never be of an *Englishman's* Penning; (so little Esteem had the *English Nation*, at that Time, for their Learning, in the World) the Contents of the Letter were, That the King should yield unto him the Kingdom of *France*, that so he might restore the Clergy and Nobility to their antient Liberty, and ease them of those great Oppressions they laboured under, &c. which, if he refused to do, he concluded full of *Menaces*, according to the usual Form in that Kind. The *French King* read the Letter softly to himself, and then withdrawing to another Room, sent for the Herald to come before him, and told him, he was not ignorant of the Confederacy between the King, his Master, and the Duke of *Burgundy*; and how that the Constable of *France* had Intelligence also with the King of *England*, the King having married his Niece; but, adds he, He will deceive the King, your Master, as he has done me; and as for *Burgundy*, it is manifest, he foully prevaricates, for he is already retired from before *Nunz*; and at last concludes with a Present of Three-hundred Crowns to the Herald, and a Promise of One-thousand more, if a Peace were concluded; and got him to engage to further it with all his Might. King *Edward* had no sooner landed at *Calais*, but the Duke of *Burgundy* retires from before *Nunz*, and, with a small Retinue, rides

to the King at *Calais*, leaving his Army, in the mean Time, to plunder the Country of *Lorraine* and *Barr*. From *Calais* they both departed, and passing through *Bolloign*, marched to *Peronne*, where the *English* were but coldly entertained by the Duke, for he would suffer but very few of them to come within the Gates, so that they were obliged to take up their Quarters in the Fields. There it was the Duke received a Message from the Constable of *France*, whereby he excused himself for not delivering of *St. Quintin*; alledging, that if he had done it, he could have done him no further Service in the Kingdom of *France*; but added, that, seeing the King of *England* was come over in Person, he would, for the Future, do whatever the Duke should command him; and gave him his Faith in Writing, he would serve him, and his Confederates, to the utmost of his Power, against all Opponents whatsoever. The Duke delivers the Constable's Letter to the King, adding some Things thereto of his own Head; as that the Constable would certainly deliver up *St. Quintin*, and all other Places in his Power, as soon as ever he came before them; which the King, willing to believe, marches, together with the Duke, forthwith, from *Peronne*, towards *St. Quintin*; the *English*, expecting to be received with Ringing of Bells, approached the Town in a careless Manner; but had a quite contrary Entertainment, for they, from the Town, fired their Cannon upon them, and, withal, made a Sally both with Horse and Foot, wherein some *English* were slain, and others taken Prisoners.

This double Dealing, both of the Constable and Duke, made the King the more readily hearken to the Overtures of Peace that the *French* King offered him; wherefore, in a Vil-

lage near *Amiens*, Commissioners for both Kings met; whereof, for *France*, were the Bastard of *Bourbon*, Admiral, the Lord *St. Peter*, and Bishop of *Eureux*; and for *England*, the Lord *Howard*, one *Chalenger*, and Doctor *Morton*; where it was agreed, the *French* King should pay the King of *England*, presently, before his Departure out of *France*, Seventy-two-thousand Crowns, towards the Expence of the *English* Army, and Fifty-thousand Crowns a Year for ever; and that the *Dauphin* should marry King *Edward's* eldest Daughter, and have the Duchy of *Guienne* for her Maintenance*. But, at the King's Return, the *English* Barons held it to be an inglorious Peace, though it was said to be made by the Holy Ghost, for a Dove was seen to be often on King *Edward's* Tent, during the Treaty. But the last Article was never performed, for the *Dauphin* was afterwards married to *Margaret*, Daughter to *Maximilian*, Archduke of *Austria*; so much to the Disappointment and Sorrow of King *Edward*, that he fell sick upon it (as *Comines* says) and departed this Life at *Westminster*, the Ninth of April, at the Age of Forty-one, when he had reigned twenty-two Years, and about one Month, Anno 1483, and was buried at *Windsor*, where before he had provided himself a Resting-place. This King had three Concubines, whereof *Jane Shoar* was one, of whom, he would say, One was the merriest, another the wittiest, and the third the holiest Harlot in his Realm.

The Cause of this War was a Defection of the *French* from their Loyalty to England, in Conjunction with the Assurances they gave Queen *Margaret*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, against King *Edward*.

EDWARD V.

ELdest Son of King *Edward the Fourth*, was not above twelve Years of Age when his Father died. During this King's short Reign (if it may be called so) there was neither, nor well could be, any War, or Act of Hostility, that we read, between *England* and *France*; for it was but three Months that he reigned: For *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, his Uncle, knowing how easy a Step it was from the Place of Protector, and first Prince of the Blood, to the Crown, turned every

Stone to get the Protectorship from the Lord *Rivers*, the King's Uncle, by the Mother's Side; and having compassed it, his next Business was to get Prince *Richard*, the King's Brother, into his Clutches, also; whom the Queen-Mother was fain to part with, in great Affliction and Struggling of Nature, for she delivered him up, as it were, for Execution; and the Protector, who was resolved to make both him and the King a Victim to his Ambition, looks upon the two young Princes, from that

* See the next Tract, intitled, *The old French Way of managing Treaties*.

very Time, as two Birds in a Cage, that should not be long-lived; but, to blind the People, he gave Orders for the King's Coronation, whilst he secretly contrived with the Duke of *Buckingham* (his great Coadjutor in his cursed Designs) to fix the Crown upon his own Head. *Buckingham*, with his Artifices, forced, in a Manner, the City to a Compliance, which, *nolens volens*, was at last forced to proclaim *Richard*, King of *England*, the Duke pretend-

ing, that all the late King's Issue were *Bastards*, and the Protector only, true Heir to the Crown; who, when it was offered unto him, by the Duke, in the Name of the City, refused it, with a counterfeit angry Countenance; but when his *Privado*, making himself the Mouth of the Assembly, said, That, if his Grace would not accept of the Crown, they would find one that should; then he was pleased to take it upon him as his Right.

RICHARD III.

WAS youngest Brother to *Edward the Fourth*, of whom it was said he was born with Teeth in his Head, and Hair on his Shoulders. At his first Coming to the Crown, he took his Seat in the Court of *King's Bench*, where, like a gracious Prince, he pronounced Pardon of all Offences committed against him, to insinuate thereby to the People what a blessed Reign this was like to be; but he spared not the two young Princes then in the *Tower*, but they were, by his Order, stifled in their Beds. This Reign was so troublesome at Home, that *Richard*, though a warlike Prince in himself, had not Leisure to mind his Affairs Abroad; for the Duke of *Buckingham*, the great Instrument of all his Villainies, whether through the Horror of the said Murder, or some other Resentment, did, most certainly, from that Time, project his Ruin, who had been the chief Instrument of his Elevation. There was then at the Court of the Duke of *Bretagne*, in *France*, *Henry*, Earl of *Richmond*, the next Heir to the House of *Lancaster*, whose Advancement to the Crown, *Buckingham* and others resolved upon,

with *Proviso* that *Henry* should consent to marry the Lady *Elisabeth*, eldest Daughter to *Edward the Fourth*, whereby the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* should be united into one; but, before the Plot took Effect, the Duke was taken, and lost his Head without any Form of Tryal, or any Regard had to his former Service. *Richmond* lands at *Milford-Haven*, in *Wales*, but with Two-hundred Men, from whence advancing forwards, by daily Reinforcements, he made up a Body of Five-thousand Men, with whom he encountered King *Richard* at *Bosworth*, in *Leicestershire*, being *August 12, 1485*. The Fight was very sharp, but successful to *Henry*, who carried the Day, and with it the Crown of *England*, for there *Richard* was slain, after he had acted the Part of a great Captain and most valiant Soldier, and so ended his bloody and short Reign, which was but two Years, two Months, and odd Days; but, however, to his Praise it must be said, that, during his Reign, he procured many good Laws for the Ease of his People, and omitted nothing that might tend to the Honour of the *English* Nation.

HENRY VII.

BORN in *Pembroke* Castle in *Wales*, succeeded next to *Richard*, upon *Bosworth* Battle, and assumed the Crown as Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, by his Mother's Side, *Margaret*, Countess of *Richmond*, then alive, and lived many Years after, Daughter and Heir of *John de Beaufort*, Duke of *Somerset*, Son of *John*, Earl of *Somerset*, Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, by *Jane Swinford*, but born before *Wedlock*, though afterwards legitimated by Act of Parliament, yet with a *Proviso*, of not being capable to inherit the Crown; his Father was *Edmund Tewdor*, Son of *Owen Tewdor*,

descended, as it was said, from *Cadwallader*, the last *British* King; so that here was but a very slender Title, insomuch that *Henry*, according to a former Compact, was necessitated, for the Strengthening of it, to take *Elisabeth*, eldest Daughter to *Edward the Fourth* to Wife, and Heir to the House of *York*, to whom he proved no very indulgent Husband, though she wanted no attractive Accomplishments; but his Aversion to the House of *York* was so predominant, that it found Place, not only in his Wars and Council, but in his Chamber and Bed; but his Assuming of the Crown first in his own Name,

and afterwards never making Use of hers, either in his Coins, Proclamations, or any Administrations, spun him out a Thread of many Seditions and Troubles at Home, and might, perhaps, divert him from great Undertakings Abroad, for he was a Prince that wanted neither Wisdom nor Courage; however, it was in his Time that the Dutchy of *Bretagne* was annexed to the Crown of *France*, which it was in his Power to have prevented; and, indeed, herein he seemed to be outwitted by *Charles*, the French King, who, by his Artifices, engaged King *Henry* to be a Mediator between him and the Duke of *Bretagne*, while he, with his Forces, besieges *Nantz*, and routs the Duke's whole Army; it is true, the Lord *Woodville*, the Queen's Uncle, secretly stole over into *Bretagne*, with a small Band of Men, from the Isle of *Wight*; which Action exposed the English Ambassadors, who then mediated a Peace, to no small Danger; but the Reinforcement was so inconsiderable, as to do the Britons no great Service. But the Battle of *St. Alban*, aforementioned, wherein the Britons were overthrown with the Loss of Six-thousand of their Men, and the Duke of *Orleans*, who sided with them, with the Prince of *Orange*, taken Prisoners, alarmed King *Henry* in such Sort, that he forthwith dispatched Succours into *Bretagne*, under the Command of *Robert*, Lord *Brooke*, to the Number of Eight-thousand choice Men, who quickly joined the Remainder of the Britons Forces, and marched towards the Enemy; who, though flushed with their late Victory, well knowing the English Courage, kept themselves within their Trenches, and declined Battle, but, in the mean Time, took all Advantages upon our Men with their light Horse, though they commonly came off with Loss, especially by Means of the English Archers. But, while these Things were thus transacting, *Francis*, Duke of *Bretagne*, dies, whereupon the principal Persons of that Duchy, partly bought, and partly through Faction, put all Things in such Confusion, that the English, finding no Head nor Body to join Forces with, and being jealous of their Friends, as well as in Danger of their Enemies, upon the Approach of Winter, returned Home five Months after their Landing.

At this Time, Archduke *Maximilian*, Son to the Emperor *Frederick*, was Governor of *Flanders*, and in Treaty of Marriage with *Anne*, Heiress of *Bretagne*, when there happened a Rebellion at *Bruges*, which was carried on by the

Ld. *Ravenstein*, who seized upon *Ypres* and *Sluice*, and sent to the Lord *Corde*, French Governor of *Picardy*, infamous in History for that Saying *He could be content to lie in Hell seven Years, so he might win Calais from the English*, for Aid, who being before provided, immediately besieges *Dixmude*. Whereat the King of *England*, being displeased, sends forthwith the Lord *Morley* with a thousand Men to the Governor of *Calais*, and with an Addition of a Thousand more from thence had Order, but under Pretence of securing the English Pale about that City, to put themselves into *Dixmude*; which, in Conjunction with some Germans, they effected undiscovered, and so, with the Garrison, attacked the Enemy's Camp with that Resolution and Bravery, that, after a bloody and obstinate Fight, they beat them out of it with the Loss of about Eight-thousand Men; but, on the English Part, not above an hundred Men, and among them the Lord *Morley*. The Cannon and Baggage fell also into their Hands, with which they marched to *Newport*, from whence the Lord *Daubigny* returned to his Government of *Calais*, leaving the Wounded, and some other Volunteers, there; *Cordes*, having Intelligence hereof, departs immediately from *Ypres*, with a great Force, and attacks *Newport*, and had carried the principal Fort of the Town, when fortunately there arrived in the Haven a Reinforcement of English Archers, who beat him out of it again, whereat he became so discouraged, that he raised the Siege, which Accidents tended to an open Rupture between the two Crowns.

Hereupon King *Henry* advises *Maximilian* to press on his Marriage with *Anne* of *Bretagne*, which he did accordingly, insomuch that the Marriage was consummated by Proxy, the Lady put to Bed, and *Maximilian's* Ambassador, with Letters of Procuracion in the Presence of many noble Personages, putting his naked Leg between the Espousal Sheets. *Maximilian*, thinking all Things now sure, neglected, for a Time, his further Proceedings and his intended Wars, in the mean While, the French King, consulting his Divines, got them to declare this Consummation invalid, so as they made Sport of it in *France*, saying, That it was an Argument, *Maximilian* was a Widower and a cold Wooer, that could content himself to be a Bridegroom by a Deputy, and would not make a little Journey to put all out of Question; and easily, by Emiffaries, whereof he had Store about her, prevailed upon the young Lady to consent to become.

become his Wife, who was a young King and a Batchelor. Which Procedure and Artifice of *France* so distasted K. *Henry*, that he caused his Chancellor to tell the *French* Ambassadors, who were sent to sooth him upon this Occasion, that he was resolved to recover his Right to *Normandy*, *Guienne*, *Anjou*, and to the Kingdom of *France* itself, unless the *French* King were content to have King *Henry's* Title to *France* (at least Tribute for the same) handled in a Treaty. *Maximilian*, and with good Reason, storms more than any Body, at this perfidious Dealing of *France*; sends forthwith Ambassadors both to *England* and *Spain*, to incite them to enter into an offensive League against *France*, promising to concur with considerable Forces of his own: Hereupon *Henry* calls a Parliament, gets plentiful Supplies, and raises a puissant Army, in which were many noble Personages, and over whom he makes *Jasper*, Duke of *Bedford*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, Generals under his own Person; and on the Ninth of *September*, in the eighth Year of his Reign, departs towards the Sea-coast; *October* the Sixth he embarked at *Sandwich*, and the same Day landed at *Calais*; some Overtures of an Accommodation were made him from *France*, before he took Shipping, but he was no sooner arrived at *Calais*, but the calm Winds of Peace began to blow, for he found *Maximilian* was unprovided of the Assistance promised for Lack of Money, which soon spread through the Army; and upon the Neck of this he received News also, that *Ferdinand* and *Isabel* had made Peace with *Charles*, King of *France*, upon his restoring unto them the Counties of *Roussillon* and *Perpignan*, formerly mortgaged unto *France*, by *John* King of *Aragon*; however, *October* the Fifteenth, he left *Calais*, and directed his March towards *Bolloign*, where he arrived in four Days, and so sat down before it; the Siege continued for near a Month, but without any memorable Action or Accident of War, only Sir *John Savage*, a valiant Commander, was slain, as he was riding about to view the Walls; the Town was well fortified, and had a good Garison, yet it was much distressed and ready for an Assault (which, if it had been given, it was believed it would have been carried) when the Commissioners, appointed for that Purpose, concluded a Peace, which was to continue for both the Kings Lives; wherein there was no Article of Importance,

being, in Effect, rather a Bargain than a Treaty (as my Lord *Bacon* observes) for all Things remained as they were, save that there should be paid to the King Seven hundred Forty-five Thousand Ducats at present, for his Charges in that Expedition, and Twenty-five Thousand Crowns yearly, for his Expences sustained in the Aids of the *Britons*; and besides this was left indefinitely when it should determine or expire, which made the *English* esteem it as a Tribute carried under fair Terms; and the Truth is, it was paid both to this King, and to his Son King *Henry the Eighth*, longer than it could continue upon any Computation of Charges. But this Peace gave no great Contentment to the Nobility and principal Officers of the Army, who had, many of them, sold or engaged their Estates upon the Hopes of the War; and they stuck not to say, that the King cared not to plume his Nobility and People to feather himself; and others made themselves merry with what the King had said in Parliament: That, after the War was once begun, he doubted not to make it pay itself, saying, he had kept his Promise; however, *Charles* was by this Peace assured of the Possession of *Bretagne*, and free to prosecute his Designs upon *Naples*, which Kingdom he won, tho' he lost it afterwards in a Kind of Felicity of a Dream, after he had passed the whole Length of *Italy*, without Resistance; so that it was true what Pope *Alexander* was wont to say, *That the Frenchmen came into Italy with Chalk in their Hands, to mark up their Lodgings, rather than with Swords to fight*. However, *Henry*, in the eleventh Year of his Reign, upon this Occasion, entered into a League with the *Italian* Potentates, for the Defence of *Italy*. He had many intestine Broils and Insurrections, and his Reign is noted for *Lambert Simnel's* and *Perkin Warbeck's* Impostures, and no less remarkable for the immense Treasure he left behind him; a Testimony of his avaricious Nature; and, after above Twenty-three Years Reign, and having lived Fifty-two, he died, *April* the Twenty-second, at his Palace of *Richmond*, which himself had built, Anno 1508.

The Causes of his Wars were partly for the Relief of Bretagne, partly on Behalf of the Archduke Maximilian, and partly for the Recovery of his own Right in France.

H E N R Y

H E N R Y VIII.

H EIR to both Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, and the only surviving Son of *Henry VII.*, succeeded his Father at the Age of Eighteen, and proved a Prince of great Virtues as well as Vices. Towards the fourth Year of his Reign, the *French* King making War upon Pope *Julius*, King *Henry* wrote him monitory Letters to desist, as being his Friend and Confederate; which Letters being little regarded, *Henry* sent to demand his Duchies of *Normandy*, *Guienne*, *Anjou*, and *Maine*, and the Crown of *France* itself; but this had the same Effect with the former, the *French* King continuing his War in *Italy*; which provoked King *Henry* so, that, entering into Confederacy with the Emperor *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand*, King of *Spain*, and other Potentates, he determined, by the Advice of his Council, to make War upon *France*, and made Preparations both by Sea and Land accordingly; and, in Concert with *Ferdinando*, sends over into *Biscay* an Army of Ten-thousand Men, all Foot, under the Command of the Marquis of *Dorset*, with a Design to invade *France* on that Side, first for the Recovery of the Duchy of *Aquitain*; but *Ferdinand* failing in the Promises he had made of Horse, Ordnance, Carriages, &c. the *English*, after they had waited from *May* till *December*, for Performance, returned into *England* without any memorable Action performed, their Number being considerably diminished through Sicknes. *Henry*, nothing discouraged hereat, calls a Parliament, who gave him a plentiful Supply for carrying on the War; wherefore, with a puissant Army, wherein were many noble Persons, and over which as Captain-General was constituted the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, under the King's Person, he lands at *Calais* on the last Day of *June*, being the fifth Year of his Reign; and the Day following lands the Admiral of *England* at *Whitsand-Bay*, who entered the Town and burnt it, and then returned. From *Calais*, about the Twenty-first of *July*, the King marches in great State and good Order of Battle toward *Terwin*, where he arrives on the Fourth of *August*, and lays close Siege to it, the *French* attempting to impede his March, but without Success; seven Days after came the Emperor *Maximilian*, whom the King received with great Triumph, between *Aire* and the Camp, where he entered into the King's Pay, and, as a Testimony thereof, wore St.

George's Cross with a Rose; the Town made no extraordinary Defence, for, notwithstanding the Garison consisted of Four-thousand, whereof were Six-hundred good Horse, yet they capitulated the Twenty-third, and marched away the Day following; but the King did not think fit to keep the Place, and therefore rased all the Works, and burnt the Town, removing first the Ordinance that was in it to *Aire*; from hence he directs his March towards the City of *Tournay*, and, about the Twenty-first of *September*, sits down before it; it was but weakly garisoned, tho' full of Inhabitants, and so, on the Twentyninth of the same Month, was, by Capitulation surrendered; the Citizens, which were to the Number of Sixty-thousand, swearing Allegiance to him. Here Sir *Edward Poinings* was made Governor, and of this City, *Wolsey*, then the King's Almoner, was made Bishop; and so, by the Way of *Calais*, *Henry* returns for *England*, and on the Twenty-fourth of *October* lands at *Dover*, the Earl of *Surrey*, during his Absence, having fought the *Scots*, slain their King, *James the Fourth*, and defeated their whole Army. The King's Army thus prevailing by Land, in *France* itself, and against the *Scots*, its Confederates proved no less successful by Sea; for Sir *John Wallop* had landed on the Coast of *Normandy*, and burnt to the Number of Twenty-one Towns and Villages, together with many Ships in the Haven of *Trapart*, *Staples*, and other Places. The *French* King, by the Means of *Leo*, with whom he was now accorded, sues for a Peace; which was at length concluded, the Lady *Mary*, the King's Sister, for the Tying of the Knot, being given to the *French* King in Marriage, whom, however, she did not long enjoy, *Lewis the Twelfth* dying Eighty-two Days after. The Remainder of this King's Reign was, in a Manner, spent in Domestick Affairs, which is not our Province to treat of, till about the Thirty-fifth Year, when, in Conjunction with the Emperor, he again makes War upon *France*; the Emperor took the Field in Person, and the *English* joining him, under the Command of Sir *John Wallop*, laid Siege to *Landarsey*. The *French* King hastened with a great Army to succour the Town, which was brought to great Extremity, upon whose Approach, the Emperor, expecting to give Battle, raised his Siege, the Town being by this Means

Means relieved, which was all the *French* cared for, declining to hazard a Battle, and so, upon the Approach of Winter, both Camps broke up.

The Year following, the King raised a mighty Army, the Front led by the Duke of *Norfolk*, the main Battle by the Duke of *Suffolk*, where the King intended to be present himself also, and the Rear by the Lord *Russel*, attended with many other Nobles, as the Earls of *Surrey*, *Oxford*, &c. which about *Whitsuntide* landed at *Calais*, and from thence, leaving *Bolloign* to the Right, directed their March towards *Muterell*, and were as they passed joined by the Emperor's Forces under the Count of *Buren*; but, finding the foresaid Place extraordinarily well fortified and provided for its Defence, the Duke of *Suffolk*, with the King's Army, wheels off towards *Bolloign*, where he arrives *July 19*, and pitched his Camp to the East of the Town upon the Hill; but, thence removing into a Valley after many sharp Skirmishes, entered the lower Town deserted by the Inhabitants, who, under the Cover of the Smoke, got into the high Town undiscovered; soon after, the Tower called the *Old Man*, was yielded up by Sixteen Soldiers that kept it, which notwithstanding discouraged not the Garison, who continued to make a vigorous Defence. On the 26th of *July*, the King arrives in Person, orders a Mount to be raised upon the East-side planted with divers Pieces of Cannon and Mortars, which incommoded the Town very much, so that few Houses were left whole within it; in this Distress, Two-hundred *French* and *Italians*, under the Conduct of *Joncurot*, attempted to get into the Town in the Night, and succeeded so well by the Means of a Priest that spoke *English*, that most of them were got over the Trenches before discovered, and a Matter of a hundred and twenty got in, the rest being either slain or taken; at length, a Piece of the Castle being blown up, the King stormed the Place, but did not carry it; however, the Cannon continuing playing, and the Garison having lost the best of their Commanders and Men, in this Action, and fearing as well as concluding that such another Assault must carry the Town, thought it Time to capitulate, before Things came to the last Extremity; and so Articles were agreed upon, and the Garison marched out with Bag and Baggage to the Number of Sixty-seven Horse, One-thousand Five-hundred and Sixty-three Foot, Eighty-seven wounded, and One-

thousand Nine-hundred and Twenty-seven Women and Children. On the 25th of *September*, the King with the Sword borne before him, by the Marquis of *Dorset*, enters *Bolloign* in Triumph, the Trumpets, all the While, sounding on the Walls; and, two Days after viewing of the Place, caused *St. Mary's Church* to be pulled down, and a Mount to be made in the Room of it, for the Strengthening the Town, and at his Departure made Sir *John Dudley* Governor, and, on the First of *October*, lands in *England*; next Year, *September* the 9th, Sir *John Dudley*, then Admiral, lands with Six-thousand Men, at *Trey-Port* in *Normandy*, burns the Town and Abbey, and thirty Ships in the Haven, with the Loss of fourteen Men only. The *French* attempted the Recovery of *Bolloign*, again and again, but to little Purpose, so that at length a Peace was concluded, wherein it was agreed, the *French* King should pay King *Henry* Eight-hundred Thousand Crowns within the Term of eight Years, and then, to have *Bolloign* restored to him; but, whilst the Oath for Confirmation hereof was taken by both Kings, Monsieur *Chatillon* began to make a new *Bastilion* at the very Mouth of the Haven of *Bolloign*, calling it *Chatillon's Garden*; the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, then Governor of *Bolloign*, advertised the King hereof, by Sir *Thomas Palmer*, requiring to know his Pleasure therein; the King advises with his Council, who all agree the Conditions of Peace ought by no Means to be infringed, and therefore to let the *Bastilion* stand; whereupon the King ordered his Secretary to write to the Lord *Grey* to that Purpose, but then called to Sir *Thomas* privily, and told him, that, notwithstanding the Contents of that Letter, he should from him command the Lord *Grey* to raze the Fortification to the Ground with all Speed. Sir *Thomas* replied that a Message by Word of Mouth, contrary to a Letter, would never be believed; Well, (says the King) tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing of it to him. Sir *Thomas*, upon his Arrival at *Bolloign*, delivered the Governor the Letter, and withal the Message, who hereupon calls a Council what to do, wherein they all agreed the Letter should be obeyed; to which the Lord *Grey* himself said nothing, but caused the Message to be written down *verbatim* from Sir *Thomas's* Mouth, and those of the Council to set their Hands to it; and when this was done, the very next Night, he issues out and rases the Fort to the Ground, and then sent Sir *Thomas* back

back to the King with Letters to acquaint him with what he had done, who, as soon as he saw him, asked aloud, What, will he do it or no? Sir *Thomas* delivering the Letter, said, Your Majesty shall know by these; but the King, half angry, said, Nay, tell me, has he done it or no? And, being told it was done, he turned about to his Lords, and said, What say you, my Lords, to this? *Chatillon's* Garden is rased down to the Ground? Whereunto one presently answered, that he that had done it deserved to lose his Head; to which the King immediately replies, *That he would rather lose a Dozen such Heads as his was, than one such Servant that had done it;* and therewith commanded presently the Lord *Grey's* Pardon to be drawn, which he sent to

him with Letters full of Thanks and Promises of Reward. The Cause why the King took this Course was this, lest, if he had given Order in Writing for the Rasing of the Fort, it might have come to the Knowledge of the *French*, before it was done, and so have been prevented. This may be taken as an Instance of King *Henry's* great Capacity; and was the concluding Act of his Life as to foreign Affairs, for he died not long after, to wit, in the Year 1547, the Fifty-sixth of his Life, and of his Reign the Eight and Thirtieth.

The Causes of this War with France were partly Reasons of State, and partly the League which King Henry had made with the Emperor.

EDWARD VI.

BORN at *Hampton-Court*, succeeded his Father King *Henry the Eighth*, at the Age of nine Years; a most excellent Prince, and the Wonder of the Age, both for Learning and Piety; but *England* did not long enjoy the Fruit of the Blessings, couched in his Person, his Reign being shortened by an immature Death, as it had been in a great Measure rendered uneasy, through the Feuds of the Nobles, during his Life; this together with the Reformation, carried on at Home, made the Enemy insult Abroad, insomuch that the *French* assumed the Boldness, in Conjunction with the *Scots*, to attack us in our own Borders; for in the second Year of this King's Reign on St. *Peter's* Eve, Monsieur *Dassay*, the *French* General, with ten-thousand *French* and *Germans*, besides *Scots*, laid Siege to *Haddington*, a Town in *Scotland*, but then in the Hands of the *English*; the Town made a most vigorous Defence, and at length came one-thousand three-hundred Horse from *Berwick*, with Intent to relieve it, but failed in the Attempt, for most of the Horse being surrounded by the Enemy, were either slain, or made Prisoners, together with Sir *Robert Bowes*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, their Commanders; but for all this great Discouragement and Misfortune, the Garrison would not flinch, but continued making frequent and successful Sallies upon the Enemy till August 20, when the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, with sixteen-thousand Men, four-thousand whereof were *Germans*, came to succour the Place; the Enemy had no sooner Intelligence thereof, but they marched

away with all Speed, but first highly applauded the Bravery of the Garrison; the Earl revictualled the Place for that Time, and then returned, though it was thought, afterwards, convenient to demolish it; which was accordingly performed the Twentieth of *September* following, by the Earl of *Rutland*.

The Year following, *i. e.* the third of the King's Reign, it came to an open Rupture between *England* and *France*; the *French* thinking to surprise *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, came suddenly with many Gallies upon our Fleet there, but were received with that Resolution and Bravery, that they were forced to flee, with great Loss, both of Men and Shipping. News came to the King and Protector, August 28, that the *French* had taken *Blackness*, *Hamilton*, and *Newhaven* near *Bolloign*, by the Means of one *Sturton* (as it was said) a natural Son of the Lord *Sturton*, who betrayed this last Place into the Hands of the Enemy, and took Service himself in the *French* Army; hereupon the Captain of *Bolloign* Bark, fearing the Consequence, after he had conveyed the Stores and Ordnance to the high Town, blew up the Fort; the *French* made all possible Preparations to attack the Place, and for the more vigorous carrying on of the Siege, and Encouragement of the Soldiers, the *French* King comes before *Bolloign* in Person, where were many famous Exploits done both by the Assailants and Defendants; but the brave Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, who was Governor, began and continued to make so prudent as well as brave Resistance, that the *French* were constrained

strained at last to quit their Enterprize, and hereupon were made some Overtures of Peace, which at last was concluded, and wherein it was agreed, that *Bolloign* should be delivered up to the *French*, upon Condition, there should be a Reservation of King *Edward's* Title to the Crown of *France*, and due Payment made unto him of five hundred Thousand Crowns. This

King, being about sixteen Years old, died at *Greenwich*, July 6, having reigned six Years, and about five Months.

The Causes of this War were the King's Minority and Feuds at Home, whereof the French thought to take Advantage.

M A R Y.

Eldest Daughter to King *Henry the Eighth*, by Queen *Katherine of Spain*, succeeded her Brother *Edward*, Anno 1553, pursuant to their Father's Will, though contrary to her Brother's, who left the Lady *Jane Grey* his Successor; and after some small Opposition by the foresaid Lady's Party, more especially the Duke of *Northumberland*, her Husband's Father, got peaceable Possession of the Throne, and was crowned at *Westminster* the last of *April*, in great State and Magnificence; the former Part of her Reign, which in all was but short, was much taken up in restoring Popery, and the Papal Power in her Dominions; which she effected in a great Measure, through the Shedding of much innocent Blood, which has left a bitter Stain upon her Memory, in the Records of Time, as well for her Cruelty as Superstition, though Authors generally represent her to be a Princess, of herself, compassionate and good-natured; she was married to *Philip King of Spain* on *St. James's Day*, in the second Year of her Reign, and this Marriage engaged her about the fifth Year of her Reign, in a War with *France*; for King *Philip*, passing over to *Calais*, and so to *Flanders*, made great Preparations against the *French King*, and was assisted therein with a Thousand *English* Horse, four-thousand Foot, and two-thousand Pioneers, whereof the Earl of *Pembroke* was General; with this Reinforcement King *Philip* directs his March to *St. Quintin*, and after a sharp Siege, takes the Place, the *English* (of whom the Lord *Henry Dudley*, who first advanced the Standard upon the Wall, was here slain) doing him mighty Service herein, which the King generously rewarded, with the Spoils of the Town; but this Action may be truly said to have been fatal to *England*, in regard it was the principal Cause of the Loss of *Calais*; for while the greatest Part of that Garrison was employed in the foresaid Siege, and before *Calais* was reinforced, having then but five-hundred Men in

it, the Duke of *Guise*, with a powerful Army, advancing towards it, intrenches himself at *Sandgate*, and sent one Detachment along the *Downs*, towards *Rise-bank*, and another to *Newnembidge*; he soon possesses himself of both, for the few Soldiers that guarded them, had fled secretly into the Town; the next Day, they raised a Battery from the Hills of *Rise-bank*, against the Walls of *Calais*, between the Water Gate and the Prison, and continuing the same for three Days, made a small Breach, by which they could not well enter, neither was it so designed; for while the *English* were busy in the Defence of this Place, the *French* making their Way through the Ditch (which was full of Water) entered the Castle, designing thence to pass into the Town; but here the brave Sir *Anthony Agar* withstood them, and stopped their further Progress, though to the Loss of his own Life; for there was not a Man besides killed, during the Siege; till the Governor the Lord *Wentworth*, that same Evening which was the Fifth of *January*, considering Succours far, the Enemy's nigh Approach, and the Weakness of the Garrison, thought fit to capitulate; and so it was agreed, the Town, with the Ammunition and Artillery, should be delivered to the *French*, the Lives of the Inhabitants saved, and all to depart where they pleased, excepting the Governor and fifty more, such as the Duke of *Guise* should appoint to remain Prisoners, and be put to Ransom; thus the good Town of *Calais*, after it had been in the Hands of the *English*, for the Space of two-hundred and ten Years (for it was taken by *Edward the Third*, after a Siege of eleven Months in 1347) was lost in less than a Fortnight, till which Time, we had the Keys of *France* at our Girdles; and so it was believed Queen *Mary* repented the Loss accordingly, for she died soon after, having said not long before, that if she were opened, they should find *Calais* at her Heart; some Feints were made for the repairing of this

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Lots, for the Queen equipped out a Fleet, with a Design to surprise *Brest*; they landed in *Conquet* Road, and in a short Time became Masters of the Town, with the great *Abbey*, which they sacked and burnt, together with divers adjacent Villages, where they found good Plunder; from hence (having now alarmed the Country) the Admiral judged it not convenient to pursue their Enterprize, and so returned; King *Philip*, in the mean Time, went on with his Wars, and could not conclude a Peace (though both Sides seemed to desire it) because he insisted stily upon

the Rendition of *Calais* to the *English*, which the *French* would by no Means yield to; which, together with the King's Absence, hastened the Queen's Death, for she departed this Life at *St. James's*, November 17, 1558, when she had reigned five Years, four Months, and odd Days.

The chief Ground of this War with France was the conjugal Tie whereby the Queen was bound to adhere to King Philip her Husband.

ELIZABETH.

SECond Daughter to *Henry the Eighth*, by Queen *Anne Bullen*, succeeded her Sister *Mary* to the Imperial Crown of *England*; a Princess whose Virtues it is impossible for me to celebrate (if it were my Design) having advanced the Glory of the *English* Nation, both at Home and Abroad, beyond any of her Predecessors; and how far short her Successors have been from improving, or so much as maintaining of it, is evident in History, but no where so well as in that celebrated Piece, the *Detection* of the four last Reigns, &c. in War she was involved almost all her Reign, and had not only to do with, but triumphed over the proudest Monarchy then in *Europe* (I might say in the World) I mean that of *Spain*, which, however, being foreign to the present Design, I shall not meddle with: The first Occasion of Quarrel she had with *France* was, in the second Year of her Reign, when the *French*, having upon the Suit of the Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, sent great Numbers of Soldiers to aid and assist her against the Reforming Lords, Queen *Elizabeth*, disliking such Neighbours, and knowing the Queen of *Scots* was married and governed in *France*, and began to assume the *English* Arms, upon the humble Suit of the said Lords, sent them a strong Reinforcement by Land, under the Command of the Lord *Grey of Wilton*, and at the same Time dispatched Sir *William Winter*, Vice-Admiral with a Fleet of Ships, for to block up *Leith*; the Army, after some Stay at *Berwick*, pursued their March, and after some usual Pickering by the Way, and Overtures of a Cessation, arrived before *Leith*, which was chiefly garrisoned by *French* Soldiers; the Place was bravely attacked several Times, and Wonders done by the *English* both by Sea and Land against it; and the *French* omitted nothing that

could be done for its Defence; and this continued from about the Beginning of *April*, till the latter End of *June*, at which Time, the Place being very much streightened, and must have yielded, the Commissioners appointed for that Purpose made a Peace at *Edinburgh*, which, *July 7*, was proclaimed in the Town of *Leith*; by Virtue of which Treaty the *French* were to depart out of *Scotland*, except One-hundred and twenty, and the *Scottish* Queen to put out of her Title the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, &c. About two Years after, that horrid *Masacre* was perpetrated, in *France*, upon the poor *Protestants*, that is so infamous in History, the Popish Party having leagued themselves against them; which Barbarity powerfully induced the Queen to assist the Reformists, in order to prevent their final Destruction; and, to that Purpose, sent over a good Band of Soldiers to *New Haven* in *France*, which the Townsmen joyfully received, over whom, and other Forces that did arrive, was constituted General, the Earl of *Warwick*, who landed here, the twenty-ninth of *October*, Anno 1562. This Place is remarkable in History for the long Siege it sustained, through the Valour of the *English*; first came the *Rhinegrave* before it, then the Constable of *France*, and last of all, the Prince of *Conde*, whose united Forces had in all Probability been baffled, had it not been for a violent Pestilence that raged within, and swept away its Defendants in great Numbers; but notwithstanding this, and that the Enemy's Cannon were within twenty-six Paces of the Town, and many Breaches made, yet the noble *Warwick*, with his respective Officers and Soldiers, stood at the Breaches to receive the Enemy, if they offered to make an Assault; which the Constable perceiving, he caused a Trumpeter to sound a Parley;

Parley; which being accepted of, the Town was surrendered upon honourable Articles, after the Earl had held it eleven Months, the Perfidy of the Reformists giving also an helping Hand to these Misfortunes; to which may be added another Disadvantage, in that the *French* had a Pretence, by this our aiding the Protestants, to with-hold the Surrendering of *Calais*, after the Term of eight Years, whereof some were already expired.

About the thirty-second Year of the Queen's Reign, *Henry the Third*, King of *France*, was murdered; whereupon the Leaguers armed under the Duke of *Maine*, to keep *Henry*, King of *Navarre*, then a Protestant, from the Crown; whom they pressed so hard upon, that he was forced to fly into *Dieppe*, designing from thence to get over into *England*; but first sends to the Queen an Account of his Circumstances, who, commiserating his Condition, forthwith sends him Sixty-thousand brave Soldiers, under the Command of the Lord *Willoughby*; the Report of whose Arrival coming to *Maine's* Ears, he suddenly raises the Siege; which so animated the King, that he marched out, encountered and defeated his Enemy, and so, by Degrees, prevailed, through the Queen's good Assistance, from Time to Time, both of Men and Money. The *Spaniards* having also, about this Time, by Means of the Leaguers, got Footing in *Bretagne*, the Queen dispatches thither Three-thousand Men, under the Command of that

thrice famous General, Sir *John Norris*, who beat them quite out of that Country. About a Year after my Lord *Willoughby's* Succours, arrives in *France* the renowned Earl of *Essex*, with Four-thousand Foot more, some Horse and Pioneers, as a further Reinforcement to the King, and did honourable Service, challenging Monsieur *Villerse*, Governor of *Roan*, to a single Combat, which he refuses, and then returned; but had the Mortification to have his Brother, *Walter Devereux*, a brave young Gentleman, slain with a Musquet-bullet, before *Roan*. The last Succours were to the Number of Two-thousand, and put under the Command of that excellent Soldier, Sir *Roger Williams*, who was always forward for the greatest Attempts, and did here excellent Service. He beat the Leaguers that blocked up the Passes about *Dieppe*, upon such unequal Terms, that *Henry the Fourth* could not but take Notice, and highly extol his Valour, in his Letter to the Queen. This Queen, after a glorious Reign of forty-four Years, five Months, and odd Days, at the Age of seventy Years, *Anno 1602*, having lived longer than any of the Kings of *England* since the Conquest, died at *Richmond*, and lies buried at *Westminster*.

The Causes of the War in this Queen's Time were not direct, but collateral, in Behalf of the King and Reformists of France.

JAMES I.

THEN the Sixth King of *Scotland* of that Name, was immediately, upon the Death of Queen *Elisabeth*, proclaimed King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. as being descended from the united Roses of *Lancaster* and *York*, King *Henry the Seventh* and Queen *Elisabeth* his Wife, whose Issue, by the Male, failing in the late deceased Queen *Elisabeth*, the Off-spring of *Margaret*, their eldest Daughter, was next Heir, which Lady was married to *James the Fourth*, King of *Scotland*, and by him had Issue *James the Fifth*, whose only Daughter, Queen *Mary*, was Mother to this our Monarch. This King was of a timorous Nature, and peaceable Disposition, so that *Beati Pacifici* was his *Motto*; and was so

far from making any Pretensions to the Crown of *France*, or any Part of its Dominions, notwithstanding his great Power, and the flourishing State of the Nation, that he suffered his Son-in-Law, the *Palgrave*, and his own Daughter, *Elisabeth*, his Wife, with their numerous Issue, not only to be beaten out of *Bohemia*, but even from their just Patrimony, the *Palatinate*, and to live many Years in great Want and Penury, to the King's great Dishonour, who was nothing but a Bluster of Words, and ever and anon sending Ambassadors, till all was quite lost and irretrievable. This King died at *Theobalds*, *March 27*, 1625, in the fifty-ninth Year of his Age, having reigned twenty-two Years compleat.

C H A R L E S I.

THE only surviving Son of King *James* (for that noble Prince, *Henry*, died before his Father) succeeded to the Imperial Crown of *England*. The Reformed in *France*, in the Beginning of this King's Reign, lay under great Oppressions from their King, *Lewis the Thirteenth*, and his prime Minister of State, Cardinal *Richelieu*; insomuch that they were forced, for their Safety, to have Recourse to Arms, under the Command of that ever famous Captain, the Duke of *Roban*, by Land, and Monsieur *Sobiez*, his Brother, who rid Admiral at Sea; and by that Means *Rochelle*, besieged by the *French* King's Arms, was relieved upon all Occasions: Hereupon, through the Contrivance of the Duke of *Buckingham*, an *English* Fleet was sent to join that of the *French*, under the Duke of *Montmorency*, the *Dutch* then basely concurring with some Ships of theirs also; with which united Force, *Montmorency* fights, and utterly defeats the Fleet of the *Rochellers* under Monsieur *Sobiez*, and then reduced the Isles of *Rhee* and *Oleron* under the *French* Power. But *Buckingham* soon after changing his Sentiments (the Grounds whereof we will assign in the Causes of this War) there is a Declaration of War published against *France*, and, for the Prosecution of the same with Vigour, the Duke is commissioned Admiral and General of a Navy of one-hundred Sail, and six or seven-thousand Land Soldiers, with which he came before *Rochelle*, still besieged by the *French*, where *Sobiez* came on board of him; and, for several Reasons, it was agreed to land the Army on the Island of *Oleron*, and not on the Isle of *Rhee*: But *Sobiez* going to persuade the *Rochellers* to join with the *English*, the Duke, before his Return, lands on the Isle of *Rhee*, in Spight of the Opposition made by the *French*; but, instead of pursuing the Blow, not only neglects to take the Fort *La Prie*, to secure his Retreat, and prevent the *French* from landing Supplies, but stays five Days, whereby *Toiras*, the *French* Governor, encouraged his Men, and also got more Force and Provisions into the Cittadel of *St. Martin's*. The *French* were so alarmed at this Invasion, that the King offered the Duke of *Roban*, and the *Rochellers*, any Terms to join against the *English*, which both refusing, it caused both their Ruins.

The Enemy's Retreat, upon the Landing of the *English*, was so hasty, that they quitted a Well, about twenty Paces from the Counterscarp, which supplied the Citadel with Water; which not being possessed by the *English*, upon their first Approach, the *French* drew a Work about it, which our Men could not force, and without which Well, the Besieged could not have subsisted: However, the Duke resolves to take the Fort by Famine; but, instead of pressing it with a streight Siege, he entertains a Treaty of Surrender with *Toiras*, and several Compliments passed between them, subscribed, your humble Servant, *Buckingham*; and your humble Servant, *Toiras*; till the latter got Relief of Men, Victuals, and Ammunition, and then broke off the Treaty with the Duke. Soon after this, the *French* landed Forces on the Island, by the Neglect of the *English* to oppose them, and Orders were given to draw the *English* out of their Trenches, which the *French* possess; whereupon the *English* were forced to retreat: At last the Duke makes a vain Storm upon the Castle, but was beaten off, and two Days after retreats, the *French* being now equal to him in Foot, and superior in Horse; when the *English* were entangled in their Retreat, the Duke having neglected to take *La Prie*, or build a Fort upon a narrow Lane or Causey, to secure the Retreat, the *French* charged the *English* Horse in the Rear and routed them, who rout the Foot in the narrow Passages, between the Salt-pits and Ditch; but, in this Confusion and Adversity, the Bravery of the *English* appeared, for a few having passed the Bridge, the *French* following, the *English* rallied, and faced about gallantly to charge the *French*, who cowardly retreated over the Bridge: And of this a foreign Author speaking saith, The *English* were *magis audaces quam fortunati*, and, withal, taxeth them for Want of Secrecy in their Counsels and Conduct of so great an Affair. The Duke of *Buckingham*, upon his Retreat from the Isle of *Rhee*, promised the *Rochellers* to send them speedy Relief, now close besieged by the *French* King; and, upon his Return, sent away the Earl of *Denbigh*, his Brother-in-Law, with a Fleet to that Purpose, who, on the First of May, 1628, arrives before *Rochelle*, where he found the *French* Fleet, consisting of twenty Sail,

Sail, had blocked it up by Sea: Upon the Earl's Approach, the *French* retired towards their Fortification, and anchored within two Cannon-shot of our Fleet, and so continued till the Eighth of May. The Earl promised the *Rochellers* to sink the *French* Fleet when the Waters increased, and the Winds became *Westerly*, it being then Neap-tide; but two Days after, the Waters increasing, and the Wind becoming *Westerly*, the Earl was intreated to fight the *French* Fleet, but did not, and weighed Anchor, and sailed away. The Duke, to redeem this Mischance of his Brother-in-Law, in August following, goes to *Portsmouth*, to command the Fleet there, for the Relief of *Rochelle*; but, on the Twenty-third of the said Month, was stabbed by *Felton*, on whom, by the Way, hanging in Chains at *Portsmouth*, was made this ingenious Copy of Verses:

*There uninterr'd suspends (though not to save
Surviving Friends the Expences of a Grave;) Felton's dead Earth, which to itself must be
His own sad Monument, his Elegy;
As large as Fame, but whether bad or good,
I say not, by himself 'twas wrought in Blood.
For which his Body is intomb'd in Air,
Arch'd o'er with Heaven, and ten-thousand fair
And glorious Diamond Stars, a Sepulchre;
Which Time can never ruinate, and where
Th' impartial Worms (not being brib'd to spare
Princes wrapp'd up in Marble) do not share
His Dust, which oft the charitable Skies
Embalm with Tears, doing these Obsequies,
Belonging unto Men, while pitying Fowl
Contend to reach his Body to his Soul.*

Yet the Design was pursued under the Command of the Earl of *Lindsey*, who attempted several Times to force the Barricadoes of the River before *Rochelle*, but all in vain; or, if he had, it had been to no Purpose, for the Victuals where-with the *Rochellers* should have been relieved, were all tainted, and it was well the *French* had no Fleet there, for the *English* Tackle and other Materials were all defective; and so *Rochelle* fell, and with it, in a Manner, all the Glory and Interest of the Reformed in *France*; but it is remarkable what Counsel concurred to the Reducing of this important Place, and what Accidents followed after: The *French* Army had been before it a long Time, and had made no considerable Progress in the Siege, when the Marquis *Spinola*, returning from *Flanders* into

Spain, directed his Course through *France*, and hearing the King and Cardinal, were at the Siege at *Rochelle*, waited upon both; and going to view the Works one Day, asked the Cardinal what they meant to do there, and, continuing his Discourse, said, That as they managed Matters, there was no Possibility of taking the Place. What must we do then, says the Cardinal? Push! replies the Marquis, do as we have done at *Antwerp*, make a Dike at the Mouth of the Harbour, and you will by that Means starve them out: The Cardinal immediately takes up the Project, sets all Hands on Work, and with immense Labour and Celerity finishes the Dike, which, in a short Time, reduced the Place to that starving Condition, that they were at length forced to surrender at Discretion; and it is Note-worthy, that as *Leyden*, about fifty-four Years before, was miraculously preserved from the Hands of the *Spaniards*, for being reduced to the last Extremity, they let loose the Waters upon them, which the Dams restrained before, and upon that, the Army marched away; whereas, had they staid but two or three Days longer in the Neighbourhood, they might have had an open Passage to the Town, for the Walls of it fell down to the Ground, and a strong *Northerly* Wind had cleared the Country of the Water; so *Rochelle*, by a quite contrary Fate, had been surrendered but a very few Days, when the Dike so far broke, as that they might have been relieved by Sea, had there been a Fleet ready for that Purpose. But when *Spinola* came to the Council in *Spain*, he was so brow-beaten and snubbed for his Advice to the Cardinal, by the Duke of *Medina*, then prime Minister of State, and other Grandees, that he never could get his Money paid, that was owing him, and died a Beggar, in the utmost Disgrace; so well did the *Spaniards* then understand their true Interest, that as long as the Reformed could make Head in *France*, the Arms of that Kingdom would be confined within its own Limits, and they and other Princes be less molested, by those aspiring and restless Neighbours; and this was the unhappy End of this War, between *England* and *France*: And the dreadful Presages of the Duke of *Roban* hereupon, (to give his Words the mildest Terms I can) had but too fatal Effects upon the Person of that Prince, to whose Perfidy he attributed the Loss of this Fortrefs, and the Protestant Interest in *France*; for after this, Dissension grew daily more and more in *England*, which drew on

on an unnatural Civil War, that ended with a sad Catastrophe, in the King's Dying by the Ax, for he was beheaded, January 30, 1648, after he had reigned twenty-three Years, ten Months, and odd Days, and in the forty-ninth Year of his Age.

1. *The Causes pretended for this War were, that the French King had employed the eight Men of War, which the King of England had lent him, to be made use of against Genoa, against the Rochellers.*
2. *That the King's Mediation, in Behalf of the Reformists, was slighted.*
3. *That the English Merchant Ships, and their Effects, were seized, before there was any Breach between both Kingdoms, though it is certain, that the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord High Admiral of England, by an extraordi-*

nary Commission, first seized the St. Peter of Newhaven, the whole Cargo being computed to amount to Forty Thousand Pounds; and though the King ordered the Releasement of the Ship, December 7, 1625, yet the Duke, upon the Sixth of February following, caused the said Ship to be again arrested, and detained, as you may see in Rushworth. Fol. 313.

4. *A fourth Cause of this War we have assigned in the noble Baptista Nani, that the Duke of Bucks, having, while in France, contracted Love in that Court, and desiring Leave to go thither, under Pretence of composing the Feuds, that broke forth in the Queen's Family in England, was by Richelieu's Advice denied Entrance into that Kingdom, and grew there-upon so enraged, that he swore, since he was forbidden Entrance in a peaceable Manner into France, he would make his Passage with an Army.*

CHARLES II.

After about twelve Years Exile, during which Interval we had no Wars with France, was restored to the Throne of his Ancestors, Anno 1660. This Prince had not been above five Years settled in his Dominions, when a War broke out with the Dutch by Sea, the French joining with them in it at that Time against us, so that there was a Declaration of War set forth against France, but the Dutch found no great Assistance from them in this Confederacy; for while the Dutch in all the Engagements we had with them, but one, (and that was when the Fleet was foolishly divided) were beaten by us; the French, instead of uniting their Force with the other, dispatched away a Fleet to subdue the English, in their Plantations in the Leeward Islands; almost totally expelled the English out of St. Christophers, interrupted them in their Trade to their other Islands, and assumed a Sovereignty in those Seas, but, upon the Treaty of Peace, they were forced to restore all to the English again; but they left St. Christophers in so pitiful a Plight, that it seemed, in a Manner, to be as much a Wilderness, as when first the English took Footing in it. About seven Years after, Things veered about, the French joining with the English against the Dutch, in a second Dutch War, during this Reign; and here a late learned Author has observed, that as the English were so

successful in the former War against both, and the Dane to boot, and were never beaten but once, and that, when the Fleet was divided; so in this the English in all the Fights they had, which were four, came off with more Loss than the Dutch; but the Truth of it is, the French only came out to learn to fight, both in the one, and the other War, for they stood still looking on, or firing at a very great Distance, while the English and Dutch battered one another; and Monsieur de Martel, for Falling on, and Engaging bravely, was recalled, checked, and dismissed his Employ; insomuch that the Parliament, who began to smell the French Designs, moved, November the 4th, 1673, that the Alliance with France was a Grievance; and so a Peace was concluded with the States, and our King sets up for a Mediator at Nimeguen, between the French and Dutch, with their Confederates, and in the mean Time, having got considerable Supplies from his Parliament, raises Forces; for the French King, had, during this Naval War, possessed himself of a great Part of Flanders, and the Territories of the States; but before a Peace was shuffled up, or, at leastwise before the Prince of Orange knew, or would know, of its being concluded, the Prince, not staying for eight thousand English, that were on their March to join him, did with the Assistance only of ten thousand English, under the Command of

of the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Offery*, storm the Duke of *Luxemburg's* Camp, fortified with all imaginable Art, before *Mons*, with that Resolution and Bravery, that he beat him out of it, and relieved the Place; and this was the last Act of Hostility, between *England* and *France*, of any Kind; during this Reign; this King afterwards, instead of putting a Stop to the growing Greatness of that Kingdom, fell in

more and more with the Interest of it; and the Nation, during the latter Part of his Reign, was almost rent to Pieces with the Parties of *Whig* and *Tory*, which are but too much felt to this Day; and he himself, at last, died on the sixth of *February* 1684-5, in the fifty-fifth Year of his Age, and the thirty-seventh of his Reign, computing it from his Father's Death.

JAMES II.

ONLY surviving Brother to *Charles the Second*, immediately assumed the *English* Crown, of which, notwithstanding the Opposition made against him, in the preceding Reign, he got peaceable Possession; but had not been long invested with the regal Dignity, when the Earl of *Argyle*, landing in *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Monmouth*, in the West of *England*, put him in no small Danger of losing, that he had so lately attained; but this Storm blew over, and ended in the Execution of both the aforesaid Chiefs, with a Multitude of their Followers, and that in a very barbarous Manner; which Execution, as it drew no small Emulation upon his Person, so the Success egged him on, with so much Violence, in the Pursuits of his Designs, for the advancing of the Papal Power in these Kingdoms, that it made the Subjects now in Danger of the Loss both of their Religion and Civil Properties, have Recourse for Relief to that Prince, who has since so worthily

filled the abdicated Throne, and who then readily embraced their Quarrel, and in the most perillous Season of the Year, with an Army from *Holland*, landed at *Torbay*, *November* 5, 1688; a Day and Year memorable in the Annals of Time for the *English* Deliverance; and, having wished Success, was the Thirteenth of *February* following, with his Princess, proclaimed King and Queen of *England*, &c. King *James* having, sometime before, withdrawn himself into *France*, with whom he was so far from having any Wars during his four Years Reign, that he entered into a stricter Alliance with that Crown; but since his present Majesty's Ascending of the Throne, what Traverfes of War there have been between *England* and *France* by Sea and Land, and what the Causes of them, I purposely omit, because they are yet fresh in every Man's Memory, and for that a final Period has not hitherto been put unto them.

The Old French Way of managing Treaties.

*Subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus.*

HORACE.

SIR,

Since you tell me that you do not well understand French, especially that old Dialect, which *Comines* wrote; and that you are willing to have an Account of the Treaty which was made betwixt our *Edward* the Fourth and *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, by the Inter-
vention

vention of some mean Fellows; and that you desire likewise to be informed of the Intrigues of the Great Constable of France, who played with all Sides, and was the chief Trickster of that Time; I am willing to oblige you, and am satisfied you will be pleased with the Diversity of Scenes that the Story presents to your View.

THAT Treaty which *Comines* gives an Account of so much to the Dishonour of our Nation, was first set on Foot to publick Appearance by an ordinary Fellow, Servant to a Gentleman of the *French King's* Household, who had not above twenty Crowns Salary *per Annum* himself; therefore, I can suppose the Servant to have been no more than a Footman. This Fellow was taken near *St. Quentin*, by the *English*, when they marched up to the Town in Hopes of being received into it without Opposition, according to Promise by the Count *de St. Paul*, Great Constable of *France*, who was the chief Trickster of his Time, but lost his Head for it at last, as you shall hear in its Place. The Footman being brought before King *Edward the Fourth*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, one of the Predecessors of the House of *Austria*, who was his Ally in this War against *France*, they examined him; after which the King ordered him to be set at Liberty, since he was the first Prisoner they had taken in this Expedition. As the Fellow was going, the Lords *Howard* and *Stanley* gave him a Noble, and bid him in the Stile of those Times recommend them to the good Grace of the King his Master, if he could have Access to speak to him.

The Fellow made Haste to the *French King*, who was then at *Compiègne*, and found Access to deliver the Message. *Lewis XI.* took him at first for a Spy, because his Master's Brother was in the Service of the Duke of *Britany*, who was also in Alliance with the King of *England* and Duke of *Burgundy*, and therefore ordered him to be kept in Custody that Night. Abundance of People had Liberty however to talk with him, and finding him speak with so much Assurance, they gave it as their Opinion, that the King ought to allow him a further Hearing. Next Morning betimes the King sent for him, and, after examining him more thoroughly, ordered him still to be kept in Custody.

As the King went to Dinner, he was full of Thoughts about this Matter, whether he should send to the King of *England* or not? And, before he sat down, whispered *Comines* in the Ear, that he remembered the *English* Herald had told him, that, when the King of *England* landed, he

needed not send to him for a Passport, but might direct any Messenger to the said Lords *Howard* and *Stanley*. [This Mystery you will find unravelled in the Course of the Story.] The King, having spoke thus, sat down, and ruminating a little, he whispered again to *Comines*, bid him rise up, and seek for one who was Servant to the Lord *Halles*, and ask him if he durst undertake to go to the *English* Army in the Habit of an Herald; *Comines* found out the Man, and asked what the King had commanded him, but was perfectly amazed when he saw the Fellow, for he had neither Mein nor Behaviour fit for such an Undertaking, nor had the King ever spoke to him but once; *Comines* owns though, that the Man had Sense, and a very graceful and smooth Way of speaking. The Servant was so much surprised when *Comines* spoke to him, that he fell on his Knees as if he would have dropped down dead, so that he had much ado to keep him from falling into a Swoon, the Proposal was so amazing to one of his Circumstances. *Comines*, to encourage him, promised him a Post and Money, and told him, that he needed not be afraid, for the Motion came from the *English*, kept him to dine with him, and instructed him what he should do. In the mean Time the King sent for *Comines*, who gave him an Account of the Man, and advised him to some others that he thought more proper; the King would not hear of this, but went and talked with the Fellow himself, and having animated him by Promise of a great Reward, he taught him his Lesson; but was so hard put to it to rig him out on a sudden, that he was forced to take a Banner from one of his Trumpets to make him a Herald's Coat, and to borrow a Badge from a Herald belonging to the Admiral, for the King had none of his own there, and so mounted him with his Habiliments, put up in a fine Bag fixed to the Bow of his Saddle, till he should come to the *English* Camp, which was but eight Miles distant. Thus he sent him a-going unknown to any Body but *Comines*, and the Lord *Villiers*, his Master of the Horse.

The Fellow, according to Instructions, came to the *English* Camp, and putting on his Coat of Arms, was brought to the King's Tent; told those in waiting, That he was sent from the King of

of France to the King of England, and was ordered to address himself to the Lords Howard and Stanley to be introduced. The King being at Dinner, this new vamped Herald was carried to another Tent, where he had his Belly-full of more substantial Food than French Kick-shaws; and, when the King had dined, the Herald was brought before him, and delivered his Message thus: 'The King of France had of a long Time coveted his Majesty's Friendship, and that their two Realms might live in Peace; that, since his Master came to the Crown, he had never undertaken any War directly against the King, or Kingdom of England; and, though he had entertained the Earl of Warwick, it was only against the Duke of Burgundy, and not against him. He likewise said, that the Duke had invited his Majesty beyond Sea, only that he might be able to make the better Terms for himself; and that the rest of the Allies, who concurred with him, had done it to retrieve their own Affairs, and to gain their particular Ends: That the Winter now drew on; that his Master, the King of France, knew his Majesty had been at great Expence, and that there were many in England, both of the Nobility and Gentry, &c. who were eager for War at Home, in Favour of the Pretenders of Lancaster; but, if the King of England would listen to a Treaty, the King his Master would do all that is possible on his Part, that both he and his Kingdom should have Satisfaction, and that he might be more thoroughly informed of Matters. If he would grant a Passport for an hundred Horsemen, the King of France would send Ambassadors to him fully instructed; or, if the King of England had rather that they should meet at a Village half Way betwixt both Armies, the King of France would readily agree to it, and send Passports on his Side.

The King of England, and Part of his great Men, liked these Proposals very well, and gave this supposed Herald such a Passport as he desired, and a Present of four Nobles; they also sent a Herald with him, to get the King of France's Passport; and next Day there met in a Village near Amiens, on the Part of the French King, the Bastard of Bourbon, the Admiral, the Lord St. Peter, and the Bishop of Eureux; on the Part of the King of England, my Lord Howard, Mr. Chalanger, Dr. Marten, Chancellor of England, and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thus, Sir, you see the Treaty so far advanced by a Footman; for I can suppose a Gentleman

who had only twenty Crowns, or 4 l. 10 s. per Annum Salary, was not able to keep a Servant of a higher Station, and a *Valet de Chambre*, for so we must account of this new vamped Herald at best.

I come next to tell you how a nine Years Truce was concluded betwixt Edward the Fourth and Lewis the Eleventh, notwithstanding all the Endeavours used by the Duke of Burgundy and his other Allies against it.

The French *Valet de Chambre* having thus performed his Part, he was rewarded with a Post and Money, and the Day after the Ambassadors on both Sides met; the English (says Comines) demanded, according to Custom, the Crown of France or, at least, Normandy and Guienne. They made a vigorous Attack, and the French made as brave a Defence; however, the very first Day of Meeting, they began to come within Ken of one another, for both Sides were eager for a Peace. At last, the Demands of the English terminated in 70000 Crowns, to be paid down before they marched off: That Lewis the Eleventh's Son should be married to King Edward's Daughter, and that the Duchy of Guienne should be given to King Edward, or 50000 Crowns paid him annually, in the Tower of London, for nine Years; after which, Guienne was to be peaceably enjoyed by the Prince and Princess above-mentioned. Some other Articles there were, relating to Trade, &c. which are not worth mentioning; and there was Room left for the Allies on both Sides to come into this Treaty if they pleased. Nay, the King of England was so forward, that he offered to give the French King an Account in Writing, of several of his own Subjects, who were Traytors to his Crown and Dignity.

The French Ambassadors having reported these Things to Lewis the Eleventh, he was extremely rejoiced, and called a Council upon it; at which Comines was present. Some were of Opinion that the English dissembled, and that there was Fraud couched under the Proposals; which proceeded, I suppose, from the extraordinary Forwardness that appeared in the English Court towards a Peace. But the King of France was of another Opinion, because of the advanced Season, that the English had not one Place of Retreat in their Hands: That there was a Misunderstanding betwixt them and the Duke of Burgundy, and that the King knew our Edward the Fourth was wholly given up to his Ease and Pleasures; and as to the Constable of

France, though the King knew him to be a Trickster, yet he was sure he would deliver up none of the Places he had promised to the Duke of *Burgundy* and the *English*, because the King, being jealous of him, kept fair with him, and was continually sending Messengers, with fine Words and large Promises, to keep him from doing any Mischief. Therefore it was concluded to raise the Money demanded by the *English* with all possible Speed, and to borrow it from those that were able to lend; for the King was resolved to be rid of the *English* at any Rate, and rather to hazard all, than to suffer them to get Footing in the Kingdom of *France*, which they were just ready to enter.

Comines, being sensible that this was a very mean Submission on the Part of the *French* King, excuses it thus: That he knew what Mischiefs the *English* had formerly done in *France*, and knowing the Danger of his own Circumstances from the Duke of *Britany*, and others, that were ready to raise Commotions in the Bowels of the Kingdom, he wisely chose this Part, as the only Means left him to disappoint the Designs of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the other Confederates.

The Constable of *France* perceiving the Treaty to be near concluded, and being sensible that he had tricked with all Sides, he sent his Secretary, and one of his Gentlemen, to the King, with Proposals to break off the Treaty. At the same Time one of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Gentlemen, who had been taken before *Arras*, was let go on his Parole to procure his Ransom, and promised a great Sum by the *French* King, besides being let go Ransom-free, if he could bring his Master to a Peace. He happened to return the very same Time when the Constable sent his Servants to the King of *France*, who improved the Opportunity thus: He put the Duke of *Burgundy's* Gentleman and *Comines*, behind a large Screen in his own Chamber, and called in the Constable's Secretary and Gentleman, that the Duke of *Burgundy's* Servant might hear their Proposals, and report them to his Master, which he doubted not would have a good Effect. The Constable's Servants began their Discourse, and told the *French* King that their Master had sent several Times to persuade the Duke of *Burgundy* to break with the *English*, and found him so much incensed against the King of *England*, that he had almost gained him not only to desert them, but to fall upon them as they retired; and, the better to please

the King, one of the Constable's Servants acted the Duke of *Burgundy* before him, stamped with his Foot against the Ground, swore by *St. George*, which was the Duke's usual Oath, and called the King of *England* *Blayborgne*, the Bastard of a Beef-eater of that Name, and all the other reproachful Names which he could invent. The *French* King laughed heartily, and, pretending to be thick of hearing, bid the Fellow repeat it, and speak out louder; which he did with a very good Grace. The Conclusion of their Message was, that the Constable advised his Majesty to make a Truce with the *English*, to avoid the Dangers which otherwise threatened him from the Allies, and to grant the King of *England* a little Town or two for Winter-Quarters, pointing at *Eu* and *St. Valery*: And added, That the Constable was sure this would please the *English*; and for his Part he would be Guarantee they should keep the Treaty. The *French* King having gained his End, which was to let the Allies know the Constable's Knavery, he answered his Messengers very civilly, told them he would in a little Time let his Brother the Constable know his Mind, for so he thought fit to call him, because he had married a Daughter of *Savoy*, Sister to the Queen of *France*; and then dismissed them, after one of them had taken his Oath that he would discover every Thing that he knew to be transacted against his Majesty's Interest. The King had much ado to dissemble his Wrath at the Constable's Proposal to give the *English* those two Towns, because he knew it was made on Purpose to excuse himself at their Hands for not delivering them *St. Quintin*, &c. according as he had promised to the King of *England* and the Duke of *Burgundy*; but he concealed his Displeasure, and sent a civil Answer to the Constable to keep him in Suspense, and prevent his Delivering up the Towns under his Government. When the Constable's Messengers were gone, the King called the Duke of *Burgundy's* Gentleman (who had much ado to keep his Patience when he heard his Master so much abused) and *Comines*, from behind the Screen. The King laughed heartily, and was very merry, while the Duke's Gentleman was in such a Rage, that he could scarce be kept from taking Horse immediately to acquaint his Master with the Constable's Treachery. But the King prevailed with him to stay till he wrote down with his own Hand what passed: And the King writ to the Duke, assuring him of the Truth of what his Gentleman *Seigneur de Contay*

say (for that was his Name) had writ. The Truce with *England* was concluded before this, on the Terms above-mentioned, and an Interview agreed on betwixt the two Kings; after which the King of *England*, upon receiving his Money, was to return to his own Country, and to leave the Lord *Howard* and Mr. *Cheyney*, who was Master of his Horse, as Hostages behind him. A private Pension of 16000 Crowns per Annum was also promised to the King of *England's* Servants. The Lord *Hastings* had 2000 per Annum, the Lord *Howard*, the Master of the Horse, Mr. *Chalanger*, the Lord *Montgomery*, and others, had the Remainder, besides good Sums in Hand, and Presents of Plate to others of King *Edward's* Servants.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, being informed of this Negotiation, came from *Luxemburg* in all Haste, attended only by sixteen Horse, to the *English* Camp. King *Edward* was very much surpris'd at his Coming in that Manner, and, perceiving by his Countenance that he was in a Rage, asked him the Reason. The Duke told him he came to speak with him, and asked if he had made a Peace. The King answered, He had made a Truce for nine Years, which he prayed him to agree to, since there was Room left for him, and the other Allies to enter into it. The Duke upbraided him, as *Hollinshead* tells us, with this shameful Treaty, and that he had not so much as killed a Fly, or burnt a Sheep-cote for his coming to *France*: That his glorious Ancestor, King *Edward the Third*, behaved himself otherwise, and would never make Peace till he conquered *France*, was made Regent of it, and declared Heir apparent. That the said victorious Prince was as near a-kin to him, the Duke of *Burgundy*, as the King of *England* was to King *Henry the Fifth*, whose Blood he charged him with having destroyed; and told him, that he had agreed to a Peace not worth a Pease-cod: That he did not invite him beyond Sea, for any Need he had of him, since he was able to revenge his own Quarrel, but only to give him an Opportunity to recover what had been unjustly taken from him; and, to let the King of *England* see that he did not value his Assistance, he scorned to enter into his Truce, or to make any League with the *French* King till three Months after King *Edward* was returned Home; and, throwing down his Chair in a Rage, would have been gone. But the King stopped him, and answering his Reproaches with others, for which I refer to *Hollinshead*; the Duke left him in a Fury.

Some of the King of *England's* Council, who were against the Peace, approved very much of what the Duke of *Burgundy* had said.

I return now to the tricking Constable. He, being afraid of the Consequences of this Treaty, sent his Confessor, as *Comines* and *Hollinshead* agree, with a Letter to King *Edward*, praying him, for God's Sake, not to believe the *French* King, who would break his Promise as soon as the King of *England* was returned; and, rather than he should conclude a Peace for Want of Money, he would lend him Fifty-thousand Crowns. Therefore he advised him to take *Eu* and *St. Vallery* for Winter-Quarters, and before two Months were over, he promised that he would take Care his Quarters should be enlarged. King *Edward* answered, he had already agreed with the *French* King, and so left the Constable in Despair.

I come next to the Interview between the Kings of *England* and *France*, and the Circumstances which preceded it. The King of *England*, to ratify this Peace, came with his Army within half a League of *Amiens*, but they marched in such Disorder, says *Comines*, as shewed they did not understand Discipline. The *French* King viewed them from the Gate of the Town, and, though they were very numerous, he might easily have defeated them, had he thought it for his Purpose; but his Design was to treat them nobly, and to make Peace with them at any Rate, in order to dissolve the Alliance: He sent the King of *England* three-hundred Waggon Load of the best Wine he could get, which, with their Convoy, made as great a Shew as the *English* Army; and, besides this, he ordered two very large Tables to be placed at the Entrance of the Gate, with all Sorts of Provisions that would make them drink, and at each Table there was the strongest Wine in *France*, with six or seven *French* Men of Quality, of the fattest and largest that were in the Kingdom, to entertain and please the *English*, who loved jolly Companions and good Cheer. The *English* came in great Numbers, with their Horse and Arms to the Town, without observing any Order; and as soon as they approached the Gate, there were *Frenchmen* who took them by the Bridle, and, pleasantly asking them to run at the Lance with them, brought them to the Tables, where they made them eat and drink *en passant*, and told them they might go into the Town, and call for what they would, but should pay for nothing. This pleased them mightily,

mightily, and thus they were treated for three or four Days successively. They came in such Numbers, that the Lord *de Torcy* and *Comines* told the *French King*, it was dangerous to have so many Enemies in the Town, for they were at least Nine-thousand. Upon which *Comines* was ordered to mount on Horse-back, and to speak to the *English Captains* about it, for the King would seem to take no Notice of it himself. *Comines* did so, but, for one that the Captains sent back, there were twenty came in their Places; so that the King sent *Comines* again with a *Mareschal of France*, to view their Posture in the Town, where they found most of them drinking or asleep in the Publick Houses, and reported it to the King; who, though he thought there was no great Danger, from Men who observed so little Order, commanded Troops to be privately armed, placed some of them at the Gate, and came himself to the Porter's Lodge, where he invited the Chief of the *English* to dine with him. The King of *England* being informed of these Disorders, was ashamed of it, and sent to the *French King* to suffer no more of them to enter the Town; to which *Lewis the Eleventh* answered, that he would never do so, but, if the King of *England* pleased, he might send his own Guards to keep the Gates, and to let none in but whom they thought fit. This was accordingly done, and the Town cleared of the *English*.

To put an End to those Disorders, the Place of Interview was agreed on, by Gentlemen deputed on both Sides. A wooden Bridge was made on Purpose over the *Soame*, with an Apartment for the two Kings in the Middle, and a Barrier betwixt them. *Comines* observes, that the Road by which the King of *England* came to the Bridge was a straight Cause-way, with a dangerous Morass on both Sides, whereas the *French King* had the Country open on his Side; from whence, that Author remarks, *That the English are nothing so subtle as the French, and go very awkwardly about Treaties; but, being cholerick, those that deal with them must have Patience, and not give them hard Words.* I shall not insist upon the further Particulars, but the Interview was made: The *French King* came first to the Barrier, and, leaning against it, the King of *England* came up, took off his black Velvet Cap, adorned with a great Flower-de-Luce set in Jewels, and kneeled to the *French King*, who returned him a very low Bow, and said to him, *Cousin, you are very welcome. There's*

no Man in the World I desired to see so much as yourself; and thank God, that we are met here in so friendly a Manner. The King of *England*, who spoke *French* well, made a suitable Return in that Language; and then the Bishop of *Ely*, who was Chancellor of *England*, began his Speech with a Prophecy (for the *English* are never without one, says *Comines*) the Import of which was, *That Merlin had foretold there should be a remarkable Peace concluded between England and France at that Place.* After this, the Articles were read and sworn on both Sides. Then the *French King* said smilingly to King *Edward*, *That he must come to Paris, and feast with the Ladies, and he would give him the Cardinal de Bourbon for Confessor, who would readily pardon him, if he happened to commit any Slip.* King *Edward* laughed, for he knew the Cardinal was a boon Companion. Some farther Discourse of this Nature having passed, the *French King* ordered his own Courtiers to retire, for he would speak with the King of *England* alone. The *English* Courtiers retired, says *Comines*, at the same Time, without expecting their King's Orders; and, when those Princes had spoke a While together, the *French King* called for *Comines*, presented him to the King of *England*, and asked his Majesty if he did not know him? King *Edward* owned that he did, and remembered the Services he had formerly done him at *Calais*. The *French King* asked King *Edward* what he would advise him to do, if the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had so haughtily rejected the Treaty, continued in that Mind? King *Edward* answered, he would offer it him once more, and, if he did not comply, they would consult about it: Then the *French King* asked him the same Question about the Duke of *Britany*. To which King *Edward* replied, that he desired his Majesty not to make War upon him, since he had been his chief Friend, when he was forced to retire from *England*. Upon this they parted after very fine Compliments, the *French King* to *Amiens*, and King *Edward* to his Army. The Duke of *Gloucester*, the King of *England's* Brother, and several others, who did not like this Peace, would not assist at the Conference; but they were induced to wait upon the *French King* afterwards, who presented them with Plate and fine Horses nobly accoutred. On the Road to *Amiens*, the *French King* told *Comines*, that he did not like King *Edward's* being so willing to come to *Paris*, for he was a handsome Prince, and loved Women, so that he was a-
fraid,

fraild, if he came thither, he might find some Lady that would tempt him to return again ; that his Predecessors had been too often in *Paris* and *Normandy*, and that he did not care for their Company on that Side the Sea, though he loved to have them his Friends in *England*. He was likewise displeased that he would not abandon the Duke of *Britany*, but urged it no further, lest he should have provoked him. When the French King returned to *Amiens*, three or four Englishmen of Quality, who had promoted the Treaty, came and supped with him, during which, the Lord *Howard* whispered him in the Ear, that, if his Majesty pleased, he believed he could prevail with the King of *England* to come and make merry with him at *Amiens*, if not at *Paris*. The French King received the Message with a pleasant Countenance, but put it off by saying, that he must make Haste to observe the Duke of *Burgundy*. The next Day after the Treaty, Abundance of English came to *Amiens* and said, that the Peace was made by the Holy Ghost, because a white Pigeon perched upon the King of *England*'s Tent during the Interview, and would not move from it, notwithstanding all the Noise made by the Soldiers. But the Truth of the Matter, says *Comines*, was told him by one of King *Edward*'s own Servants, viz. that there had been a great Rain, and after that the Sun shined out very hot, and the Pigeon lighted upon the King's Tent, which was the highest, to dry itself. The same Gentleman, who was a *Gascoign*, told *Comines* privately, That he perceived the French Court made nothing but a Jest of the King of *England*. *Comines* asked how many Battles that Prince had won ? The *Gascoign* answered he had gained Nine in Person. *Comines* asked further, how many he had lost ? The Gentleman answered, none but this, meaning the Treaty, by which he said, he lost more Honour than he had gained by all the Nine Battles. *Comines* told this to the King of *France*, who thereupon said, the *Gascoign* was a cursed Son of a Whore, and that *Comines* must take Care what he said to him. He afterwards sent him to invite that Gentleman to Dinner, which he accepted ; and the King offered him very great Rewards, if he would take Service under him, which the Gentleman refused ; but the King told him, he would take Care of his Brothers that were in *Gascoign*, made him a Present of a thousand Crowns, and *Comines* whispered him in the Ear, that he should be well rewarded, if he would use his

Interest to entertain a good Correspondence betwixt the two Kings.

Lewis XI. resolved to take great Care after this to say nothing that might give the English Ground to think that he laughed at them ; yet, the very next Day, when there were none but *Comines* and three or four more about him, he could not forbear laughing at the Wine and other Presents which he had sent to the English Army ; but turning about he saw a *Gascoign* Merchant in the Room, who lived in *England*, and was come to beg Leave to carry over some Wine Custom-free. The King was vexed, when he saw him, asked him who he was, and what Estate he had ; and, understanding that he had no great Matter, he gave him a Post in *Bordeaux*, granted him his Demand, and presented him with a Thousand Franks, on Condition that he should send for his Family from *England*, and go no more there himself.

Comines gives another Instance of the King's Care to avoid giving any Offence to the English : A Gentleman of our Nation, seeing Part of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Guards, who came with his Ambassadors to treat with the King after he had been deserted by the English, said to *Comines*, Had we known that the Duke of *Burgundy* was so well provided with Troops, we should not so readily have agreed to a Peace. The Lord of *Narbonne* replied, Were ye such Fools as not to know that ? Ye only say so now, but Six-hundred Pipes of Wine and a Pension from our King has sent you all a packing again to *England*. The English Gentleman broke out into a Rage, and said, He perceived it now to be true what he had often been told, that the French made their Games at the English ; but, by St. George, says he, what your King gave us is not a Pension but a Tribute. Upon which *Comines* interposed, broke off the Discourse, turned it into a Jest, and told the King of it, who sharply rebuked the Lord of *Narbonne*.

I return again to the tricking Constable, who finding that he had intirely disoblighd the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the King of *England*, sent one of his chief Servants to beg of the King, not to believe all the Ill that was said of him ; and, to assure his Majesty of his Fidelity, he offered to prevail with the Duke of *Burgundy* to fall upon the English in their Retreat. The Message was delivered to *Comines*, and he reported it to the King, who in Presence of the Lord *Howard* and the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Gentleman that had formerly overheard the Constable's treacherous Proposals, delivered a Letter to

to the Constable's Servant, and told him, *That he was taken up about Affairs of great Concernment, and stood in Need of such an Head as his Master's.* The poor Man thought it a very friendly Answer; but, when he was gone, the King turned about to the Gentleman above mentioned, and said merrily, *I did not intend to have the Constable's Body, for his Head is all I want.* At the same Time the King of England sent Lewis XI. two of the Constable's private Letters, with an Account of all that he had said and done against him; so that those three Princes conspired to take of this Trickster's Head, which certainly he very well deserved, though it was below the Character of the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy to become Evidence against him.

It is Time now to wind up the Story in a few Words as I can: *Comines* tells us, that the King of England did not engage cordially in this War, for, before he came from Dover, he began to treat with the French King; and that he brought his Army over to France for the two following Reasons: First, *Because, his People were eager for a War against France,* and the Duke of Burgundy pressed him to it. Secondly, *That he might save most of the Money which had been granted him by the Parliament for that War; and, the better to impose upon his Subjects, he brought with him twelve of the principal Commons of England, who had been the most zealous for the War, and contributed chiefly to raise the Money for maintaining it.* The King lodged them in good Tents; but being corpulent Men, and not accustomed to the Fatigues of War, they hoped the King would soon have ended the Matter by a Battle. His Majesty, who never intended it, filled their Heads with Doubts and Fears as to the Issue of a Battle, and managed Matters so well, that he brought them to approve the Peace, and engaged them to help in suppressing the Murmurs of his Subjects upon his Return; for there never was a greater and better appointed Army sent from England to France. But King Edward was not of a Complexion to endure such Fatigues as the Conquest of that Kingdom would have required; besides he was mighty earnest for a Match betwixt the Dauphin, afterwards Charles VIII. and his own Daughter, which made him dissemble many Things that afterwards turned to the French King's Advantage.

All the English being returned home, except the Hostages, the Treaty betwixt the French King and the Duke of Burgundy was brought

to bear by M. de Contay, that Duke's Gentleman formerly mentioned, and the King carried the English Hostages to Vervins, where the Treaty was finished. The King of England being informed of the Negotiations, and enraged that the Duke of Burgundy would not agree to this Truce, sent Sir Thomas Montgomery one of his Favourites, to the King of France, to pray him that he would make no other Treaty with the Duke than he had done with him, and particularly that he would not yield up St. Quintins. He proffered at the same Time, if the King had a Mind to continue the War, that he would join him, next Year, in Person against the Duke, provided the French King would pay half his Army, and give him an Equivalent for the Customs of Wool at Calais, which was about Fifty-thousand Crowns per Annum. Lewis XI. thanked the King for his Proffer, and told Sir Thomas, the Treaty was already concluded; that it was only for nine Years, but the Duke would have a particular Treaty for himself; and thus making the best Excuses he could, he made Sir Thomas a rich Present of Plate, and sent the English Hostages Home with him. Thus Lewis XI. thought himself well rid of the English, and did not care to see them any more on that Side the Sea, lest they should have renewed the Treaty with the Duke of Burgundy.

This Prince was at last ruined by the Intrigues of Lewis XI. who stirred up Enemies against him on every Side; and after his Death he seized the Duchy of Burgundy, besides several Places in Flanders. The King of England was the only Prince capable to put a Stop to Lewis XIth's Career, and the Heiress of Burgundy sent Ambassadors to intreat his Assistance, which the Parliament came heartily into, and represented to King Edward the French King's Perfidiousness, and his Breach of the above-mentioned Treaty, in not concluding the Match betwixt the Dauphin and his Daughter. But King Edward being a heavy unweildy Man, and wholly addicted to his Pleasures, he had no Regard to their Remonstrances; besides, the Pension of Fifty-thousand Crowns, paid him every Year, was a Bait for his Avarice. And when he was obliged to send Ambassadors with sharp Messages, to please his Subjects, the French King always treated them well, took them off by rich Presents, and gained Time, by pretending that he would speedily send Ambassadors with full Instructions to give their Master Satisfaction; and at other Times he proposed to share the Netherlands with him. But his chief Trust

was

was in the great Number of Pensioners he had in *England*, whom *Comines* names as follows: The Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, the Lord *Hastings*, who was Great Chamberlain, and in mighty Favour with his Master; Sir *Thomas Montgomery*, the Lord *Howard*, afterwards Duke of *Norfolk*; the Master of the Horse, Mr. *Chalanger*, and the Marquis, Son to the Queen of *England* by a former Marriage. To all these he gave great Gifts besides their Pensions, and particularly to the Lord Chamberlain, *Hastings*, a thousand Marks of Plate at once; and the Acquittances of all those Pensioners were to be seen in the *French King's* Chamber of Accounts, says *Comines*, except those of the Lord *Hastings*, who had formerly been a Pensioner to the Duke of *Burgundy*, by *Comines's* Interest; who, knowing his weak Side, advised *Lewis XI.* to purchase him in the same Manner, for he was at that Time a great Enemy to *France*, and mightily pressed King *Edward* to assist the Heiress of *Burgundy*; but *Lewis XI.* bought him off, by doubling his Pension. He sent it him by Mr. *Cleret*, Master of his own Household, and ordered him to take an Acquittance for it, as he did from the Lord Chancellor, the Lord High-Admiral, the Master of the Horse, and others, and as he had formerly done from the preceding Lord Chamberlain. But when he came to the Lord *Hastings*, and delivered him

his Message with the Pension, that Lord refused him an Acquittance. The *French Gentleman* insisted on it, and said, that his Master might otherwise think he had cheated him, and not delivered the Money. The Lord *Hastings* replied, That what he said was very just, but, since the Money came by the King's free Will, and not at his Desire, he must put it into his Sleeve without Witness or Acquittance; for it should never be said, that the Grand Chamberlain of *England* was a Pensioner of *France*, or that his Acquittance should be found in the *French King's* Chamber of Accounts. *Cleret* was forced to comply, and though *Lewis XI.* was angry at first when he told him the Story, he ever after esteemed the Lord *Hastings* more than any of his other *English* Pensioners, and ordered his Money to be paid him, without demanding any more Acquittances.

Thus, Sir, you have an Account of this dishonourable Treaty, how *England* was tricked by the *French King's* Perfidiousness and Cunning, how our Allies were abused and ruined, how the exorbitant Power of *France* was founded, though *England* was in a Capacity to have prevented it; and how our Country and Parliaments were imposed upon, to the perpetual Dishonour of the Nation, by the *French King* and his Pensioners.

A true and strange Discourse of the *Travels* of two *English* Pilgrims: What admirable Accidents befell them in their Journey towards *Jerusalem*, *Gaza*, *Grand Cairo*, *Alexandria*, and other Places. Also what rare *Antiquities*, *Monuments*, and notable Memories (according with the ancient Remembrances in the Holy Scriptures) they saw in *Terra Sancta*, or the *Holy Land*; with a perfect Description of the Old and New *Jerusalem*, and Situation of the Countries about them. A Discourse of no less Admiration, than well worth the Regarding: Written by *Henry Timbertake*.

London, Printed by *Nicholas Okes*, MDCXVI.

What

What recommends this Tract, is the Plainness and Impartiality, which the Reader will justly recommend, when he has read it throughout ; as well as the Subject on which it is wrote : For he gives an exact Journal of his Journey from Grand Cairo, to Jerusalem, with several curious Observations in his Way, and a particular Account of the Toll or Tribute, to be paid by all Travellers at stated Places. He describes the Power of the Romish Friars, which are settled at Jerusalem ; and gives an Instance of their inveterate Hatred to Protestants, in their own Persons ; then he proceeds to shew the Ceremonies used by those Friars, to purify the Pilgrims, before they are admitted to visit the Holy Places ; and without the Superstition of a Bigot, who believes all, upon the Credit of the Relator, he gives you an honest Account of every individual Place and Relick, which those Friars shew, and recommend to the Devotion of such as go in Pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Besides, his Topographical Description of Jerusalem, and the adjacent Villages and Places, is most accurate, and conveyed the more sensibly to our Understandings, as compared with the Distances of certain Towns and Villages from London ; so that this little Piece may justly be esteemed one of the best, if not the first Protestant Account of the Holy Land ; and from which, I dare venture to say, most others that have wrote since, on the same Subject, have been supplied with those Particulars of greatest Certainty, that grace their Journals.

ALthough it passes as a general Proverb, that Travellers may tell Leafings by Authority ; yet I being no way daunted by that Bug-bear Thunder-bolt, but confidently standing on the Justice of my Cause ; my kind Commendations to all you my dear Friends first remembered, thus from Jerusalem, I begin to salute you. You shall understand, that since my Departure from Grand Cairo, towards the Holy Land, I wrote you a Letter from Rama. (This Rama is a Place where the Voice was heard of Rachel weeping for her Children) wherein I certified you of all my Proceedings from Grand Cairo, even to that very Place. I sent it with seven other Letters beside, to Damasco in a Caravan, from thence to be conveyed to Constantinople : But doubting, lest the said Packet is not as yet come to your Hands, I thought good to write to you, concerning all my aforesaid Proceedings ; as also the rest of my Voyage to Jerusalem, with my Imprisonment, and Troubles in the City, and what memorable Antiquities I saw there, and elsewhere, until my Return back to Alexandria.

First, You shall know, that I departed not from Grand Cairo till the Ninth of March, upon which Day I came to the Place, where (it is said) the Virgin Mary did stay * with our

Saviour, Christ : So far was I accompanied by Anthony Thorpe, and four others, that went to Grand Cairo with me, but there left me, departing back to the City ; and I, with my Fellow Traveller, Master John Burrell, both of us being in our Pilgrims Habits, came that Night to a Town called Canko, where we were glad to take up our Lodging in a Yard, having no other Bedding than the bare Ground. The next Day we departed thence, and came to a Town in the Land of Goshen, where we met with a Company of Turks, Jews, and Christians, and some Seven-hundred and fifty Camels, all which were bound for Damasco, over the Desarts ; yet there were amongst them two and twenty Greeks and Armenians, whose purposed Travel lay to Jerusalem, which made us the gladder of their Company. At this Town, being named Philbits, we staid two Days and one Night ; in which Time, I went into a House, where I saw a very strange Secret of hatching of Chickens, by artificial Heat, or Warmth : The like I had seen before at Grand Cairo, but not in such extraordinary Numbers or Multitudes as here ; the Manner whereof I will declare as followeth : The Country People inhabiting about this Town, four or five Miles distant, every Way, bring their Eggs in apt Carriages for the Purpose, upon Asses or Ca-

* When they fled into Egypt.

mels, to this Place, where there is an Oven, or Furnace, purposely kept temperately warm, and the Furner or Master thereof standeth ready at a little Door, to receive the Eggs of every one, by Tale; unless that when the Number ariseth so high (as to ten Camels Loading or more) then he filleth a Measure by Tale, and after that Order, measures all the rest. And I tell you this for a Truth, that I saw there received by the Furner, Cook, or Baker, in one Day, by Tale, and by Measure, the Number of *thirty-five*, or *forty thousand Eggs*; and they told me, that for three Days Space together, he doth nothing, but still receive in Eggs, and at twelve Days End, they come again to fetch Chickens, sometimes at ten Days, and sometimes (but not very often) at seven Days, according as the Weather falleth out. Perhaps, some two hundred Persons are Owners of one Rangeful, some having two thousand, some one; or more or less, as the Quantities amount to: The Furner noteth the Names and Portions of every Bringer; and if he chanceth to have a hundred and fifty Thousand, or two hundred Thousand at one Heat (as many Times it chanceth that he hath) yet doth he mingle them all together, not respecting to whom they severally belong. Then he layeth them, one by one, upon his Range, so near as they can lie, and touch each other; having first made a Bed for them, of Camels-dung burnt; and the Place, whereon the Ashes do rest, is of a very thin Matter made of Earth, but mixed with the Camels-dung in the making, and some Pigeons-dung amongst it; yet herein consisteth not the Secret only; for there is a Concave, or hollow Place, about three Feet Breadth, under it, whereon is likewise spread another Layer of Camels-dung, and under that is the Place where the Fire is made. Yet can I not rightly call it Fire, because it appeareth to be nothing but Embers; for I could not discern it, but to be like Ashes, yielding a temperate Heat to the next Concave, and the Heat being resisted by the Layer of Dung next it (which Dung being green, and laid upon Pieces of withered Trees) delivereth forth an extraordinary Vapour, and that Vapour entereth the hollow Concave, next under the Eggs, where, in Time, it pierceth the aforesaid mixed Earth, which toucheth the Ashes, whereon the Eggs are laid, and so serveth as a necessary Receptacle for all the Heat coming from underneath. This artificial Heat, gliding through the Embers, whereon the Eggs lie, doth

by Degrees warm through the Shells, and so infuseth Life by the same Proportions of Heat; thus, in seven, eight, nine, ten, or sometimes twelve Days, Life continueth by this artificial Means. Now when the Furner perceiveth Life to appear, and that the Shells begin to break, then he beginneth to gather them; but of a Hundred thousand, he hardly gathers Threescore-thousand, sometimes but Fifty-thousand, and sometimes (when the Day is overcast) not Twenty-thousand; and if there chance any Lightning, Thunder, or Rain, then, of a Thousand, he gathers not one; for then they all miscarry and die. And this is to be remembered withal, that be the Weather never so fair, the Air perfect clear, and every thing as themselves can desire, and let the Chickens be hatched in the best Manner that may be, yet have they either a Claw too much, or too little: For sometimes they have five Claws, sometimes six, some but two before, and one behind, and seldom, very few or any in their right Shape. Afterwards, when the People come to receive their Eggs, that before had brought them in, the Furner gives to every one rateably, according as the Furnace yieldeth, reserving to himself the Tenth for his Labour. Thus have you the Secret of hatching Eggs, by Heat artificial, at the Town of *Philbits* in the Land of *Goshen*, which I think were in vain to be practised in *England*, because the Air there is hardly ten Days together clarified, neither is there any Camels-dung, though they have Dung of other Beasts every Way as hot; therefore, when the Sun is in *Cancer*, *Leo*, or *Virgo*, you may, if you please, try what may be done. Perhaps some will think this to be a Lye, or Fable; but to such I answer, I can urge their Credence no further than my Faith and Truth can persuade them: And if thereon they will not believe me, let them take Pains to make their own Eyes a Witness, and when they have paid as dearly as I have done (for the Sight of this and other Things cost me an *hundred Marks* in fifty Days) their Judgments will be better confirmed.

But now to my Journey toward the Desarts of *Arabia*, which I was of Force to pass, before I could come to the *Holy Land*. Then we departed from the Town of *Philbits*, travelling all Night in Company with the Caravan of *Damasco*, and the 14th, at Nine of the Clock, we pitched our Tents at *Baharo*, in the Land of *Goshen*. From thence we departed that Night, and the 15th, at Night, we pitched at *Sal-*
U u *hia*,

bia, which is to the Eastward of the Land of *Goshen*, and stands on the Borders of the *Arabian* Desarts; there we staid two Days for Fear of the wild *Arabs*, and departed thence the 17th. We passed that Night over a great Bridge, under which the Salt-Water standeth. This Water comes out of the Sea from the Parts of *Damietta*, and by Men's Hands was cut out of that Place, some Hundred and fifty Miles into the main Land, by *Ptolomeus*, King of *Egypt*, who purposed to bring the *Red Sea*, and the *Mediterranean*, all into one: But when he foresaw, that if he had gone through with his Work, all his Country had been quite drowned, he gave it over, and built a Bridge there to pass over. This Place parteth *Arabia* and *Egypt*; and no sooner had we passed this Bridge, but we were set upon by the wild *Arabs*; and, notwithstanding our great Company (for we were more than a thousand Persons) a Camel, loaden with Callicoes, was taken from us, four of our Men hurt, and one of them mortally wounded; and the *Arabs* ran away with the Prey, we being unable to help it, because it was Night. The next Day we pitched by a Well of brackish Water: But I forgot to tell you, that my Fellow-Pilgrim, Mr. *John Burrell*, escaped very narrowly in the last Night's Bickering; there we rested ourselves till Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, which they call *Lasara*; for the *Arabians* and *Egyptians* divide the Day into four Parts: Then we departed, and pitched the next Morning at a Castle in the Desarts, called *Carga*, which is one of the three Castles which the *Turks* keep in the Desarts, to defend all Travellers from the wild *Arabs*: Therefore, there we paid a certain Tax, which was sixty Pieces of Silver *, of Two Pence a piece Value, for each Man or Boy; and seventy-six Pieces † for a Camel loaden, and fourteen ‡ for a Mule: Having paid this Imposition, we departed, and pitched again the 19th, at another brackish Well: From whence setting onward, we pitched the 20th of *March*, at the second Castle, called *Arris*, kept also by the *Turks*, in the said Desarts, where our Tax was but twenty Pieces of Silver § for each Passenger, and thirty § for a Camel. From thence we are guided by many

Soldiers to the third Castle, called *Raphael*, making one long Journey of twenty-four Hours together. Here, it is said, that the Kings of *Egypt* and *Judea* fought many great Battles; which, to me, seemed very unlikely, because there is nothing to relieve an Army withal, except Sand and Salt-Water.

There we paid ten Pieces ** every Passenger, and twenty for a Beast. So departing thence, the 22d in the Morning, we pitched at *Gaza*, in *Palestine*, a goodly fruitful Country, and there we were quitted of all the Desarts. In this Town, I saw the Place where (as they told us) *Sampson* pulled down the two Pillars, and slew the *Philistines*: And surely it appears to be the same Town, by Reason of the Situation of the Country. There we paid twenty-two Pieces †† for each Beast, and †† ten for each Passenger. From thence we departed, and pitched at a Place called in *Arabian*, *Carvie*; but, by the *Christians*, called *Beerseba*, being upon the Borders of *Judea*, where we paid but two Pieces ‡‡ of Silver each one, and four §§ for a Beast. Departing thence, the 23d in the Morning, we pitched our Tents upon a green Close, under the Walls of *Ramoth* *** in *Gilead*: There I staid all the Day, and wrote eight Letters for *England*, by the forenamed *Caravan*, which went for *Damasco*, to be conveyed to *Constantinople*, and so for *England*. The next Day, being the 24th, in the Morning, I, with other *Christians*, set towards *Jerusalem*, and the great *Caravan* went their Way for *Damasco*; but we pitched short that Night, at a Place called, in *Arabian*, *Cudechelanib*, being sixteen Miles from *Hebron*, where the Sepulchre of our Father *Abraham* is, and five little Miles from *Jerusalem*. From thence we departing in the Morning, being our *Lady-day*, in *Lent*, and Nine of the Clock before Noon, I saw the City of *Jerusalem*; when kneeling down, and saying the *Lord's Prayer*, I gave God most hearty Thanks for conducting me thither, to behold so holy a Place with my Eyes, whereof I had read so often before. Coming within a Furlong of the Gates, I, with my Companion, Mr. *John Burrell*, went singing and praising God, till we came to the West Gate of the City, and there we staid, because it was

* Value Ten Shillings *English*.

† Twelve Shillings and eight Pence.

‡ Three Shillings and four Pence.

§ Five Shillings.

§§ Eight Pence.

*** Or *Rama*.

† Two Shillings and

** One Shilling and eight

†† One Shilling and eight Pence.

‡‡ Four Pence.

not lawful for a *Christian* to enter unadmitted. My Companion advised me to say I was a *Greek*, only to avoid going to *Mafs*: But I, not having the *Greek* Tongue, refused so to do, telling him even at the Entry of the Gate, that I would neither deny my Country nor Religion: Whereupon, being demanded who we were, Mr. *John Burrell* (answering in the *Greek* Tongue) told them that he was a *Greek*, and I an *Englishman*. This gave him Admittance to the *Greek* Patriarch; but I was seized on, and cast in Prison, before I had staid a full Hour at the Gate, for the *Turks* flatly denied, that they had ever heard either of my Queen * or Country, or that she paid them any Tribute. The *Pater* † *Guardian*, who is the Defender of all *Christian* Pilgrims (and the principal Procurer of my Imprisonment, because I did not offer myself under his ‡ Protection, but confidently stood to be rather protected under the *Turk*, than the *Pope*) made the *Turk* so much my Enemy, that I was reputed to be a Spy, and so by no Means could I be released from the Dungeon.

Now give me Favour to tell you, how it pleased God (the very Day) to deliver me, and grant me Pass as a *Protestant*, without yielding to any other Ceremony, than Carriage of a Wax-candle only, far beyond my Expectation. Here let me remember you, that when I staid at *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, where I wrote the eight Letters for *England*, by the *Caravan* of *Damasco*, having so good Leisure, I went to a Fountain to wash my foul Linnen, and being earnest about Business, suddenly there came a *Moor* unto me, who taking my Cloaths out of my Hand, and calling me by my Name, said he would help me.

You doubt not, but this was some Amazement to me, to hear such a Man call me by my Name, and in a Place so far distant from my Friends, Country, and Acquaintance: Which he perceiving, boldly thus spoke in the *Frank* || Tongue, Why, Captain, I hope you have not forgot me, for it is not yet forty Days since you set me a Land at *Alexandria*, with the rest of those Passengers you brought from *Algier*, in your Ship called the *Trojan*? And here is another in this *Caravan*, whom you likewise brought in Company with you, that would not be a little

glad to see you. I demanded of him, if he dwelt there? He answered me, No; saying, that he and his Fellow were going in that *Caravan* to *Damasco* (which Place they call *Sham*) and from thence to *Bagdad*, which we call *Babylon*, and from thence to *Meccha*, to make a *Hadgee*, for so they are called, when they have been at *Meccha*: Moreover, he told me, that he dwelt in the City of *Fesse*, in *Barbary*.

This Man (in my Mind) God sent to be the Means of my immediate Delivery: For, after I had taken good Notice of him, I well remembered that I saw him in my Ship; though one Man, among Three-hundred, is not very readily known: For so many I brought from *Algier*, into those Parts, of different Nations, as *Turks*, *Moors*, *Jews*, and *Christians*: I desired this Man to bring me to the Sight of his other Companion, which (having washed my Linnen) he did, and him I knew very readily. These two concluded, that the one of them would depart thence with the *Caravan*, and the other go along with me to *Jerusalem*, which was the *Moor* before remembered: And such kind Care had the *Infidel* of me, that he would not leave me unaccompanied in this strange Land: Which I cannot but impute to God's especial Providence for my Deliverance out of Prison, or else I had been left in a most miserable Case.

When this *Moor* saw me thus imprisoned in *Jerusalem*, my Dungeon being right against the Sepulchre of *Christ*, albeit he wept, yet he bade me be of good Comfort, and went to the *Bashaw* § of the City, and to the *Saniake* **, before whom he took his Oath, that I was a Mariner of a Ship, which had brought two-hundred and fifty, or three hundred *Turks* and *Moors* into *Egypt*, from *Algier* and *Tunis*, their Journey being unto *Meccha*.

This *Moor* (in Regard he was a *Musselman*) prevailed so well with them, that, returning with six *Turks* back to Prison, he called me to the Door, and there said unto me, that, if I would go to the House of the *Pater Guardian*, and yield myself under his Protection, I should be inforced to no Religion but mine own, except it were to carry a Candle; to the which I willingly condescended.

So, paying the Charges of the Prison, I was

* *Elisabeth*. † *i. e.* Father or chief of the Friars settled in that City. ‡ *Romish*. || That is, in a mixed Kind of Speech used among Sailors, that get a Smattering of every Tongue where they come. § *Turkish* Governor. ** Or, chief Justice.

presently delivered, and brought to the *Guardian's* Monastery, where the *Pater* coming to me, took me by the Hand, and bade me Welcome, marvelling I would so much err from *Christianity*, as to put myself rather under the *Turks*, than his Protection: I told him, what I did was, because that I would not go to *Mafs*, but keep my Conscience to myself: He replied, that many *Englishmen* had been there; but (being *Catholicks*) went to *Mafs*, telling the *Turks* at the Gate's Entrance, that they were *Frenchmen*, for the *Turks* know not what you mean by the Word *Englishman*; advising me further, that, when any of my Countrymen undertook the like Travel, at the Gates of *Jerusalem* they should term themselves either *Frenchmen* or *Britons*, because they are well known to the *Turks*.

This, or such like Conference, passed between us; and further he asked me, how old our Queen's Majesty was, and what was the Reason she gave nothing to the Maintenance of the holy Sepulchre, as well as other Kings and Princes did? with divers other frivolous Questions: Whereto I answered accordingly. This Day being spent even to Twilight, Mr. *John Burrel*, who passed as a *Greek*, without any Trouble came in unto us, being nevertheless constrained to this Monastery, or else he might not stay in the City; for such Sway do the *Papists* carry there, that no *Christian* Stranger can have Admittance there, but he must be protected under them, or not enter the City. Mr. *Burrel* and I being together in the Court of the Monastery, twelve fat-fed Friars came forth unto us, each of them carrying a Wax-Candle burning, and two spare Candles beside, the one for Mr. *Burrel*, and the other for me. Another Friar brought a great Bason of warm Water, mingled with Roses, and other sweet Flowers, and a Carpet being spread on the Ground, and Cushions in Chairs set orderly for us, the *Pater Guardian* came and set us down, giving each of us a Candle in our Hands; then came a Friar and pulled off our Hose, and (setting the Bason on the Carpet) washed our Feet.

So soon as the Friar began to wash, the twelve Friars began to sing, continuing so till our Feet were washed; which being done, they went along singing, and we, with the *Guardian*, came to a Chapel in the Monastery, where one of

them began an Oration in Form of a Sermon, tending to this Effect: How meritorious it was for us to visit the Holy Land, and see those sanctified Places where our Saviour's Feet had trod.

The Sermon being ended, they brought us into a Chamber where our Supper was prepared; there we fed somewhat fearfully, in Regard the strange Cats have as strange Qualities; but, committing ourselves to God, and their outward-appearing *Christian* Kindness, we fell to heartily, supped very bountifully, and after (praising God) were lodged decently. Thus much for my first Entertainment in *Jerusalem*, which was the 25th of *March* 1601, being our *Lady-day* in *Lent*.

Now follows what the Friars afterward shewed me, being thereto appointed by the *Pater Guardian*. Early the next Morning we arose, and, having saluted the *Pater Guardian*, he appointed us seven Friars and a Troughman; so forth we went to see all the Holy Places in the City which were to be seen, except those in *Sepulchra Sancta* *; for that required a whole Day's Work afterward; and at every Place where we came we kneeled down, and said the *Lord's Prayer*.

The first Place of Note that the Friars shewed us, was the Place judicial next the House of *Veronica Sancta* †; and demanding of them what Saint that was, they told me it was she that did wipe our Saviour's Face, as he passed by in his Agony.

Descending a little lower in the same Street, they shewed me the Way which our Saviour *Christ* went to be crucified, called by them *Via Dolorosa* ‡.

Then, on the right Hand, in the same Street, I was shewn the House of the rich Glutton, at whose Gate poor despised *Lazarus* lay.

Holding on our Way down this Street, we came to a turning Passage on the left Hand, whence they told me *Simon Cyrenus* § was coming towards the *Dolorous Way*, when the Soldiers seeing him, called him, and compelled him, against his Will, presently to help our Saviour to carry his Cross.

Then they told me, that in that same Place the People wept, when *Christ*, answering, said unto them, *Oh Daughters of Jerusalem, Weep not for me, &c* §.

* Or, Holy Sepulchre.

§ *Simon of Cyrene*, Matt. xxvii. 32.

† Or, *St. Veronica*.

§ *Luke* xxiii. 28.

‡ Or, the dolorous or mournful Way.

Next they shewed me the Church where the Virgin *Mary* fell into an Agony, when *Christ* passed by, carrying his Cross*.

Afterward they brought me to *Pilate's* Palace, which, though it be all ruinated, yet is there an old Arch of Stone which is still maintained by the *Christians*, and, it standing full in the High-way, we passed under it; much like the Way or Passage under Mr. *Hammon's* House in the *Bulwark*, but that the Arch is higher; for, upon that Arch, is a Gallery which admiteth Passage (over our Heads) from one Side of the Street to the other; for *Pilate's* Palace extendeth over the High-way on both Sides, and *Pilate* had two great Windows in the said Gallery, to gaze out both Ways into the Street, as Mr. *Hammon* hath the like Advantage at both his Windows.

Into this Gallery was our Saviour brought when he was shewn unto the *Jews*, and they, standing below in the Street, heard the Words, *Ecce Homo*†. A little from this Place, is the Foot of the Stairs where our Saviour did first take up his Cross. Then they brought me to the Place where the Virgin *Mary* was conceived, and born, which is the Church of St. *Anne*, and no *Turkish* Church. Next they shewed me the Pool ‡ where *Christ* cleansed the Lepers, and then guiding me to St. *Stephen's* Gate, a little within it, upon the left Hand, they shewed me the Stone wherewith St. *Stephen* was stoned. From hence I saw the Stairs going up to Port *Area*, at which Port there are divers Relicks to be seen; it was the East Gate of the Temple which *Solomon* built upon Mount *Moria*, in which Temple was the Place of *Sanctum Sanctorum* ||; but now in that Place is built a goodly great Church belonging to the *Turks*.

Thus spent I the second Day, being the 26th Day of *March*, all within the Gates of *Jerusalem*, except my going to see the Stone wherewith St. *Stephen* was stoned. The next Day being the 27th, having done our Duty to God, and the *Pater Guardian*, we hired Asses for the Friars and the Troughman to ride on, and, going forth the City Gates, we mounted, and rode directly towards *Bythinia* §.

By the Way as we rode, they shewed me the Place of the fruitless Fig-tree which *Christ* cursed: Next, the Castle of *Lazarus*, that La-

zarus whom *Christ* loved so well; for his House or Castle was in *Bythinia*, but it was utterly ruinated, and nothing to be seen but the two Sides of the Wall.

In the same Town they shewed me the House of *Mary Magdalen*, but so ruinated, that nothing is left of it but a Piece of a Wall: There I saw likewise *Martha's* House, consisting of three Pieces of a Wall; and thence they brought me to the Stone where the two Sisters told *Christ* that *Lazarus* was dead; from whence, passing on, they shewed me the Place where our Saviour raised *Lazarus* from Death, after he had lain three Days in the Ground, and where he was buried afterward when he died.

This Place hath been notably kept from the Beginning, and is repaired still by the *Christians*; but yet in poor and very bare Sort: And this is all that I saw in *Bithynia*.

From hence we rode unto Mount *Olivet*, and, passing by *Bethphage*, they brought me to the Place where our Saviour took the Ass and Colt when he rode to *Jerusalem*, upon *Palm-Sunday*. Riding through *Bethphage* directly North, we came to the Foot of Mount *Olivet*, where they shewed me the Place *Benedicta* of the Virgin *Mary's* Annunciation; and, ascending to the Top of the Mount, we saw the Place of our Saviour's Ascension; at the Sight whereof we said our Prayers, and were commanded withal to say five *Pater-Nosters*** , and five *Ave Mary's*††; but we said the *Lord's Prayer*, took Notice of the Place and departed. This is the very highest Part of Mount *Olivet*, and hence may be discerned many notable Places; as, first, West from it is the Prospect of the new City of *Jerusalem*; South-west from it, may be seen the Prospect of Mount *Sion*, which is adjoining to new *Jerusalem*; also in the Valley between *Sion* and the Mount, whereon I stood, I saw the Brook *Cedron*, the Pool *Siloam*, the Garden wherein our Saviour prayed, the Place where afterwards he was betrayed, and divers other notable Things in this Valley of *Gethsemane*; as, the Tomb of *Abfolom*, King *David's* Son, the Tomb of *Jehoshaphat*, and others, which I will speak of, when I come to them.

Full South from Mount *Olivet*, I could see the Places we came last from, as all *Bythinia* and *Bethphage*; also, East-North-East from this

* This is unscriptural, or a *Monkish* Invention.

Holy of Holies.

§ i. e. *Bethany*.

Hail *Mary's*, a Prayer to the Virgin *Mary* used by Papists.

† Behold the Man.

‡ Of *Siloam*.

** Or, the *Lord's Prayer* five Times.

|| The

†† Or,

Mount,

Mount, may be seen both the River of *Jordan*, which is about fifteen Miles off, and *Jericho*, which is not far, because it is to the Westward of *Jordan*.

From Mount *Olivet* East and East South East, may be seen the Lake of *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*, which is about an hundred Miles long, and eight over; all these Places I set with the Compass, when I was on Mount *Olivet*; for I staid on the Top of it about two Hours and an Half, having a little Compass about me.

Descending hence towards the Foot Westward, we came to a Place where the Friars told me, that a Woman, called *St. Pelagia*, did Penance there in the Habit of a Friar; whereat I smiling, they demanded, why I did so? I answered, that to believe *Pelagia* was a Saint stood out of the Compass of the Creed; they told me, when I should come Home at Night, they would shew me sufficient Authors for it; but, when I came Home, I had so much to do in writing my Notes out of my Table Book, that I had not Leisure to urge their Authors for *St. Pelagia*.

By this Time they brought us to the Place where our Saviour did foresee the Judgment; then where he made the *Pater Noster**, and then where the Apostles made the *Creed**.

From hence we came to the Place where *Christ* wept for *Jerusalem*, and from thence to the Place where the Virgin *Mary* gave the Girdle to *St. Thomas**, and then to the Place where she prayed for *St. Stephen**. All these last were coming down Mount *Olivet*, towards the Valley of *Gethsemane*, where by the Way we came to our *Lady's Church*, wherein is her Sepulchre*, and the Sepulchre of her Husband *Joseph**, with the Sepulchre of *Anna**, and many others in that Church.

This Church standeth at the Foot of Mount *Olivet*, and was built, as they say, by *Helena*, the Mother of *Constantine the Great*; here the Friars went into the Virgin *Mary's* Sepulchre, and there either said Mass or Prayers, while we in the mean Time went to Dinner.

In this Church is a Fountain of exceeding fine Water, and in Regard we went down into a Vault, as it were, it giveth a marvellous loud Eccho or Sound.

Hence we went to the Cave whither *Judas*

came to betray *Christ*, when he was at Prayer, and thence to the Garden where our Saviour left his Disciples, commanding them to watch and pray, but found them sleeping at his Return; then they brought me to the Garden where *Christ* was taken; and all these last three were in the Valley of *Gethsemane*. Riding unto the Town (whereof the Valley bears the Name) on the left Hand I saw the before-mentioned Sepulchres of *Abolom* and *Jehoshaphat*, and on the right Hand the Brook *Cedron*, which, at my being there, had not one Drop of Water in it; for, indeed, it is but a Ditch to convey the Water to the two Hills (I mean Mount *Olivet* and Mount *Sion*), when any Store of Rain falleth. And this Ditch, or Brook *Cedron*, is in the Valley between both those Hills.

Hard by the Brook *Cedron*, they shewed me a Stone, marked with the Feet and Elbows of *Christ*, in their throwing of him down when they took him, and ever since (say they †) have those Prints remained there.

From thence we rode to the Place where *St. James* the younger did hide himself, and afterwards was buried there. There also they shewed where *Zechariah*, the Son of *Barachiah*, was buried, and brought me to another Place, where (they say) the Virgin *Mary* used often to pray.

Then came we to the Pool of *Siloam*, wherein *Mr. Burrel* and I washed ourselves, and hence we was shewn the Place where the Prophet *Isaiah* was sawn in Pieces; thence they guided us to an exceeding deep Well, where the *Jews* (as they say) hid the holy Fire in the Time of *Nebuchadnezzar*.

Here we ascended from the Valley to a Hill-side, which lieth just South from Mount *Sion*, but there is a great Valley between called *Gehennon*, and there they shewed me the Place where the Apostles hid themselves, being a Cave in a Rock. Ascending higher hence, they brought me to the Field, or rather to be more rightly termed the Rock, where the common Burial-place is for Strangers, being the very same (as they say) which was bought with the thirty Pieces of Silver, that *Judas* received as the Price of his Master, which Place is called *Aeldama* ‡, and is fashioned as followeth: It hath three Holes above, and on the Side there is a Vent; at the upper Holes they let down the

* According to the *Monkish* Traditions.

† Not the Scriptures, or any good Author; but the *Monks* and *Friars*, that are now in Possession, and contrive all Means to pick the Pocket of the Devout and Credulous.

‡ Or, Field of Blood.

dead Bodies, to the Estimation of about fifty Feet down.

In this Place I saw two Bodies, new or very lately let down, and looking down (for by Reason of the three great Holes above, where the dead Bodies lie, it is very light) I received such a Savour into my Head, that it made me very sick, so that I was glad to intreat the Friars to go no further, but to return Home to the City.

So here we went through the Valley of *Gebennon*, and at the Foot of Mount *Sion* (having a little Bottle of Water which I brought from the Pool *Siloam*) I drank, and rested there an Hour's Space, eating a few Raisins and Olives, which we brought with us from *Jerusalem* in the Morning.

After I had well rested and refreshed myself, we began to ascend Mount *Sion*, and a little Way up the Hill, they shewed me the Place where *Peter* having denied *Christ*, and hearing the Cock crow, went out and wept.

Ascending higher, they shewed me the House where the Virgin *Mary* dwelt, which was near unto the Temple; then they brought me to the Place where, the *Jews* setting on the blessed Virgin *Mary*, to take her, she was conveyed away by Miracle.

Hence we went to the House of *Caiaphas*, which was somewhat higher upon Mount *Sion*, and there I saw the Prison wherein our Saviour was detained. Passing on still higher, they guided me to a little Chapel, which is kept by the *Armenians*, whereinto entering, at the high Altar, they shewed me the Stone, which was upon our Saviour's Sepulchre (as they say) and it is near to the Place where *Peter* denied *Christ*; for there they shewed me the Pillar whereon the Cock stood when he crowed.

Hence was I brought to the Place where our Saviour made his last Supper, and thence I came where the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles; whence passing on, they shewed me the Place where *Christ* appeared to his Disciples, the eighth Day after his Resurrection, where St. *Thomas* desired to see his Wounds.

Near to this Place upon Mount *Sion*, the Virgin *Mary* died, and, hard by, they shewed me a Place bought by the Pope of the *Turks*, for the Burial of the *European* Christians; because he would not have them cast into *Aeldama*; they told us, the Year before five *Englishmen*

were buried in that Place, whether by the Friars Poisoning them, or howsoever else it happened; but we thought it strange, that all five should die together in one Week. Thence came we to the House of *Annas* the High Priest, which is now but a pair of very old Walls, and nothing else of it to be seen; but at the Side of one of the Walls is an old Olive-tree, whereto they told me that our Saviour was fast bound; and demanding a further Reason thereof they said, that when he was brought unto his House, *Annas* being asleep, his People would not awake him; so, during their Time of Stay, they bound him to the said Olive-tree, and when he awaked, then he was brought in and examined.

Departing hence, towards the South-gate of the City, which standeth likewise upon Mount *Sion*, we alighted from our Asses, and entering, I noted it well; for I had seen three of the four Gates.

And, being desirous to see the North-gate also, they brought me to the Church of St. *Thomas*, which is within the Wall all ruined; then to the Church of St. *Mark*, where *Peter* came, being delivered out of Prison, by the Angel, that broke open the Gate. Then they shewed me the House of *Zebedeus*, whence we came to the Place kept by the *Abassenes**; and there, ascending first by a dark Way, led on by a Line or Cord, we attained to a high Place, near to the *Sepulchra Sancta*, where I paid two Pieces † of Silver to go in, and, being entered, I demanded what Place it was? The same (say they) where *Abraham* would have sacrificed his Son *Isaac*.

Thence went we to the Prison where St. *Peter* and St. *John* were, being the next Door to the Prison wherein I was put before; which made me the sorrier, that it was not my Fortune to have gone into it, being so near it.

Hence we came to the North-gate, being on Mount *Calvary* Side, where having well viewed the Gate, and perceiving it waxed late, we went directly Home. This was my third Day's Work, in and about *Jerusalem*, wearied not a little with often alighting to pray, for, at each several Place before recounted, we dismounted and said the *Lord's Prayer* on our Knees.

On the Morrow, being the 28th Day, early in the Morning, we took our Asses, riding forth at the West-gate, through which I first entered, and, passing on to the Southward,

* A Sort of Eastern Christians, settled in the Land of *Prester John*.

† Four Pence.

we left Mount *Sion* on the left Hand; at the Foot whereof they shewed me the House of *Uriah*, and the Fountain where *Beerseba* washed herself at, when King *David* espied her out of his Turret.

Thence went we to the Place where the Angel took up *Habakkuk* by the Hair of the Head, to carry Meat to *Daniel* in the Lions Den. Next came we to the Place where the *Wise Men* found the Star when it was lost, and then where the Virgin *Mary* rested herself under a Tree, as she came from *Bethlehem* to *Jerusalem*; which Tree they still repair, by Setting another close to the Root of it.

Hence rode we to the House of *Elias* the Prophet, where they shewed me his usual Place of Sleeping; and his House standeth so upon a Hill, as from thence I did see *Bethlehem* afar off.

Thence we went to an old ruined House, which they told me was *Jacob's*; which may the better appear to be so, for, in the Field thereto adjoining, is the Tomb of *Rachel*, *Jacob's* Wife; and about two Miles from this Tomb is a Town in the same Field, called *Bethesula*, the Inhabitants whereof are all *Christians*.

In this great Field (being between *Jerusalem* and *Bethlehem*) did lie the Camp of *Senacherib*, when he besieged *Jerusalem*. From hence we rode to the Field, where the Angels brought Tidings of great Joy to the *Shepherds*, which is two Miles from *Bethlehem*; and thence we rode to *Bethlehem* to the Monastery, wherein were about ten Friars; who welcomed me very kindly, and brought me first into a great Church, then into a large Entry, wherein I saw the Name of Mr. *Hugo Stapers* twice set, one above another, and between them both I set my Name.

Then they guided me down the Stairs into a Vault, where was a Chapel set in the Place of our Saviour's *Nativity*, inclosing both it and the Manger wherein *Christ* was laid, and also the Place where he was presented with Gifts by the *Wise Men*.

Over this Chapel is a great Church, built by Queen *Helena*, Mother to *Constantine the Great*, (as they say) and further I saw divers Tombs of holy Men and others.

Going up to the Top of the Church, I saw, upon the Leads, the Name of Mr. *Hugo Sta-*

pers again engraven, which made me look the more earnestly for some other *Englishmens* Names; but, finding none, I engraved down my Name, and came away; then we went and dined with the Friars.

After Dinner, they brought me to a Place where the Virgin *Mary* hid * herself, when Search was made to kill the Children.

So taking my Leave of *Bethlehem*, giving the Friars three Pieces of Gold, for my Dinner, and my Company with me, being Eight in Number, mounting on our Asses, we rode to the Well, where King *David's* three Captains fetched Water for him, through the whole Host of the *Philistines*; which standeth a little Way from *Bethlehem*, towards *Jerusalem*, and hath three Places to draw Water up.

Hence went we presently back to *Jerusalem*, entering the Gate at Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, and at Five the *Turks* let us into the *Sepulchra Sancta*, each of us paying nine Pieces of Gold for our Entrance.

No sooner were we in, but they locked the Gates; so there I staid till Eleven of the Clock the next Day, and then came forth. Now follows what I saw in *Sepulchra Sancta*: First, I noted hanging without the Gate, at the least, an hundred Lines and Strings, and in the Gate is a great Hole, whereat a little Child may easily creep in; whereof demanding the Reason, they told me the Hole served to give Victuals at, for them which lie within the Church, which are above three hundred Persons, Men and Women, all *Christians*; and there they live continually Night and Day, and can have no Passage in or out, but when the *Turks* do open the Gate for some Pilgrim; which happeneth not sometimes in fourteen Days: Wherefore, these *Christian* Legiers in the Church have there their whole Household, and boarded Lodgings there builded for them.

The Strings before spoken of, hanging at the Gate, have each one a Bell, fastened at the Lodgings, and when their Servants (which are without) bring them any Meat, each rings the Bell belonging to his Household, and so come accordingly (each knowing his own Bell) for Receipt of their Food. The several Sorts of *Christians*, which I saw in this Church, I will in order describe unto you.

* This is contrary to Scripture, which assures us, that *Joseph*, being warned of an Angel, took *Mary* and the Child *Jesus*, and fled into *Egypt*, before Search was made, by *Herod's* Order, to kill the Infants.

First,

First, the *Romans* *, for they bear the greatest Sway of all. *Secondly*, the *Greeks* †, for they be next in Number to the *Romans*, yet little better than Slaves to the *Turk*. *Thirdly*, the *Armenians* ‡, who have been so long Time Servants to the *Turks*, that, having forgotten their own Language, they use all their Ceremonies in the *Arabian* Tongue, and so I heard them. The *fourth* Sort of *Christians* are *Nestorians* §, who are as Slaves to the *Turk*, and have no other Language § than the *Arabian*. The *fifth* are the *Abassenes*, being People of the Land of *Prester John*. The *sixth* are the *Jacobines* ††, that are circumcised *Christians*, but Slaves likewise and Servants to the *Turk*.

All these (*Christians* in Name) have bought of the *Turk* their several Places in the Church, and By-rooms for Ease, being never fewer in Number, of all these six Sorts, than Two-hundred and fifty, or Three-hundred, continually there lying, and praying after their Manner.

The Places where they ordinarily use to go, and say their Devotions, are thus, as I describe them, and as the *Roman* Friars brought me to them:

First, the Pillar whereat our Saviour was whipped.

Secondly, the Place where he was imprisoned, while they were preparing or making his Cross.

Thirdly, where the Soldiers divided his Garments.

Fourthly, where the Cross was found by Queen *Helena*, which is at the Foot of Mount *Calvary*, and hard by it is the Chapel of the said Queen *Helena*.

Fifthly, the Place where *Christ* was crowned with *Thorns*; which I could not see, till I was glad to give the *Abassenes* that kept it two Pieces of Silver *†.

Sixthly, the Place where, the Cross being laid along on the Ground, our Saviour was nailed fast unto it.

Seventhly, the Place on the Top of Mount *Calvary*, where the Cross stood when he suffered.

Eighthly, the Rock that rent at his Crucifying, which is a Thing well worth the Beholding; for it is slit, like as it had been cleft with Wedges and Beetles, even from the Top to the two-third Parts downwards, as it were through the Brow and Breast of the Rock: Nor is the Rent small, but so great, in some Places, that a Man might easily hide himself in it, and so groweth downward less and less.

Ninthly, the Place where the three *Mary's* anointed *Christ* after he was dead.

Tenthly, where he appeared to *Mary Magdalen* in the Likeness of a Gardener.

And whence we came to the *Sepulchre* itself, which is the last Place where they use any Prayers.

From whence I went to see the Tombs of *Baldwin* and *Godfrey of Bulloign*: And, returning back to the *Sepulchre*, I measured the Distance between Place and Place, spending thus the Time from Five of the Clock before Night, when I came in, until next Day at Eleven of the Clock, at my Coming forth, writing down all Things I thought Note-worthy.

My Companion, Mr. *John Burrel*, and I being thus come forth of the Church, we went to the *Pater Guardian* to Dinner, where we had Tidings that five other *Englishmen* were arrived at the City-Gates, directing towards *Aleppo*. Their Names were Mr. *William Bedle*, Preacher to the *English* Merchants, which were Lingers at *Aleppo*: Mr. *Edward Abbot*, Servant to the Right Worshipful Sir *John Spencer*; Mr.

* *Viz.* Papists.

† *Christians* of the *Greek* Church, who deny the *Pope's* Supremacy, &c.

‡ The *Christians* that live in the Territories of *Armenia*.

§ *Christians*, so called from *Nestorius*, Bishop and Patriarch of *Constantinople*, in the Fifth Century; who taught, that the two Natures in *Christ* were united only in a mystical and moral Manner. They are very numerous in the *East*, especially in *Mesopotamia*, and along the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. Their Patriarch is generally seated at *Mosul*, which is the ancient *Seleucia*.

§ *i. e.* Use no other Language in their Holy Offices.

†† Or rather *Jacobites*. A Sect of *Christians*, so called from one *Jacob*, a *Syrian*, in the Days of the Emperor *Mauricius*; or from *Jacob Zanzales*, who flourished in 550, and hold but one Nature in *Jesus Christ*; though they are much divided among themselves; for the *Cophites*, *Abassenes*, and *Armenians* are frequently comprehended under that Name. They perform Divine Service in the *Chaldean* Language; and are under their own Patriarch, who resides at *Caramit*.

*† Four Pence.

Jeffry Kirby, Servant to the Worshipful Mr. *Paul Banning*, and Liegers for them in *Aleppo*: Two other young Men, the one called *John Elkins*, and the other *Jasper Tymme*. These Five, hearing of my being there, came all to the House, and these (though they saw not my Imprisonment, nor were with me at the Sight of those Things, in and about *Jerusalem*) can witness that they were acquainted therewith at the Gates, and testify the other Truths beside. These Men, as also my Companion Mr. *John Burrel*, I left behind me in *Jerusalem*, departing thence to see other Places in the Country of *Palestine*: But let me first tell you, what I observed in the City's Situation, because I was informed, before I came to see it, that it was all ruined (albeit on the Sight thereof) I found it otherwise, having a little Compass about me, to set such Places as I could easily come by.

Understand then, first of all, that the very Heart of the old City was seated on Mount *Sion* and Mount *Moria*; to the North Part whereof was Mount *Calvary*, without the Gates of the old City, about a Stone's Cast, and no farther. But now I find this new City situated so far in the North Part, that it is almost quite off Mount *Sion*, but yet not off Mount *Moria*, which was between Mount *Sion* and Mount *Calvary*, so that now, undoubtedly, the South Walls of the City are placed on the North Foot of the Hill of *Sion*. The East Wall, which doth confront Mount *Olivet*, is a great Part of the ancient Wall, and so, from the South-East Angle North, a Quarter of a Mile behind Mount *Calvary*; so that Mount *Calvary*, which was, in former Times, a Stone's Cast without the City, and the appointed Place for ordinary Execution, I find it to be now seated in the Heart or Middle of the new City.

This Mount *Calvary* is not so high as to be called a Mount, but rather a piked, or a spired Rock: For I noted the Situation of it, both when I was at the Top of it, and when I came to the Sepulchre, the Sepulchre being distant from it (I mean from the Foot of it) an hundred and seventy-three Feet, as I measured it: Whereupon I conclude, that the Place of Burial, which *Joseph of Arimathea* made for himself, was, from the Foot of Mount *Calvary*, an hundred and seventy-three Feet Westward, in which Place is the Sepulchre of our Saviour.

The Sepulchre itself is two Feet and a half high from the Ground, eight Feet in Length,

and four Feet broad, wanting three Inches, being covered with a fair Stone, of a white Colour. Over the Sepulchre is a Chapel built, the North Wall whereof is joined close with the North Side of the Sepulchre; and the Chapel is of like Stone as the Sepulchre is, consisting of fifteen Feet in Breadth, twenty-five Feet in Length, and above forty Feet in Height. In this Chapel are always burning thirty or forty Lamps, but upon Festival Days more, which are maintained by Gifts given at the Death of *Christians* in *Spain*, *Florence*, and other Parts, to be kept continually burning; and the Givers of these Lamps have their Names engraven about the upper Edges of them, in Letters of Gold, standing in a Band of Gold or Silver.

This Chapel is inclosed with a Church, and yet not it only, but therewith are circled in all the before-named Holy-Places, viz. where *Christ* was whipped; where he was in Prison; where his Garments were divided; where the Cross was found; where he was crowned with Thorns; where he was nailed on the Cross; where the Cross stood when he suffered; where the Vale of the Temple rent; where the three *Mary's* anointed him; where he appeared to *Mary Magdalen*; and, in brief, all the most notable Things, either about Mount *Calvary*, or *Joseph's* Field of *Arimathea*, are inclosed within the Compass of this Church, which was built by the fore-remembered Queen *Helena*, Mother to *Constantine the Great*, she being (as I have read in some Authors) an *English* Woman, and Daughter to King *Coel*, that built *Colchester*; which being urged to them, they denied it. I measured this Church within, and found it to be four-hundred and twenty-two Fathoms about; the one Side of it likewise I found to be an hundred and thirty Fathoms. Thus much for Mount *Calvary*, which is in the Midst of the City now.

From the North-East Angle of the City to the North-West, is the shortest Way of the City, and from the North-West Angle to the South West, is as far as from the South-East to the North-East: But, from the South-West to the South-East, which is the South Wall that standeth on the Foot of Mount *Sion*, I measured, and found it to be Three-thousand seven-hundred and seventy-five Feet, which is about three Quarters of a Mile. Upon this South-Side of the City, is a great iron Gate, about which Gate are laid seventeen Pieces of brass Ordnance:

nance: This Gate is as great as the West Gate of the *Tower of London*, and exceeding strong, the Walls being very thick, and on the South Side fifty or sixty Feet high. So much for the South Wall and Side of the City.

The North Wall is not altogether so long, but much stronger, for on the North Side it hath been often surprised, but on the South Side never; and on the East Side it is impregnable, by Reason of the Edge of the Hill which it standeth on, which is five Times as high as the Wall.

On the North Side are twenty-five Pieces of brass Ordnance, near to the Gate, which is of Iron also; but what is in other Places, as at the Corners and Angles, I could not come to see, and demand I durst not. The East Wall, containing the Gate where *St. Stephen* was stoned, a little without, and to this Day called *St. Stephen's Gate*, I saw but five Pieces of Ordnance there, and they were between the Gate and the Relick of *Port Aurea*, which is to the Southward; and concerning the West Side of the City, at the Gate whereof I entered at my first Arrival, it is very strong likewise, and hath fifteen Pieces of Ordnance lying near together, and all of Brass. This Gate is also made of Iron, and this West Wall is altogether as long as the East Wall; but it standeth upon the higher Ground; so that coming from the West, to the West Wall, you can see nothing within the City but the bare Wall; but upon *Mount Olivet*, coming towards the City, from the East, you have a very goodly Prospect of the City, by Reason the City standeth all on the Edge of the Hill.

To conclude, this City of *Jerusalem* is the strongest of all the Cities that I have yet seen in my Journey, since I departed from *Grand Cairo*; but the rest of the Country is very easy to be entreated; yet in the City of *Jerusalem* are three *Christians* for one *Turk*, and many *Christians* in the Country round about, but they all live poorly under the *Turk*.

Now concerning how the Country about *Jerusalem* lieth, for your more easy and perfect Understanding, I will familiarly compare their several Places, with some of our native *English* Towns and Villages, according to such true Estimation as I here made of them. Imagine I

begin with *London*, I mean much upon the Point of Distance.

The City of *Bethlehem*, where *Christ* our Saviour was born, is from *Jerusalem* as *Warrington* * is from *London*; I mean much upon the Point of Distance †.

The Plain of *Mamre* is from *Jerusalem*, as *Guilford* ‡ is from *London*; in which Place, or near to it, is the City of *Hebron*, where our Father *Abraham* lieth buried.

Beersheba is from *Jerusalem*, as *Alton* is from *London*: *Ramoth Gilead* is from *Jerusalem*, as *Reading* § is from *London*.

Gaza, which is the South West Part of *Palestine*, is from *Jerusalem*, as *Salisbury* § is from *London*.

Ascalon is from *Gaza*, North-East, three Miles.

Joppa is from *Jerusalem*, as *Aylesbury* ** is from *London*.

Samaria is from *Jerusalem*, as *Royston* †† is from *London*.

The City of *Nazareth* is from *Jerusalem*, as *Norwich* *† is from *London*.

From *Nazareth* to *Mount Tabor* and *Hermon*, is five Miles North-East; these two do stand very near together, *Tabor* being the greater.

From *Tabor* to the Sea of *Tiberias*, is eight Miles North-East.

From *Jerusalem* to *Mount Sinai*, is ten Days Journey, and North-East thence.

These Places last spoken of (beginning at *Samaria*) I was not in, but the other five *Englishmen* that met me in *Jerusalem*, coming through *Galilee*, they came through them, and of them had I this Description; they received of me likewise the Description of my Journey through *Palestine*.

The Place where *Christ* fasted forty Days and forty Nights, called *Quarranto*, is from *Jerusalem*, as *Chelmsford* ‡ is from *London*.

The River *Jordan* (the very nearest Part thereof) is from *Jerusalem*, as *Epping* § is from *London*.

Jericho, the nearest Part of the Plain thereof, is from *Jerusalem*, as *Lowton-Hall* §§ (Sir *Robert Wrath's* House) is from *London*.

The Lake of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* is from *Jerusalem*, as *Gravesend* || is from *London*.

* In *Surrey*, thirty Miles.

*† Ninety-five Miles.

§§ In *Essex*, eleven Miles.

† Four Miles.

§ Seventy Miles.

‡ In *Essex*, twenty-four Miles.

|| In *Kent*, twenty Miles.

‡ In *Surrey*, twenty-five Miles.

** Forty-two Miles.

|| In *Berkshire*,

†† Thirty-four Miles.

§ In *Essex*, thirteen Miles.

The River *Jordan* runneth into the Lake, and there dieth; which is one of the greatest Secrets (in my Mind) in the World, that a fresh Water should run continually into this salt Lake, and have no Issue out, but there die; and the said Lake continuing still so salt, as no Weight of any reasonable Substance will sink into it, but fleeteth upon it, as a dead Man, or Beast, will never go down. And further note, that what Filth soever is brought into it, by the River *Jordan*, or any other Substance, it fleeteth continually upon the Water, and being tossed thereon, by the Force of the Weather, in Time it becometh a congealed Froth, which, being cast upon the Banks, and there dried by the extreme Heat of the Sun, becometh black, like Pitch, which, in that Country, is called *Bitumen*; whereof, I have brought some with me from thence. This Lake is about eight or nine Miles broad, and about eighty, or a hundred Miles long; the Length stretching from the North, where the River *Jordan* falleth into it, to the Southward, and hath no farther Issue.

The Fields where the Angels brought Tidings unto the *Shepherds*, lie from *Jerusalem*, as *Greenwich* * doth from *London*.

Mount *Olivet* lieth from *Jerusalem*, as *Bow* † from *London*.

Bethania is from *Jerusalem*, as *Black-wall* ‡ is from *London*.

Bethphage is from *Jerusalem*, as *Mile-end* || is from *London*.

The Valley *Gethsemane* is from *Jerusalem*, as *Ratcliff-Fields* § lie from *London*.

Brook *Cedron* is from *Jerusalem*, as the Ditch without ** *Aldgate* is from *London*.

Mount *Sion* is near adjoining to *Jerusalem*, as *Southwark* joineth †† to *London*.

Thus have I described the City of *Jerusalem*, as it is now built, with all the notable Places therein, and near unto the same, and the Country about it: By which Comparisons, you may well understand the Situation of most Parts of the Places near unto it: And thereby you may perceive, that it was but a small Country, and a very little Plot of Ground, which the *Israelites* possessed in the Land of *Canaan*, which, as now, is a very barren Country: For that, within fifteen Miles from *Jerusalem*, the Country is wholly barren, and full of Rocks, and stony: And, unless it be about the Plain of *Jericho*, I

know not any Part of the Country, at this Present, that is fruitful: What hath been in Times past, I refer you to the Declaration thereof, made in the Holy-Scriptures. My Opinion is, that when it was fruitful, and a Land that flowed with Milk and Honey, in those Days God blessed it, and that as then they followed his Commandments; but now, being inhabited by *Infidels* (that prophane the Name of *Christ*, and live in all filthy and beastly Manner) God curseth it, and so it is made barren; for, it is so barren, that I could get no Bread when I came near unto it; for, that one Night, as I lodged short of *Jerusalem*, at a Place called, in the *Arabian* Tongue, *Cuda Cheraleb*, I sent my *Moor* to a House (not far from the Place where we had pitched our Tents) to get some Bread, and he brought me Word, that there was no Bread there to be had; and that the Man of that House did never eat Bread, in all his Life, but only dried Dates, nor any of his Household. Whereby you may partly perceive the Barrenness of the Country at this Day; only, as I suppose, by the Curse that God layeth upon the same; for that they use the Sin of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, very much in that Country; whereby the poor *Christians*, who inhabit therein, are glad to marry their Daughters at twelve Years of Age, unto *Christians*, lest the *Turks* should ravish them. And, to conclude, there is not that Sin in the World, but it is used there amongst those *Infidels* that now inhabit therein; and yet it is called *Terra Sancta*, and in the *Arabian* Tongue, *Cuthea*, which is, the *Holy Land*, bearing the Name only, and no more, for all Holiness is clean banished from thence, by those Thieves, filthy *Turks* and *Infidels*, that inhabit the same: And having my Certificate sealed by the *Guardian*, and a Letter delivered unto me, to shew that I had washed myself in the River *Jordan*, I departed from *Jerusalem*, in Company of the *Moor*, that helped to get me out of Prison, leaving Mr. *Edward Abbot*, *Jeffry Kirby*, Mr. *John Elkins*, *Jasper Tymme*, and Mr. *Beadle*, the Preacher (whom I met there by Chance, not knowing of their Coming) behind me in *Jerusalem*; and, which grieved me most, the Gentleman of *Middleborough*, called, Mr. *John Burrel*, that I met withal at *Grand Cairo*, that had borne me Company from thence to *Jerusalem*, forsook me there, and staid also in *Jerusalem*, with the

* In *Kent*, five Miles.
Miles and a Half.

† *Bow* or *Stratford*, in *Middlesex*, two Miles.
‡ In *Middlesex*, one Mile.

§ In *Middlesex*, half a Mile.

† In *Middlesex*, two
** *Houndsditch*, about

Barry Yards. †† By *London-Bridge*.

other five *Englishmen*, and so was I left alone to the Mercy of my *Moor* that kept me Company, and never left me till I came to *Grand Cairo*. Now what happened unto me in my Travelling from *Jerusalem* to *Cairo*, and from thence to *Alexandria*, where my Ship lay, I will hereafter declare.

Departing from *Jerusalem*, we got safely to *Rama*, and from thence went to *Ascalon*, and so to *Gaza*, that lieth upon the Borders of the Desarts of *Arabia*; at one of those two Places I hoped to have some Passage by Water, either to *Alexandria*, or to *Damietta*; but, failing thereof, I was in Amaze, and knew not what to do, whether I were best to go back again to *Jerusalem*, or to put myself desperately into the Hands of the wild *Arabians*, to be by them conducted to *Grand Cairo*; one of those two Courses I must of Force take, so there was no Hope of Passage; and yet I had another Hope, but to no End, which was, that I should find Passage at *Joppa*; and for that Cause I staid at *Gaza*, and sent my *Moor* to *Joppa* to seek for Passage, but there was none to be had. At last, considering with myself, that my Haste into *Egypt* was great; for I had left my Man *Waldred* in *Cairo*, with my Stock, of One thousand two hundred Pounds, and my Ship lay in the Road of *Alexandria*, with sixty Men in her, and whether they would depart without me, or no, I knew not; for that, when I went from them to go up to the River of *Nilus* to *Cairo*, I had no Intent to go for *Jerusalem*. My Business standing at that Point, I was forced to this Extremity, to make away all the Money I had about me, and to put myself into the Hands of two wild *Arabians*, that undertook to carry me and my *Moor* (without whom I durst not go) to the City of *Cairo*, in four Days, if I would pay them twenty-four *Sultans of Gold*, when I came to the *Materia*, near to *Cairo*; and, upon that Condition, they would deliver me safely there, otherwise, they said, that they would carry me Prisoner with them, or else cut my Throat: And so agreeing with them, by my *Moor* that spake for me, and withal warranted me to go safely, swearing that he would not leave me by any Means; the two wild *Arabians* provided two good Dromedaries for us to ride on, I, and the *Moor*, riding before, and the *Arabians* behind us, two upon each Dromedary, and so departed from *Gaza*, about Two

of the Clock in the Afternoon, and rode a hard Pace; those Kind of Beasts going so hard, that within four Hours I was so weary, that I desired them to suffer me to alight down to rest me, which we did about Six of the Clock in the Evening; and, being alighted, the *Arabians* tied the Dromedaries two Fore-feet together, as their Manner is, making them kneel down; which done, we sat down to eat a few Raisins and Bisket, such as we carried in our *Alforges**; but, in the mean Time, one of our Dromedaries broke his Strings, being but a small Piece of a Hasel, and ran back again towards *Gaza*, whereupon one of the Thieves took the other Dromedary, and made after him, until both he and the other, that had broke loose and ran away, were both out of our Sight; then the other *Arabian*, that staid behind with us, ran after them, and we were left alone in the wild Desarts of *Arabia*: At last, Night approaching, and both our Guides and Dromedaries being gone, we were both in no small Fear, what would become of us; in which Case, leaving my *Moor* with my *Alforges* (wherein we carried our Victuals) I went up to the Top of a sandy Hill, not far from thence, to see if I could espy our two Thieves; but I was no sooner upon the Top of the Hill, but I saw four wild *Arabians* come running towards me, from the other Side of the sandy Hill; which I perceiving, ran in great Haste to my *Moor*, yet I could not run so fast, but one of the Thieves was at my Heels, and, drawing out his Sword, bade my *Moor* deliver me unto him; but the *Moor* made him Answer, and bade him search me (for he knew well that I had nothing about me worth any Thing, only my Hair-cloth Coat) and said further unto him, this *Guaire* (which is as much as to say an *Unbeliever*) is to be conducted to *Cairo* in four Days, by two of your Companions, and therewith named them unto him; whereunto they all made Answer, and said, that if it were true, they would do me no Hurt, but if their Companions come not again, with their Dromedaries, then they would carry us away with them; but, within two Hours after in the Night Time, my two *Arabians* came again with their Dromedaries, and then they were all fellow Thieves. And we gave them a few Raisins and a little Water, and so departed; and the fourth Day at Night, we came to a Place where the *Arabians* had Tents, and there they gave me some Camels Milk, and beheld me so

* Knapfack, or Bags.

earnestly, as if they had never seen a white Man before: From thence we departed, and the next Night we came to *Salbia*, where, being sore shaken in my Body (notwithstanding I was rolled with Rollers) I was constrained to give over my Dromedaries, and to get Horses, which they procured there of some of their Acquaintance. This Dromedary is a Kind of Beast like unto a Camel, but it has a lesser Head, and a very small Neck, but his Legs are as long; and there is no more Difference between a Camel and a Dromedary, than there is between a Mastiff-dog and a Greyhound; those Beasts eat but little, and drink less, for they drank not as long as I was with them; and it is said, that they will not drink in eight or ten Days together, but cannot abstain so long from Meat. And by this you may see that I was as far in four Days, as I was going in twelve Days before: I think a good Horse will run as fast, but not continue it; their Pace is a reaching Trot, but very hard and quick. From the Edge of *Salbia*, which is upon the East Side of *Goshen*, I took Horse: But the Reason, why the *Arabians* did grant to get me Horses, was not, because they pitied me for my Weariness, but for that they durst not go any nearer to the inhabited Country with their Dromedaries; and there one of them staid, and the other went with me to *Materia*, from whence I sent my *Moor* to *Cairo*, to fetch me their Hire; and there I paid them, that let me the Horses, six Pieces of Gold, and gave the two wild *Arabians* twenty-four Pieces of Gold, and therewith they delivered me in Safety into the Custody of my *Moor*, within three Miles of the City *Cairo*, where I was welcomed by the Consul and others there

resident; and there I paid my honest *Moor* six Pieces of Gold, and bought divers Provisions for him to furnish him in his Journey to *Meccha*, in which Journey, as he returned again, he died.

In *Cairo* I staid two Days, and the seventh Night after I came to *Bullac*, and there took Boat, and in three Days I got down the River of *Nilus*, to *Roffetta*; and there taking Horse, with a *Janisary*, I fell into greater Danger than any I had during my Journey; for, between that Town and *Alexandria*, there were diverse great *Janisaries*, that came from *Constantinople*, that were newly landed at *Alexandria*, who, having tired their Horses, would have taken our two Mules from us, which my *Janisary* refused them, and therewith drew out his Sword; and they, to be revenged, came running to take me, and, having laid Hands upon me, four of them beat me cruelly, and drove me to the Passage that was hard-by, and there would have killed me; which my *Janisary* perceiving, and seeing that nothing could appease them but our two Mules, after he had been sore wounded, he delivered them unto the other *Janisaries*, or else I had there been slain, after my long and weary Journey, being within five Miles of my Ship, that lay in the Road at *Alexandria*; and so he being sore wounded, and I well beaten, at last we got to the Gates of *Alexandria*; but it was so late that we could not get in, but were forced to stay all that Night (till the Morning) upon the hard Stones, and in the Morning I got a-board of my Ship, when I had been from it *fifty Days*: And so I ended my Pilgrimage.

A Letter written by an unknown Hand, whereof many Copies were disperfed among the Commanders of the *English* Fleet.

This Letter was printed in the Year 1673, 4to. But it may be thought as proper to be sent into the Mediterranean in the Year 1744.

Dear Cousin,

GOING Yesterday to your Father's House, partly to see him, but chiefly to learn when he heard from you and what News was lately from the Fleet, he told me, you were in Health, the Fleet near ready to sail, and then shewed me a Letter, he was just ready to send you, wherein (among other Things) I found these Words:

Have a Care of yourself, be not fool-hardy, by venturing too far into the Fight; there are Ships enough to beat the Dutch, without yours; and Captains enough in the Fleet, who will prudently shew you the Way to keep farthest off, when Danger is nighest; and then you need not fear the Aspersions of a Coward, as long as you have good Company: Therefore I say again, be wisely cautious, for your Death would certainly break the Heart of my Daughter, and bring my grey Hairs with Sorrow to the Grave.

I had scarce Patience to read out so much, without tearing the Letter in a thousand Pieces, and I could not forbear such Language, as did but ill agree with the Friendship between us: If you are (said I) so mighty fond of your Son, send for him Home presently, and let him run no other Danger, than what he may meet in a London Tavern, or Bawdy-house; when he has a Mind to fight, let *Bowls* be his *Bullets*, and broad *Oaths* and *Curses* his *Gun-powder*; at other Times, let him have nothing else to do, but treat his Wife, or, as the Fashion is, his *Wench*, at the *Play-house*, *Hyde-park*, or *Spring-Garden*. As soon as I had vented my Passion, and grew calm, I so far convinced your Father of his Fault, that himself burnt his Letter; and desired me to write one, more suitable to my own Inclination.

According to that little Notice I have taken of Sea-matters, I think our Captains in general, (and you among the rest) rather need a Spur than a Curb, when you are going to fight; and therefore, quite contrary to the former Advice, I will set before your Eyes the Justice, and the Danger, that attends a Cowardly Commander.

1. He robs the King and Kingdom, not only of the Money himself receives, but likewise of so much as the whole Charge of the Ship, with Provisions and Wages, amounts to, by rendering the same of no Use, just when it should do the King Service; he murders all those gallant Men, which are slain by the Enemy, and loses those Ships, which fall into their Hands, for want of being well seconded; he betrays his own Party, to the Enemy, by keeping back the expected Assistance; and the Weakening of us, and the Helping of them, is all one; nay, as if he had received a Bribe, to do Mischief, he fires both over, and into the Ships of his Friends; so helping both Ways, to bring them to Ruin, he compleats in himself the Character of a Traitor. By these Means it is, our Battles are lost, or at best so balanced, when they might have been won, that after a Fight, the Enemy, sooner than we, are in a Condition of disputing the Victory. No common High-way Robber is half so great a Rogue, as that Officer, who takes Wages, and dares not, or does not fight bravely, when there is an Occasion.

2. As he largely contributes to the Loss of the Battle, so he hazards doubly his own Loss: For it is observable (I am sure in Land Fights) that where one is killed standing stilly his Ground, five are destroyed in the Running away; and I am told, in your Sea-fights too, you lose most Men, when you fight at greatest Distance from
the

the Enemy: But then, besides the Danger of the Enemy, the Coward has more Reason to be afraid of his Friends, *they being likely to hate him the most, who before had the best Esteem of him; and a Gallows may easily catch him at Home, whom a Bullet Abroad could not reach.* So that to him may be well applied our Saviour's Saying, *He that will save his Life, shall lose it.*

3. His Fear impeaches the Divine Providence, which chiefly glories to exercise itself in Times and Places of most eminent Hazard; I know some valiant Men, who have come off unwounded from the Heat of at least twenty Battles; God oftentimes makes those Places safest, where we apprehend the most Danger, and those most dangerous we think most secure. Thus, my dear Cousin! You see, a Coward, with a Commission, is neither a good Subject, a good Christian, nor a good or wise Man, in any Sense; but must be, of Necessity, a Traytor to the King, a Thief to his Country, a Murderer of his own Party, and consequently detested of God and Man. Consult therefore your own Heart, and if Fear dwell at Bottom, do not cozen any longer the King's Expectation; lest, by staying another Battle, you let all the World be Witness of that Shame, which yet may be easily hid. You may find fair Excuses, enough to lay down your Commission, and the Prince can find Men enough to take it up, *who better deserve it.* But if you will stay and

fight, resolve to fight bravely, so as you may do Service to the King, and gain yourself lasting Reputation.

If there have happened any Disgust, between you, and any other Commander in the Fleet, either for Wrongs really received, or supposed, or because he being a Man of less Desert, is preferred, and advanced before you: Consider that a Faction of the Parts tends fairly to the Ruin of the Whole; and that your Safety, and Success, does chiefly depend on your Unity, and a right Understanding. If therefore you would be thought faithful to the King, if you would not be found false to your Country, let all private Quarrels die; or at least go to sleep, till the publick ones are decided.

In the mean Time, assist one another, by all manner of kind Offices, as often as it lies in your Power; let the Enemy only feel the Effects of your Indignation, and make it appear, by the Greatness of your Actions, that you are the Man of most Merit.

Where Duty bids go, never stay, for the Example of any others; but rather strive, all you can, to make yourself their Example. In a good Cause, God prospers best the bold Adventurer; let gallant Resolution lead the Van, and glorious Victory shall bring up the Rear.

Sheerness, July 16,
1673.

HONOUR'S

HONOUR'S INVITATION; or a Call to the Camp. Wherein the
Triumphant Genius of *Great Britain*, by a Poetical Alarm,
awakens the Youths of the Three Nations, to generous At-
tempts, for the Glory of their Country.

Written by a young Gentleman of Quality now in the Service.

Dignos Laude Viros Musa vetabit Mori.

[From a *Folio* Edition, Printed at *London*, by *H. B.* 1673.]

BRED by fond Mother's too indulgent Care,
My vainer Life spun out its thirtieth Year:
Charm'd with the pois'nous Sweets of barren Ease,
And all the Luxuries of wanton Peace;
To duel rampant *Mifs* on a soft Bed,
Hector the Watch, or break a Drawer's Head,
To drown a younger Brother in a Look,
Kick a poor Lacquey, or berogue a Cook,
Top a small Crew of Tenants that dare stir
In no Language, but, *please your Worship, Sir*,
To chace the Stag, and now and then pursue
The tim'rous Hare, were all the Wars I knew;
When drunk o'er Night with gen'rous *Burgundy*,
I thought (as Gallants use) to sleep all *Sunday*:
But scarce could *Morpheus*' leaden Plummets close
My Eye, and lock my Senses in Repose,
When, lo! a rev'rend Spectrum did appear,
Surprising me with equal Joy and Fear;
It seem'd a Personage of noblest Race,
A manly Presence and majestick Face,
An azure Mantle flowing round his Waist,
And his strong Hands with *Neptune's* Trident grac'd;
Three Crowns he * bore, and under them his Brow
Circl'd with Laurels fresh, pluck'd from the Bough.
I gaz'd a While, till it approach'd more near,
And thus (with Voice like Thunder) pierc'd my Ear:
" Wilt thou, degen'rous Youth! ignobly blot
" The Trophies, which thy Ancestors have got?
" Prove them the Sires of a spurious Race?
" O'erturn their Statues, and their Tombs deface?
" Forfeit those Honours, which they left to thee,
" By sleeping in a senseless Lethargy?

* The King of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

" Now, when each noble Soul, greedy of Fame,
 " Feels his Breast glowing with a gen'rous Flame;
 " When Scenes of Blood on neighb'ring Shores appear,
 " And furious *Mars* sways all our Hemisphere;
 " Wilt thou alone, stupidly drown'd, prefer
 " Sordid Delights to th'Glory of the War?
 " Decline that Road of Honour which displays
 " To ev'ry daring Hand a Wreath of Bays,
 " And in a wretched Sloth consume thy Days?
 " Can the poor Yelpings of a deep-mouth'd Hound
 " Vie Musick with the warlike Trumpet's Sound?
 " Or faint Applauses of a Horse-race won
 " (When sprightly *Sorrel* out-flew nimble *Dun*)
 " Equal those Acclamations that are sent
 " In Volleys to the ecchoing Firmament?
 " Which ev'ry Victor justly calls his own?
 " For Kingdoms conquer'd, and proud States o'er-thrown?
 " Shall Troops of *Heroes* from all Parts resort,
 " That quit the softer Pleasures of the Court?
 " Charge Death in th' Face, and forward still aspire
 " Through Midst of Dangers swift as Heaven's Fire?
 " Shall the Drum's rattling Summons nimbly bring
 " Crouds of the Vulgar in, to serve their King?
 " That laugh at Hardships, and dare bravely die,
 " If Fate require't, to purchase Victory?
 " And their Example never move thy Spirit,
 " Nor Emulat'on of the others Merit?
 " What drowsy *Opium* has possess'd thy Brain,
 " Dull Soul! that all these Joggings are in vain?
 " For Shame, at last awake, lest it be said,
 " Your Courage does not slumber, but is dead;
 " From before paultry *Beauties* raise your Siege,
 " Who think by faint Resistance to oblige:
 " Nor let the kinder Ladies tempting Charms
 " Confine you still to their enfeebling Arms:
 " When Fate, turn'd prodigal, freely affords
 " The Destinies of Nations to your Swords;
 " Let mighty Cities be your Mistresses,
 " Whose Dowry brings the Spoils of Provinces.
 " Level their proud Walls, and let it be
 " A Doubt hereafter to Posterity,
 " When only shatter'd Monuments they view
 " Whether *Jove's* Thunder hath been there, or you:

" These are Atchievements fitting to be done,
 " By each dares calls himself stout *England's* Son.
 " As a brave Courser, standing on the Sand
 " Of some swelling Sea-Channel, views a Land
 " Smiling with Sweets upon the distant Side,
 " Garnish'd in Nature's best embroider'd Pride,
 " Larded with Springs, and fring'd with curled Woods,
 " Impatient bounces into th' capering Floods;
 " Big with a nobler Fury than that Stream
 " Of shallow Violence he meets in them;

" Thence,

“ Thence, arm'd with Scorn and Courage, plows a Way
“ Through the imposthum'd Billows of the Sea ;
“ And makes the grumbling Surges Slaves to Oar,
“ And waft him safely to the further Shore,
“ Where landed in the sovereign Disdain,
“ He turning back surveys the foaming Main ;
“ Whilst the subjected Waters, flowing, reel,
“ Ambitious yet to kiss their Conqu'ror's Heel.
“ At such a gen'rous Rate shou'dst thou engage,
“ In the grand Expedition of our Age ;
“ *Thy active Soul in gallant Fury hurl'd*
“ *To club with all the Worthies of the World.*
“ Then rouse at last from this lethargick Dream,
“ And let heroick Actions be thy Theme.
“ No more to base effeminate Follies yield,
“ Thy Country's GENIUS calls thee to the Field !

No sooner these last Accents had I heard,
But straight the glorious Vision disappear'd ;
And round about, methoughts, a glitt'ring Ray
Was spread, creating in my Soul new Day.
As Cæsar once on Banks of Rubicon
Stood shivering and scarce durst venture on,
Till lucky Dæmon by a signal Chance
Beckon'd him o'er, and made his Troops advance ;
So I, confirm'd by this good Omen, found
Those Mists exhal'd which had my Courage drown'd.
Ah ! glorious Art of War, I cry'd ! from whence
All Honour and all Pow'r did first commence,
By which the Grandeur of each State doth grow,
And unto which Nations their Safety owe,
Henceforth my *Mistress* thou alone shalt be
And all my Strength I consecrate to thee.
Hence then, you gay Diversions of the Town,
Your bubbling Vanities I must disown.
Morning-long-sleeps adieu ! Let sordid Ease
Silken Buffoons and painted Peacocks please ;
Whose lab'ring Souls, being stifled with Excess,
Scarce keep from Stench their rotten Carcases ;
Whilst I, 'midst Blood, and Sweat, and Toils of War,
Through Storms, Cold, Hunger, and many a Scar,
Pursue my Fate, resolv'd thus to have
An honour'd Life, or else a noble Grave.

June 21, 1673.

With Allowance.

Europe a Slave, when the Empire is in Chains: Shewing the deplorable State of Germany, from the Invasion of the French, and the fatal Consequences of it to us and all Europe.

This is Part of a Pamphlet, that was published in the Year 1713, in 8vo. soon after the Conclusion of the Peace with France, intended to expose the Danger the English Nation ran by making a Peace so hazardous to ourselves and advantageous to an Enemy, whom we had reduced to the last Extremity; and pointing out the only Means to maintain the Balance of Power in Europe; very necessary to be perused at this Time.

I cannot with any Certainty give you the Name of the Author, who, in my Opinion, has written more like a Prophet than a bare Politician: But I heartily recommend his strong Reasoning, and the Necessity of supporting the House of Austria, against the Power of France, which he supports from Facts, confirmed by long Experience, both before and since his Time. In a Word, our Author foretold that the Elector of Bavaria, under the Protection of France, would succeed Charles the Sixth, in the Imperial Throne.

WHAT is it an *Englishman* can say, that will not now-a-days give Offence? If we write against the *French*, we write against our new Allies; if for our late Confederates, we are Enemies to Peace, we delight in War, and, when the *Examiner* has the Power, must be knocked on the Head, as he threatens us in several of his late Papers. What shall we do? Shall we see the *French* Masters of *Germany*? Shall we be alarmed with a new War in the Bowels of the Empire and not have a Word to say in Favour of a Prince, whom, ten Years ago, we declared King of *Spain* and the *Indies*; whom we took from the Arms of a fond Father, and sent in the Midst of Winter Storms to fight for a Monarchy that was in Effect the Gift of *England* and *Holland*? It is not now for *Spain* that this unfortunate Prince fights, it is for *Germany*, for his Patrimony, for Liberty and not for Empire. Is it not amazing to meet with *Britons* and Protestants so stupid as to rejoice at the Emperor's Distress, whose Ruin must inevitably be followed by the Loss of the Liberties of *Europe*? When *France* has suppressed the House of *Austria*, what will become of all other

Powers? Can the *Dutch* maintain their Barrier, or *England* defend herself singly against *France* and *Spain* united? Whose Turn will be next? The best we can hope for ourselves is to be last destroyed, and, if the *French* have no Enemy on the Continent, who will dare to be an Enemy to a King who is Master of *Germany*, *France*, and *Spain*. What should we not fear from such a Neighbour? I will not say the Pretender. A King of our own would be too good Fortune for us, let him be ever so bad a one; we should soon be a Province of *France*, and have the Honour to be governed by a Lieutenant General, a Lieutenant Civil, and a gracious disinterested Intendant. Our Parliament would be far from being so honourable an Assembly as that of *Paris*; our Church, our Constitution would have no more a Name; we must be of what Religion the *French* please, and instead of a Treaty of Commerce have no Trade at all; which would quickly reduce us to the Condition of the first *Britons*, and make us so wretched that even Slavery will be the least Part of our Misery.

It is in vain now to ask how the *French* came again so near the *Danube*, how the Elector of *Bavaria* once more approaches the Plains of *Blenheim*;

Blenheim; and where is the General that drove him from thence out of the Empire? It is to no Purpose to enquire into the Causes of the Progress of the *French Arms* in *Germany*; the *Marshal de Villars* is there, and at the Head of a Hundred-thousand *Frenchmen*, and what is it not that he may do there, if the rest of *Europe* is passive? Where is that Empire whose Power was represented so formidable? Where are the Kingdoms that were to ravish the Balance from the House of *Bourbon*? Have we not seen that, in two or three Months, *France* has driven all before her? Is she not ready to restore the *Bavarian* to the Condition he was in, ten Years ago, when the Emperor scarce thought himself safe in his Palace, and the *Imperial Scepter* was the Hope and Promise of the Conqueror? Will *France* be content with *Straßburgh*, when she can be Mistress of *Vienna*? Will *Bavaria* be satisfied with a new Electorate, when he can as easily have the Empire, and can he support himself, without the *French King*, to whom he must always be a Creature and Subordinate? Let us imagine then, that the Emperor *Charles* is forced to submit; that the *Electors* of *Bavaria* is his Successor, intirely depending on his Protector the most Christian King? Will *Germany* be then able to send Armies to the Relief of the *Dutch*? Will the *Dutch* be able to give Assistance to *Britain*, and where then will be our Defence, will not all our Hopes lie in that King's Goodness and Moderation? Whatever Opinion I have of his *Bona Fide*, or his keeping his Word with us, better than with any Body else, I shall not now declare myself. I have lived long enough to have seen a Reflexion on his most Christian Majesty's Conduct called *Sedition*, which one could not have believed would ever have been, when the Duke of *Marlborough* was where the *Marshal de Villars* is now. I must confess however, that, notwithstanding the Examiner brags of our new Alliance with the most powerful Monarch in the World, I dread that Power of his as much as when we might have freely speak the Truth of him, and every one called him the *Common Enemy*. I know the Respect due to Crowned Heads, at least I am not to be taught by a Faction, who in one Libel treated five or six of those sacred Heads as a Company of Beggars and Scoundrels, though King *William* and her present Majesty had been above twenty Years in the most strict and neces-

sary Alliance with them, for their mutual Defence, against the puissant Monarch, our present Friend.

I wish the Respect due to him was prescribed to us, that we might know what Homage we owe to a King*, that has all his Life-time been endeavouring to destroy us. For my Part, I cannot help wishing him as ill now as ever I did, knowing that *Europe* cannot be safe, while *France* is in Prosperity: To which, though we are at Peace with her, I cannot think it our Duty any more than our Interest to contribute. How far those Powers will contribute to it that suffer the House of *Austria* to be ruined, I shall not determine, but leave it to the Reader, who will not want Light in so plain a Matter as that is. What *France* would do, were she Mistress of *Germany*, any one may imagine by what she did in the Year 1683, and the following Year, when she expected the Empire would be over-run by the *Turks* and *Hungarians*. A Book was published at *Paris* by Authority, and dedicated to the King himself; intituled, *The just Pretences of the King of France to the Empire*. In which Treatise, this was laid down for a Ground, 'That the Dominions of Sovereign Princes have been always the Dominions and Conquests of their Estates, and that the Dominions and Conquests of Crowns can be neither alienated nor prescribed.' From whence, the Author draws but these two Conclusions:

First, 'That the greatest Part of *Germany* is the Patrimony and ancient Inheritance of the *French Princes*.

Secondly, 'That *Charlemain* did possess *Germany* as King of *France*, and not as Emperor.'

If the *French Court* was pleased with this Assertion, when they had only possessed themselves of a few Places on the Frontiers, what will they say when their Armies are triumphing in the Heart of *Germany*, and nothing can stop their March to the Gates of its Capital? The Earl of *Danby*, when he was Lord Treasurer, at the same Time that he lay under the Suspicion of taking *French Money*, was so well apprised of the ambitious Designs of *France*, especially upon the Empire, that he set an Author at Work, to lay them open; which was done with equal

* Of France.

Truth and Boldness, in a Book called, *Christianissimus Christianus*, reprinted in 1701, and again in the *State Tracts*, wherein among other Things is said: 'If this is believed in *France*, what may not her Scribes persuade their Master? May they not as well prove and persuade him, that he wears the Titles of all other Princes in the Pommel of his Sword? If one may judge of what is to come by what is past, all *Europe* will have Cause enough to stand upon their Guard, and take the Alarm to prevent the Machinations of the *French* Ministry, whose sole Business is to blow up the Glory of their Master to a mighty Bubble, &c.'

Another Author, who wrote some Time after, has this Expression: '*Germany* is a fat Morfel which the *French* King has long been preparing to devour;' and was he ever in a fairer Way! Where are the *Prussians* and other Troops, that used to strengthen the Imperial Armies? Are they not disarmed by the Peace of *Utrecht*? Where are his Imperial Majesty's Allies? Are not the Electors *Palatine*, of *Mentz* and *Treves*, surrounded by the Arms of *France*? Are not the Circles of *Swabia* and *Franconia* exposed to their Ravages? What can hinder the Elector of *Bavaria*'s returning to *Munich*; and, supposing his most *Christian* Majesty would be content with his *Restoration* only, is it for the Interest of *Europe* to have Power always ready and able to assist the *French* within a hundred Miles of *Vienna*? Where nothing else is to be feared from the Successes of *France* in the Empire, it would be enough to raise in us the most terrible Apprehensions. I shall not impose my own Sentiments on the Reader, on so important a Subject, but communicate those of a Person of great Worth and Distinction, in a Treatise published on that Elector's declaring for *France*: 'The Advantage, says he, accruing to the *French* King, by having the Elector of *Bavaria* in his Interest, is so great, that it is not at first Sight to be easily seen or conceived. But this is plain, that he is one of the greatest Princes of the Empire; that he is capable of leading an Army, and of raising a considerable Force of his own; that the Situation of his Dominions is such, as enables him to invade the paternal Inheritance of the House of *Austria* on the one Side, and to give Disturbance to the Circles of *Franconia*, *Swabia*, and the *Upper-Rhine*, on the other; that he is capable of depriving the Emperor of one Suffrage in the Diet, and of giving

the King of *France* another. And that by the Palatinate of *Bavaria* on the North, and by the Dutchy and Electorate of *Bavaria* on the South, it is in his Power to block up the Diet of the Empire at *Ratisbon*, or oblige them to remove at his Pleasure; he gave us very lately a Proof of what he is capable to do in this Matter, by entertaining the Deputy of a Circle of *Burgundy* at a House of his just opposite to *Ratisbon*, when that Deputy was ordered to quit the Diet and Dominions of the Empire; and by his numerous Army, and great Sums of *French* Gold, which he received, not under the disgraceful Name of a Bribe, but under the specious Pretence of being Governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*, he seems capable of opening the *French* King's Passage to the *Danube*, that he may meet his most dear and natural Ally, the Grand Seignior, before the Walls of *Vienna*.' This Treatise was written before the last War broke out, and how the Elector of *Bavaria* made good what the Author says of him, in the Course of it, is too well known to need Repetition. And this then is the Prince, who, we are told, has taken Post to put himself at the Head of the *French* Army, now almost in the Bowels of *Germany*, and more numerous, and more in Heart, than that which, at the Expence of so much Blood, the victorious Duke of *Marlborough* drove from the *Danube* to the *Rhine*, after it had made the Imperial Diadem shake on the Head of the Emperor *Leopold*. Do not we all remember how great was our Concern for the Fate of *Germany*, when the Duke of *Marlborough* was marching to its Deliverance? The *French* Army was then in *Bavaria*, and what can hinder its being there again? Where have the *German* Princes two hundred Battallions, and two hundred and fifty Squadrons to oppose them? Have they not done as much as they ever will do already, and to what Purpose have been their boasted Efforts but to shew their Impotency? If we should again hear of an Elector of *Bavaria*, and a Marshal of *France*, at the Head of an Hundred-thousand Men, on the Banks of the *Danube*, and that at a Time when the Maritime Powers have tied up their Hands and sent Home their Soldiers, to whom must the distressed Emperor fly for Refuge? Can the King of *Poland* help him, when he is alarmed with the Approach of an Army of *Infidels*? Can the King of *Prussia* assist him after a Treaty so solemnly and so lately signed, *German*
Faith

Faith being of quite another Kind than was the *Punick* of old? And what Difference there is between *Fides Punica* and *Fides Gallica*, let the History of the last Century determine. Will the Elector of *Hanover* and the House of *Luxemburgh* be able to send him sufficient Forces, when the *Swedes* are so near at Hand, and so willing to fall upon them at the first Opportunity? Of what Advantage will the Alliance of the Elector *Palatine* be to his Imperial Majesty, when he himself, and what Forces he has in his Territories, are shut up in Garrisons, too weak to defend themselves, whenever they shall be attacked? Will it not be easy for the *French* to involve the Electorate of *Cologne* and Country of *Liege* in new Troubles, by Means of that Elector, their fast Friend? And what can hinder the *Bavarians* on the other Side returning to the Obedience of their abdicated Sovereign, for whom, it is well known, they have preserved an inviolable Affection? Is this terrible Scene a distant one? Are all these Fears visionary? What have the *Germans* to hope in but God and the Winter? And when their Strength is ruined, the Elector of *Bavaria* returned with a *French* Army, to revenge the Disgrace of an almost ten Years Banishment; what Advantage will it be to *Charles the Sixth*, to have the Name of Emperor, and how long will they permit him to wear it?

About the Year 1705, the *French* Emiffaries in *Holland* dispersed a Project of Peace, in one Article of which they insert, that, 'If *France* had obtained the Victory over the Allies at *Hochstet*, that would have served for no other End but to engage her in an Abyfs of Designs and Enterprises one after another, &c.' What would that Abyfs of Designs and Enterprises have been? Is it not plain? Could it have been any Thing else but Setting up the *Bavarian* or a Prince of her own, as Emperor, the Depriving of the *German* Princes and others of their Rights and Liberties, and Establishing an arbitrary Power over all *Europe* under the new restored Title of the *Western Empire*? Will *France* be in a worse Condition to undertake such an Abyfs of Designs, when she has only the Emperor *Charles* to cope with, than when she had a most powerful Alliance formed against her, of the most puissant Monarchies and States in *Christendom*? For my Part, this melancholy Prospect fills me with both Pity and Terror: Pity for the unfortunate State of a late Ally, and Terror for our own perilous one afterwards.

Whether we can, or whether we ought to stir a Step in his Favour, is no Business of mine; I only ease my own Mind by communicating my Apprehensions, and shall be glad to find them imaginary and chimerical. However, we seem to have forgot what was the general Opinion ten or twelve Years ago, that, next to the *Dutch*, the Emperor's and our Interests were most inseparable, and that, as a constant Maxim of *English* Politicks, was depended upon by all our Neighbours.

These Things are not new, we have heard them over and over, they are as certain and fixed as Truth; and yet, how dexterous have some Men been, to make us as indifferent to every Thing Abroad, as if we were not at all concerned in what happened there? That wise and warlike King, *Henry the Eighth*, had quite other Notions, and held it as an unalterable Maxim of Government to hold the Balance even between the Houses of *Austria* and *Valois*. I have seen an Answer to the before-mentioned Project of Peace, written by a *German*, wherein is a Paragraph, which shews what Foreigners think of our Interest and Policy in this Particular, it is as follows: 'As to the particular Interest of the Crown of *England*, all *Europe* knows well enough, that it consists in the Restoring of a Balance, which is the only Thing that can make her happy Abroad. King *Henry the Eighth* made this Balance his Maxim, and maintained it, as has been already said, against *France*, at a Time when she was not near so formidable as she is now become since the Treaties of *Munster* and the *Pyrenees*, and that too in Favour of *Charles the Fifth*, the only Emperor of the House of *Austria*, who could give Umbrage to his Neighbours. Now, if the Power of *France* was capable of giving Umbrage to *England*, at a Time when she was confined within her natural Bounds, how much more ought she to give them Umbrage at this Time, considering the great Increase of her Power since, and yet still more, if she be left in Possession of half the *Spanish* Monarchy? To this, if we add the infinite Advantages she has over all her neighbouring Powers, as has been observed already, it is certain that there is Cause enough, not only to alarm the *English* Nation, but the remotest People of *Europe*. Matters being thus, it is very probable, that the Crown of *England* will never agree to any other Treaty, except the Restitution of the Balance, as above-mentioned, be the preliminary Con-

'Conditions, &c.' It is sometimes very dangerous for Authors to pretend to tell what Princes and States will do, their Interest changing with Events. But here this Writer is not out in his Foresight, for, by the late Treaty, the Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain* are so effectually divided, that the House of *Bourbon* is not to be the better for the Acquisition of such Part of the *Spanish* Monarchy, as has been yielded to a Branch of it. But, not to enter into that Debate, *France*, as we find by woeful Experience, is of herself more than a Match for the Emperor and Empire, which now lies so much at his Mercy; and where shall we find the Balance so necessary for the Liberty of *Europe*, when it ceases to be in the House of *Austria*? If there must be a Power to counter-balance that of *France*, it can be no where else, but in that Imperial House, for three Reasons:

The First is, That to counter-balance the Power of *France* an Hereditary and Monarchical Power is necessary, that it may be always in a Condition to act, because, as all the World have seen, it is easy for *France* to embroil Republicks, Elective Dominions, or any other where the Royal Authority is more limited.

The Second is, That the same Power ought to extend to all the Places where *France* can attack her, and to have an essential Interest every where to expose the Growth of her Power.

The Third is, That this Faculty to act, and the Power, which directs it, require a temperate Government, mixed with Uprightness and Honesty, to ascertain by that Means the Peace and Confidence of its Neighbours.

Now those Conditions are not to be found altogether any where else but in the House of *Austria*, and with this Advantage more, that she can never give any Umbrage to her Neighbours, both because of the known Constitution of her Government, and because, being exposed to many Attacks, her Dominions being so dispersed, she is not able to maintain herself, but by the Assistance of others, and especially that

of the Maritime Powers. Without this Balance well established, it is a mere Illusion that the United Provinces, as *France* has more than once insinuated, can always be the most firm Bulwark of the Liberty and Independency of the Sovereigns of Christendom; even tho' we suppose them in a constant Alliance with *England*; but who can promise that such an Alliance and good Understanding will always last? For, as the abovementioned Author expresses himself, if *France* engaged them in War together*, and to weaken one another, when they should have maintained the Balance between her and the House of *Austria*; How many Ways may she find to divide them, if once the Peace were concluded? Nay, suppose a good Union should be preserved, is it likely that the Balance should be maintained by them? We know well enough, that according to the Constitution of their Government, they can neither continue standing Armies, nor flatter themselves always to prevail with their People to undertake a War†, when *France* thinks fit to renew one. Which is very right, and our Neighbours know as much of us, as we do of ourselves. If, as it has been proved, the Balance of Power can only be maintained by preserving an Equality, between the Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*, Where, for God's Sake is that Equality now? Throwing the *Spanish* Monarchy out of the Scales, and allowing that King *Philip* is no more to be looked upon as a *Frenchman*, but as a *Castilian*, which I will always allow, was it for no other Reason but that the late general Peace makes him so‡.

That it is a General one, I do not dispute, there being a Difference between General and Universal, as was made appear, in a Speech in the last Parliament. But it is certain, that the Emperor is at War, that the Empire is invaded by the most powerful Army it ever saw; that one of her chief Bulwarks has been ravished from her; that her Lines of Defence are demolished; and that she is threatened to be a Prey to a cruel and insolent Invader. This is certain, and that instead of being the better, for the grand Alliance, she is exposed to the Revenge of the once common Enemy, for all the Losses, Routs, and Disgraces he met with from

* In the Reign of King *Charles the Second*.

† Which has been the Case for many Years past; while *France* has been striving, with all its Power and Policy, to destroy the House of *Austria*.

‡ But their present Union against *England* and the House of *Austria* proves the contrary.

the united Allies. What, says the Author of the Fable, of the *Lion's Share*: 'If the French scatter their Treasures in all the Courts of Europe; if they amuse one Part, and draw the other into their Interest; if they imbroil People on all Sides, only for the Sake of Imbroiling; if they maintain great Armies, which exhaust their Country: In a Word, if they move Heaven and Hell, to make as many Enemies to the Emperor as they can, and to seduce his Allies, no Man ought to wonder: For this is a Master-game; and, if they succeed, they will be reimbursed with Interest, and become absolute Arbitrators of Europe. The greatest Business of France is to triumph over her Rival, which cannot fail, if she be permitted to tear up the Foundations of her Power, by dismembering the Dominions of the Spanish Monarchy; for, so soon as the House of Austria shall cease to be the Balance of her Power, no other Bank will be able to put a Stop to her Rapidity and Violence.' These are the Sentiments of all Europe, that only the Empire *, supported by her Confederates, can prevent the common Slavery; for when her Liberty is lost, what Nation will dare boast of Independency? What Sovereign dare assert the Rights of his Crown? There will never be wanting Pretences to quarrel, when Success has animated those dispirited Armies, that instead of skulking behind Lines and Trenches, are now defying the Conqueror. What shall I say of Pretences, are there not Thousands living in Holland, that saw her Cities in Flames, and her Citizens massacred, for the ill Satisfaction of France, as may be seen in her Manifesto of 1672? Has it not been given for a Reason of War, that such or such Territories lay convenient; and were not the Swedes themselves once told, that she did not think fit to stand to a Treaty, she had made with them? As for us, while the Pretender to the Crown of our rightful Sovereign lives, never will she want Pretences, whatever Want we may be in of Alliances. When I reflect on her Majesty's wonderful Moderation in giving Peace to an Enemy her Arms had reduced to the Necessity of imploring her Mercy, notwithstanding the presumptuous Attempt of sending her Competitor † to insult her Dominions; when I consider that

nothing but that Moderation, so worthy all her Majesty's other Royal Virtues, could, I will not say, have given Spain to a Prince of the Bourbon Race, but have preserved France herself; How can one, without a Sort of Indignation, hear her demanding of Genoa, how she dares buy Final, and of Holland, how she dares keep Traerback? All which, however, is little in Comparison to the Devastation her Arms have committed in a Country, where, a few Years since, the British Name was in such Esteem and Glory. It is not for us, who, by two happy Treaties of Peace and Commerce, have disarmed ourselves, and thrown off the Burthen of an expensive, though a victorious War, to take Arms again, when any of our Neighbours may desire us. Peace is too valuable a Blessing to be abandoned, on the first Alarm that is given us. But whether it is for us, by all other Offices, to endeavour to save that Country, which we once saved by the Sword, is a Subject for the Consideration of others; and that our Offices, when they are employed in Earnest, will be effectual, one may be assured, by the great Deference his most Christian Majesty owes to our Sovereign's Councils, or by the Power she still has, to oblige him to it. When the Armies of France have possessed themselves of Friburgh, and got Footing on the other Side of the Rhine; when they no longer subsist at her own Expence, but are maintained by their Pillages and Contributions in Germany, what can we expect will be the Issue of another Campaign? What the Defence of a divided, plundered, and an impoverished Empire? It will be as easy for the French to give her a new Master ‡ as to threaten it; and who then will be able to set Bounds to their Ambition, or avoid Subjection to an Universal Monarchy? We are often put in Mind of the Danger Europe was in, of having one Master in the Reign of Charles the Fifth, who was King of Spain, and Emperor of Germany. But considering how powerful the Princes of Germany then were, what separate Interests they had, and how disjointed were that Prince's Dominions; what was that Danger to the Hazard Europe must be in, when the vast Empire of Spain and the Indies, the mighty Kingdom of France, are in one House, and Germany depending on it like a

* Or rather the Emperor, who was then Charles the Sixth, and Head of the House of Austria.

† The Pretender.
Force of Arms.

‡ As they have done in the Election of the Duke of Bavaria to the Empire by

Province, as it must do, whenever the House of *Austria* loses that Power, which alone can preserve the Independency of all other Powers in *Christendom*?

I am far from founding a Charge, or weakening the strong Ties of the late *Peace*; I know not either what will, or what should be done, I only see what is done, and make those Reflexions that are naturally born of the Subject. It is for other Heads, than mine, to deliberate effectually of these Matters, so as to prevent the mischievous Consequences by proper Methods. However, this I may say without Vanity, and this every Man may without Presumption pretend to: That I know, if the *Swabians*, *Franconians*, and *Austrians* are depressed, the *Saxons*, *Prussians*, and *Hanoverians* will quickly have the same Fate; *Germany* will have but one Master; that Master be intirely *French*, and what will follow then, one may venture to foresee without much Penetration. One may perceive how exactly the *Faction*, that ever was in the *French Interest* in England, correspond in their Affections with their good Friends of *France*. In the *Past-Boy* of the Twenty-ninth of *September*, are we entertained with this hopeful Prospect of Affairs from all Quarters.

From *Madrid* we are told, 'That the Duke *de Popoli* had ordered a Detachment to *Torrellas*, to mortify the Inhabitants for harbouring the *Miquelets*.'

From *Warsaw*, 'That the *Poles* had received the disagreeable News, that Forty-thousand *Turks*, and a good Number of *Tartars*, were arrived at *Cbocksin*, with One-hundred and forty Pieces of Cannon; the *Tartars*, having founded the *Dienster*, have found three Places fordable in it, so that it was feared they would yet lay Siege to *Caminiec* this Harvest.'

From *Rotweil*, 'That the *French* advance a-pace towards *Hornberg* and *St. George*, to which last Place their Army is extended; some say that the Elector of *Bavaria* is with them.'

From *Straßburgh*, 'That the Marshal *de Villars* had forced the Enemies Lines near *Friburgh*; and killed and taken above One-Thousand *Germans*; that the Marshal *de Bezons* had passed the *Rhine* with Twenty-five Thousand Men near *Fort Lewis*, and was marching towards *Offenburgh*, to join the Troops that are passed near that Place; that

Friburgh was invested, and Abundance of Ammunition carrying to the Army from our Magazines.'

From *Schafhausen*, 'That the *Germans* have been much alarmed for some Days past by the *French* passing the *Rhine*, and advancing towards *Friburg*, in Order to besiege that Place; that a great many Men from those Parts, fled thither with their Effects, and that it was the general Opinion that the *French* had a Design also against *Villengen*.'

From *Frankfort*, 'That, in all Probability, the *French* design to besiege *Friburgh*, to attack the *Germans* middle Line and *Villengen*, at the same Time, and afterwards to make an Irruption into *Swabia*, in Order to take Winter Quarters there.' This News-monger adds, 'We have not yet the Particulars of the Loss of the *Germans*, and, perhaps, never shall.'

Is not this one of the most happy Postures of Affairs, that the Enemies of our Constitution have been blessed with since the Campaign of the *Dauphin*, when the Palatinate was turned into a Heap of Ruins, and a Sea of Blood? On one Hand, the *Turks* are invading *Poland*, on another the *French* wintering in *Swabia*, while the *Spaniards* are chastising the Rebels of *Catalonia*. What Joy does it give this Wretch, and his Abettors? You see I have not put my Invention to the Rack, the Fact is before you; and you will easily know what Judgment to make of those Men, who, out of Complacency to a new Friend, so merrily give up an old one to Destruction.

I am apt to think that it is for an old Grudge against the *Germans*, that these Men rejoice so at their present Disasters. It is well known the *German Princes* were in the Secret of the Prince of *Orange's* Expedition to relieve us; that the Emperor *Leopold* not only refused to assist King *James*, when he was in *France*, but told him plainly, that he deserved no Assistance from him, or any other Prince in *Christendom*, in a Letter * he wrote him of the Ninth of *April*, 1689, which that King's Friends, and the Friends to *France*, could never forgive either in him, or his Posterity. His Imperial Majesty upbraids King *James* with his Harkening to *French* Councils, with suffering the Infractions of the Treaty of *Nimeguen* of which he was Guarantee, and many other such Offences, which are too hard for the Ears of those,

* See a Copy of this Letter on Page 18 of this Collection.

who look upon King *James* and King *Lewis*, as the only given of God. I shall give the Reader a Passage or two of that Letter, that we may see what an Enemy the *Germans* have all along had to do with. His Imperial Majesty having represented to King *James*, how his Ambassador Count *Caunitz* had often shewn him what would be the ill Effects of his Affection to *France*, and the like, proceeds thus: *We also caused it to be laid before you, that our Religion has not suffered more by any one, than by the French themselves, because they not only think it lawful for them to join their treacherous Arms with the sworn Enemies of the Holy Cross, to the intire Ruin of us, and the whole Christian World; to destroy the Designs we had formed for the Glory of God, and to hinder the Progress it pleased his Almighty Arms to bless us with, but also to add, in the Empire itself, Perjury to Perjury, and Perfidy to Perfidy; to exhaust, by unheard-of Exactions, the Cities that surrendered to them by Composition against Articles agreed to, and signed by the Dauphin; after which, they have ruined, rased, and burnt the Palaces of Princes, that had all along been spared in the most bloody Wars; plundered Churches, carried into Slavery, after the Fashion of Barbarians, those that voluntarily yielded to them; and acted as out of Wantonness, even in Catholick Countries, other dreadful Examples of Cruelty and Inhumanity, which surpass even the Tyranny of the Turks.* Such are the Emperor's Expressions as faithful as I could translate them; such the Enemies that, as the *Post-Boy* promises his Friends, are to have their Winter-Quarters in the Heart of *Germany*; such and perhaps worse may be the Terrors they will spread, and the Destruction they will make, with the Hopes of which the *Faction*, he flatters, are so delighted. And to what Purpose, may the Readers say, is your Putting us in Mind of all this Misery? Can we prevent it? We are as well informed of the Necessity of Saving the Empire from the Domination of *France*. Tell us which Way, is it to be done, but by the Emperor's Accepting of the Terms the *French* will condescend to grant him; that is, the leaving *Strasburgh* in their Custody, and *Germany* exposed to the continual Insults of her irreconcilable Enemy. I do not believe there is a Man in *England*, that, ask him coolly, What he thinks would become of us, were the *Germans* subdued by the *French*? could answer the Question, without Trembling. But then the Well-wishers to our Constitution, and to Peace, put that Time afar

off, and flatter themselves some lucky or unlucky Hit, on this Side, or that, may interfere and save the Empire. Alas! Does her Safety depend on her Luck? Has she been warring above twenty Years, and won so many Victories, to have her Liberty depend on her Fortune? Or indeed is it in Fortune's Power to do that for her alone, which was with so much Difficulty and Danger done for her by her Confederates?

The Clemency of our Sovereign gave Peace to *France*; and there is no Doubt but her Generosity can again give a Deliverance to *Germany*. *France* is not already in so flourishing a Condition, that she dares be ungrateful to a Prince, who has so sensibly obliged her; and her Majesty's Interposition cannot but be effectual, when her Royal Wisdom thinks fit. In the mean While, it is with the utmost Abhorrence that one see *Britons* espousing the Quarrel of the *French*, and abandoning a Barrier to them, which is in some Measure their own: For there is not one of the Allies, whose Interest it is not to maintain the present Settlements in *Great-Britain*, and consequently, the stronger any one of them is, the stronger are we; and, the weaker, the more does it add to our Weakness.

Since the foregoing Pages were written, we hear that the Marshals *de Villars* and *de Bezons* are passed the *Rhine* with One-hundred and Sixty-thousand Men, and have at once laid Siege to *Friburgh* and *Villengen*, which they doubt not to be Masters of, in a few Days; that they raise Contributions for thirty Miles about, and, coming after a plentiful Harvest into *Germany*, have such Abundance of Provisions, in their Camp, that, if their Armies were in the most fruitful Province of *France*, they could not fare better; that those two Conquests will open them a Way to *Ulm*, a Town consisting of Timber Buildings, which two or three Bombs will reduce either to Ashes or Obedience; that Prince *Eugene* is forced to give Way to this superior Power, and is not strong enough to hinder the *French* from advancing to *Bavaria*; and that the Court of *France* are so far from thinking of Peace, that they have resolved to raise Fifty-thousand Men more this Winter, so that, by the next Campaign, they may have, with the Forces that are to take up their Quarters in *Germany*, with the Army that may join them from *Catalonia* and *Roussillon*, and with the Reinforcement of their new Levies,

Two-hundred Thousand Men on the Frontiers of *Bavaria* to take Possession of *Vienna*, the Capital of the Empire, to keep it themselves, or to give it to whom they please. Nor are these Views visionary, if nothing is done on this Side in Favour of the Emperor. I would ask the most sanguine Friend to the House of *Austria*, What can stop the *French* in their Career? What Town take them a Month's Time to conquer? And what Power deliver the *Germans* from a *French* Yoke?

After which, the *Pretender* will have no Need to turn Protestant, he may keep his Religion; and his Chaplain *Lesley* may change his too; we may not stand upon Niceties. If *Dunkirk* should happen not to be entirely demolished, who shall demand its Demolition? If King *Philip* has a Mind to *Port-Mahon* and *Gibraltar*, who shall detain them? If *Portugal* has a Word to say for herself, will she not be told of the Usurpation of the House of *Braganza*? If *Holland* should pretend to meddle with other Folks Matters, she will be remembered of the Prince of *Orange's* Rebellion; and that the seven Provinces themselves are Part of the Succession of *Burgundy*. We know what is the Moderation of *France*, when she is at Liberty to act as she pleases; and when we have no Friend to help us Abroad; and what Friend can we have when the Empire is in Chains? What will it avail us to have Treaties of Peace and

Commerce? To have acquired so much Glory, in the late War; to have many good Laws to secure our Religion and Liberties? What will it avail the *Dutch* to have so extended a Barrier, to have Garrisons in so many strong Towns?

It is in the Memory of many of them, that, in the Campaign of 1667, the *French* King over-ran *Flanders*, and, in two or three Months, took as many, and as strong Towns, as have been yielded to them by their last Treaty; yet the *French* were so far from being Masters of *Germany*, that they were not in Possession of *Alsace*: *Strasburgh* was between them and the Empire, and the *Germans* could, at any Time, come to the Relief of *Flanders*, then under the Dominion of the House of *Austria*. If it be objected that we should not fright ourselves with these Fears, that they are remote, and that the *French* do not intend to conquer *Germany*, but only to oblige the Emperor to come into the Peace: All that I must say is, that it does not seem to be prudent and politic, to rely wholly on the good Disposition of a Nation, whom we have been beating for ten Years together; which certainly must put them out of Humour with us, and we may depend upon it, we shall pay for it, whenever they can make us; and they will never be able to make us, as long as there is any Power in *Europe* besides us, of which they stand in Fear.

The Character of a disbanded Courtier.

Ingenium Galbæ male habitat.

[From a *Folio* Edition, Printed at *London*, Anno Dom. 1681.]

HE was born with an aspiring Mind, by much too high flown, for his Quality and his Estate. His Dexterity, in doing Ill, made him thought capable of performing admirably well, if ever he came to be employed and entrusted. He was preferred, for Ability, to high Degrees of Honour and Office, admitted into the Cabinet Councils, made acquainted

with all the secret Wheels (and could tell how many Cogs there were in each Wheel) upon which the great Engine of State was turned, and kept in Motion: By the Favour of his Prince, he acquired sufficient Riches to support the Splendor of a new-raised Family.

His Glory was so eminently conspicuous, that there were but few Persons below the Crown seemed above him: And nothing was wanting

to render his Felicity as lasting as Nature intended his Life, but a Heart that knew how to be grateful to a most *munificent Benefactor*. He thought all the Favours and Honours he enjoyed were less than the Reward of his Merit: That Thought puffed him with Pride; such a Sort of Pride, as is commonly attended with an irrecoverable Fall, (which was his Fortune:) And, at his Fall (like that of his Predecessor) might very well have been proclaimed: *Woe to you, the Inhabitants of the Earth, for the Devil is come down among you.*

Open Revenge against his Sovereign, being too dangerous to attempt, he presently resolves upon secret: He exposes all the Weaknesses and Infirmities of the Court (from which no Court is free) and where he can find no real Faults, he feigns imaginary ones, and passes them off for current. By this new and false Optick, he represents every Mole-hill of Mistake, in the publick Administration, for a Mountain as tall as *Teneriff*, and as dangerous as the Top of *Ætna*. Nay, he multiplies and magnifies the very Mis-carriages, which were the Effect of his own evil Counsel. He amuses the freest Nation in the *Universe* with wild Rumours, and extravagant Apprehensions of *Slavery*; under the Government of a *Prince*, who, in Acts of Favour, Mercy, and Clemency, has exceeded all his *Predecessors*. He fills the Heads of the People full with whimsical Fears of fantastick Devils (*Chimera's* which only his Malice had raised) on Purpose to frighten them out of their Loyalty and their Wits, and prepare and ripen them for *Bedlam*, or for Rebellion. He makes the Pretences of * *Liberty*, the Stirrup to get up, and † *Religion* the Steed he rides, in Pursuit of his monstrous Designs. With these Pretences he cheats the Innocent; and promising to open their Eyes, serves them, as the apostate Angel did our Parents in *Paradise*, only blows into them the Dust of Disobedience, and robs them of those Jewels he pretends to bestow,

viz. *Liberty* and *Religion*; which are both so much talked of, and both so little understood.

Being a Gentleman of little or no *Religion* himself, he seems, for all that, to espouse every Division and Subdivision of it; every Faction and Person, who are bold enough to stand stiff in Opposition against the well settled Government. What avails it, that he is, in his own Nature, a frugal Man? He keeps open House for Entertainment of all *State Male-Contents*; without Consideration either of Qualities or Qualifications. And what is he the better for being temperate himself, so long as he accompanies and carouses, and contracts Intimacy and Amity, with the lewdest Debauchees, that he thinks will help to forward his private Intrigues? He becomes all Things to all Men, in the very worst of Senses; perverting the Design of *St. Paul*, that he may, at least, delude some, to be as bad as himself.

Having lost his Honour with his Prince, and Reputation with the best of Men, he cringes, and creeps, and sneaks, to the lowest and basest of the People, to procure himself, among them, an empty, vain-glorious, and undeserved Name, the *Patriot* of his Country.

And, lastly, hoping to be made the *Little Head of the Great Rabble*, he persuades them to believe, that they are all betrayed: Encourages them to strike Home against the Enemies of King and Kingdom (pointing at the faithfullest and most affectionate Servants to both) well knowing that the *mighty Fabrick* can never be shaken, till its main Pillars and Supporters be, by Cunning and sly Stratagem, either destroyed, or undermined.

By this, may appear the Weakness of that modern Piece of State Policy ‡, *Oblige your Enemies, your Friends you are sure of already*: And the transcendent Wisdom of *Solomon's* Advice: *Let thy own Friend, and thy Father's Friend, never be forsaken.*

* *Liberty* is not a Freedom for every Man to do what he pleases; an Exemption from just Laws: These Laws were made for the Punishment of Transgressors; and are the true Liberty of every honest Man. The Destroying of which Laws is throwing down the Fence, whereby virtuous and good Men are secured and protected.

† *Religion* does not consist in the stubborn Adhering to this or that Party, or in Crying up one Faction as infallible, and Censuring all others as damnable: But in doing Justice, and loving Mercy, and walking humbly with God (says *Micah* the Prophet). And is first pure, and then peaceable, says *St. James* the Apostle.

‡ Of King *Charles the Second*.

A Letter from his Holiness the Pope of *Rome*, to his Highness the Prince of *Orange*: Containing several Proposals, and Overtures of Agreement, betwixt the Church of *England*, and the Church of *Rome*. Translated out of *Latin*, for the Benefit of all true *Protestants*.

[From a *Quarto* Edition, Reprinted at *Edinburgh*, Anno 1689.]

The Resentment of the People of this Nation, who, a little before, had like to become a Prey to Popery and Arbitrary Power, never appeared greater against France and Rome, than at the Time, when the Prince of Orange, being settled on the Throne of these Kingdoms, delivered them from all Fear of their Tyranny and Superstition: Then every true Protestant strove to signify his Abhorrence of the Dangers, from which both their Church and State were so lately and wonderfully extricated: So that the Press was never more employed, than now, with learned, ingenious, and satyrical Pamphlets, amongst which, the following well deserves to be recorded to Posterity. For, tho' it must be allowed to be no more than a pretended Letter from the Pope to King William, yet the Matter it contains is real, the Subject is serious, and the Consequences of the highest Importance; and therefore can never be unseasonable, especially at a Time, when, in Defiance of Treaties, Religion, and the Laws of our Land, we are threatened with an Invasion from a Popish Power; because it briefly sums up both the Tyranny and Superstition of Popery.

If any Thing herein be thought any ways partial; I have this to advance in my own Favour, that I only collect what I believe to be genuine; that I have examined the Historical Facts here mentioned, and find them in good and approved Authors; that I will never publish any Thing through Partiality; that every Religion, Party, Condition, and State of Men must expect the Invektives of their Adversaries, in the Course of this Collection: And therefore, that the Pamphlets or Tracts, here published, are by me looked upon, as the best of their Kind; and, I hope, will be generously accepted by the Reader, only as the Collection, and not as the Composition of the Editor.

Great Prince,

Although the Semicircle of your Highness be (at present) elevated above the full Orb of my Holiness, I conjure you by Bell, Book, and Candle, seriously to consider your Proceedings against me, and my Catholick Church; which (as a Lilly among Thorns) I

lately * planted in *England* and *Scotland*; and you (to the great Grief of all the Members of my sacred Conclave, and zealous Favourites of my spiritual Court) have almost rooted up. Call to Mind, and tremble at my great Power, Prudence, and Supremacy; and that I am God upon Earth, seventy-seven Times greater than the greatest Emperor in the World. Remember

* By his Nuncio, in King James the Second's Reign.

what I have done to mighty Monarchs, Kings, and puissant Princes, whose Glory and high Looks I have laid in the Dust, till they have willingly submitted their stubborn Necks to my iron Yoke, and humbly bowed their Heads to salute my holy Feet. Did not my Predecessor Pope *Gregory the Seventh* (who poisoned nine Popes in thirteen Years Space, to make Way for himself to the Popedom) for Want of due Worship and Honour, excommunicate and depose the Emperor *Henry*, both from his Crown and Empire; discharge all his Subjects of their Allegiance, and give his Crown to *Rodolphus* Duke of *Svevia*, till he, with his Empress, and young Son, cloathed in Sack-cloath, came barefoot, in the Cold of Winter, and begged Pardon three Days, without Access, at his sumptuous Gates? Did not Pope *Paschal the Second* stir up *Henry the Fifth*, to rebel against his old Father the Emperor? Who by the Assistance of his *Holiness* beat him from his Empire; so that he lived and died miserable, and lay five Years above Ground, without burying, at the Pope's Command. Did not Pope *Alexander the Third* put his Foot upon the Emperor *Frederick's* Neck, and tread upon him as he had been a Dog? Did not Pope *Celestine the Third* crown the Emperor *Henry the Sixth*, and his Empress *Constantina*, with his Feet; and (throwing off the Crowns with his Toe) say, *I have Power to make and unmake Kings and Emperors*? Did not *Adrian the Fourth* fall out with the Emperor *Frederick*, for holding his wrong Stirrup, and would not crown him for three Days, till he begged his *Holiness* Pardon? Did not *Clement the Fifth* cause his Hangman to take *Francis Dandalus*, a *Venetian* Duke, bind him with Chains, and throw him under his Table, to gnaw Bones with his Dogs? Did not *Innocent the Fourth* call *Henry the Third*, King of *England*, his Vassal, Slave, and Page; whom (at Pleasure) he might imprison, and put to open Shame? Did not Pope *Benedict the Ninth* send to *France* the two Sons of *Charlemain*, with their Mother *Birtha*, the Widow Queen? Who humbly brought them to his *Holiness* to be crowned; where (with the poor King of *Lombardy*, and his Wife and Children) they were kept in Prison, till the Day of their Death; for disobliging their Uncle, the Emperor *Charles*, the Pope's special Friend, and great Favourite. The Cries of poor Widows and Orphans, I value no more than the Cackling of Hens. Blood and Wounds are my daily

Delight. Murthers, Battles, Treasons, Conspiracies, and the Turning of Kingdoms upside down, are to me but ordinary Recreations, and *May Games*. With my Tail or *Cynosure*, I drew the Stars of Heaven backwards, and threw them to the Earth. I bewitch the World with Signs and lying Wonders, and persuade People out of their Senses; to believe that I can make, worship, and eat, an immortal Deity, of ordinary Bread? How many Princes have I poisoned in my Sacrament; which my Emissaries have transubstantiated into a Devil, rather than a God? How many Kingdoms have I ruined? How many Commonwealths have I overturned? How many Cities have I rased? And how many Millions of *Christians* have I sacrificed to my vindictive Power and Greatness? And dare you cope with me? Remember what I did to *John* King of *England*, whom my Holy Monk *Stephen* poisoned in *Lincolnshire*. Come then to me in a humble Manner, as to God's Deputy, *Christ's Vicar*, and *St. Peter's Successor*, and restore all my Church Lands, which my Ancestors have (for several Generations) purloined from Kings and Princes, for the sanctified Use of the Holy Chair; and swear Fealty to me, as to your *Supreme Head*, and *Holy Father*; and I will be reconciled to you and all *Englishmen*. Yea (though *Peter*, King of *Arragon*, willingly bought his Salvation from *Pope Innocent the Third*, at the Rate of his Crown and Kingdom) I will freely pardon you all your Sins, past, present, and to come. And for your unruly Rabble (that indigested Lump of Ignorance and Precipitancy) I will have Compassion on them, and send them as many old useless *Merits*, and *Works of Supererogation*, as would loaden a *Spanish Armado*; which will send them (in a perpendicular Line) to Heaven, without touching at *Purgatory*. And (to ingratiate myself further in the Kingdom of *England's* Favour) I will licentiate your Ladies of Pleasure in *London*, and all Females in general there, to whore, pick Pockets, for a *Julio*, or *Six-pence* a Week; which is no more than my own Order of *Harlots* pay at *Rome*, and all *Italy* over. And to all Men within the Walls of *London*, and *Westminster*, I will freely give Liberty to be as intimate with their Neighbours Wives, as ever Pope *Hildebrand* was with *Matilda*, the Marquis of *East's* Lady: Or Pope *Alexander the Sixth* was with his own Daughter *Lucretia*. And, in one Word, I will let the Inhabitants of the whole Isle of *Britain* fulfil their Hearts Desire, in all Kind of Villainies and

Abomi-

Abominations, without tinning. For, as *Bel-larmine* tells you, I can make that which is Sin, no Sin; and that which is no Sin, Sin. But if you will not submit yourself, nor humble your *Highbness* to my *Holiness*; then will I cloath myself with Cursing, and take the Thunderbolt of Excommunication in my Mouth; with the Sword of *Supremacy*, I will cut asunder the Cords of Unity, and with the Breath of my Mouth will I dissipate the Peace of all Nations. I will incense my *rebellious First-born*, his *most Christian Majesty* of *France*, to invade your Territories, burn your Cities, put your Males to the Edge of the Sword, and rip up your Women with Child, without Pity or Compassion; as he lately served your *Tribe* * in his own Kingdom: And, as I † once served the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*. I will privately contrive your Overthrow, by my desperate *Jesuits*, *Monks*, and *Friars*; whom I will, after Death, canonise, for Murder, Mischief, and Conspiracy ‡. I will found an Order of *Irish Cut-Throats* (Men mighty for Mischief) who will divide the Windpipes of all Protestants, and subtract Breath from their whole Bodies. They shall dig as deep as *Purgatory*, for the Contrivance of a new *Gun-powder* Treason; and make a Covenant with Hell, for your Destruction. And (if I can bring my Projects to a Period) I will hold a spiritual Court in *Smithfield*, and decide all Controversies with Fire and Faggot; till I level the Nation with the Dust, and make the Isle of *Great-Britain* acknowledge me for their Superior. Finally, I cannot but resent your Deportment towards my *Niece*, your glorious Queen, who left *England* without bidding Farewel to her Favou-

rites; only taking along with her the Prince of *Wales*, whom you term *her supposed Son*. But it is an *Hyperbole*, beyond the Conception of Humanity, that a *King*, pretending to so much Reason, Religion, and Piety, should praise (or rather mock) God for a Child, whilst his Queen had only conceived a Pillow, and was brought to Bed of a Cushion, to cheat his Subjects of their ancient and royal Line, and his own Posterity of their Crowns and Kingdoms. This was the old Contrivance of another *Mary-Queen*; but *Philip* was more a Man than to own the Brat of Sophistry, and father the Impudence of so villainous a Fact. But let the Production be what it will, real, or imaginary, my Singing of *Te Deum*, in *St. Mary's Church* at *Rome*, is enough both to naturalise and legitimate it lawful Prince of *Wales*, and apparent Heir to the Crown of three Kingdoms. I have sent you this Letter by *Guido Faux*, the Younger; whose Brains are big of a *Gun-powder Plot*; therefore (as you love your Life and Well-being) honour him, with all and as much Respects as it were *I myself*. Father *Peter* saluteth you with my whole *Consistory* of *Cardinals*, and *Clergymen* of my sacred *Conclave*. I desire to be remembered to *Titus Oats*, and *Samuel Johnson*. If the Tide turn, I will talk with them, and reward them, according to their Fidelity. Thus, expecting a speedy Answer, before I proceed any further in my great Designs, I continue

Written from my
Court at Rome,
Prid. Calend.
Jan. 1689.

Your hurtful

INNOCENT ‖.

* The Protestants of the Principality of *Orange*.
Garnet, and other Jesuits and Priests, that have been executed for Treason.
† The Pope.
‡ Alluding to Father
‖ The Name of the
Pope at that Time.

The Church of England's Answer to the preceding Letter.

Grand Impostor,
W Hether you, with your Clergy, be possessed with the Spirit of Error and Delusion, and cast in a Bed of Sensuality, to wallow in your own Filthiness, with your Eyes darkened, and your Ears deafened, we know not; but certainly there must be a great Mystery in your Obstinacy: For you shut your Senses (which are the Gates of your Understanding) against the clearest Evidences of Truth,

Scripture, and Reason. Our learned Divines have, these several Years, confuted your Opinions of ridiculous Nonsense, by sound Arguments, and undeniable Demonstrations; till (being wearied with your Contradictions) Grooms, Pages, and Porters began to discover your Nakedness, in your Ignorance and Superstition; and by writing against you, to convince you of your Fooleries, Fopperies, and chimerical Fancies. Yet, for all this, are you not ashamed

shamed of your Abominations and Filthiness. Thus (since you shut your Ears against the Word of manifest Truth, and the *Kingdom of Heaven*, against the whole World, denying the Principles of sure and unquestionable Faith) we desire none of your Converse; for there can be no Fellowship betwixt Light and Darkness, nor between *God* and *Belial*; for they, that are wilfully filthy, will be filthy still; neither can we send you any Answer fitter than that the *Grecian Church* sent to Pope *John the Twenty-third*, when he wrote to them to bow and submit to him as to their *terrestrial God* and *infallible Supreme*: *We do assuredly* (said they) *acknowledge your high Power over your Subjects, but we cannot abide your high Pride, we cannot quench your greedy Covetousness: The Devil is with you, but God is with us.* Thus (with the Eastern Churches) we must leave you, and let you alone: Yet, with the Prophet will we wail over you, and cry out, *We would have*

healed Babylon, but she is not healed. Remember what the Lord saith, *Isaiah l. 11. Behold all ye that kindle a Fire, that compass yourselves about with Sparks: Walk in the Light of your Fire, and in the Sparks that ye have kindled. This shall ye have of mine Hand, ye shall lie down in Sorrow.* Thus not fearing your Power, Curses, nor Thunder-bolts of Excommunication, nor all the Train of your infernal Court, (whilst God is with us) we continue still stedfast in that Faith, whereof *Christ Jesus* is both the Foundation and chief Corner-stone; who is able to preserve and present us spotless before the Throne of his Grace, with exceeding great Joy. To whom, with the *Father* and *Holy Ghost*, be ascribed Glory, Honour, and Praise; with Dominion, Majesty, and Power; World without End, *Amen.*

London, Jan. 6th, 1689.

The Case of clandestine Marriages stated; wherein are shewn the Causes from whence this Corruption ariseth, and the true Methods whereby it may be remedied. In a Letter to a Person of Honour.

[From a Quarto Edition, printed at *London*, in the Year 1691.]

BY the sixty-second Canon of King *James the First*, as well as by the Constitutions of *John Stratford*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Reign of King *Edward the Third*, it is ordained, That no Persons shall be married, but in the *Parishes* where one of the Parties dwells. And in the hundred and second Canon, it is further provided, That when a License is granted, the Person, that grants it, shall take good Caution and Security: As for other Things in the Canon mentioned, so lastly for this, That they shall celebrate the Marriage publicly, in the *Parish-Church*, or *Chapel*, where one of them dwelleth, and in no other Place; and that between the Hours of Eight and Twelve in the Morning.

Most clandestine Marriages that have happened, have proceeded from the Breach of these

Canons: For, were they punctually observed, and all Marriages solemnised only in the *Parish-Church*, or *Chapel*, where one of the Parties dwells, and no where else, no clandestine Design, this Way, could be carried so closely, but that the Friends must know of it: At least, a Stop must be put thereto, when it comes to the Minister. For, when a Minister celebrates a Marriage that is clandestine, he doth it either out of Ignorance, or ill Design. As to the Ignorance of the Minister, in this Particular (and many clandestine Marriages proceed only from their being imposed on this Way) the Method, prescribed by the Canon, must be a very effectual Way; because, when all are married in their own *Parishes*, the Ministers cannot be supposed to be ignorant, whether they have Consent of Friends, or no, (unless, perchance, in some of the larger *Parishes* in *London*, where

other Care may be taken, by requiring the Friends of both Parties to be actually present) and, therefore, though a License should be fraudulently obtained, yet, if directed to him, it can be of no Effect; because all Licenses go with a *Proviso* of Nullity, in Case of Fraud; and, therefore, to him that knows the Fraud (as it is scarce possible but every Minister must in his own Parish) it can be no License at all, but he will be as much liable to the Penalty of the Law, if he marries with a License in this Case, as if he had no License at all. And as to a Minister's being Party to the ill Design of a clandestine Marriage, you shall scarce ever find this to happen, when People are married by their own Minister. For, the Penalty being Suspension *per Triennium*, none that have Benefices which are worth any Thing, and are sensible of the Fraud (as all Ministers must be in the Parishes where they live) will expose themselves to be deprived of them so long, for the Sake of a Marriage-Fee. But, most an End, they are not Ministers of Parishes, but indigent Curates, or unpreferred Chaplains, that willfully engage themselves in this Matter; who, having nothing to lose, on this Account, are out of the Reach of the Penalty; and, therefore, if there are but one or two such in a County, usually the whole Trade of clandestine Marriages goes to them; and, therefore, the best Way to prevent such Marriages, will be, to confine all, according to the Canon, to be married at Home in their own Parishes, by the Minister of the Place that hath an Interest there, wherein to suffer, if he doth amiss: Because, if this be done, the Minister can neither be imposed on by a fraudulent License, where the Persons are so well known unto him (as those of his own Parish must be) nor will he dare to marry without one. It may, I confess, be possible, that a Minister, to gratify some Gentleman of his Parish, who, he thinks, is able to protect him from the Penalty, or else make him Amends for what he suffers by it, may be prevailed with to celebrate a clandestine Marriage for his Sake, and thereby put an Obligation upon him, and all his Family and Friends, on Account of the Advantage usually gotten to the Man by such stolen Matches. But, in the Parish where the Woman lives, it will be quite otherwise: For, it being, for the most Part, the Man that steals the Woman, and not the Woman the Man, there, instead of obliging, he will injure, and that in so high a Degree, that

the Family which suffers, with all their Friends and Relations (who, perchance, may make the major Part of the Parish) will be sure to fall upon him with their utmost Resentments; and, in this Case, a Minister will have but little Comfort of his Life among them afterwards, though he should escape the Penalty of the Law; and scarce any being so weak as not to foresee it must be so, where so just a Provocation is given: This alone will be a sufficient Tie, were there no other to keep any Minister from betraying any of his own Parish. And, therefore, were one small Alteration made in the Canon, and instead of the Parish-Church or Chapel where one of the Parties dwells, it were ordered, That all Marriages should be celebrated in the Parish-Church or Chapel only where the Woman dwells (as, indeed, common Custom hath already ordered it, in most Marriages that are not clandestine) I apprehend it would be a thorough Remedy to the whole Abuse: However, were the Canons, as they now stand, punctually observed, this alone would go so far towards it, that there would not be so frequent Instances of this injurious Practice, as to alarm the Nation against us, as now we find they do, and provoke them to bring sanguinary Laws upon us to prevent it.

But the Mischief is, that, when the Church makes good Laws, our Courts, when they find them against their Interest, will not put them in Execution. For, were all obliged to be married in their own Parishes, it would cut off above half the Trade of granting Licenses, which would very considerably diminish from the Profit which Chancellors, Commissaries, and Registers make of their Places. And, therefore, instead of executing the Canons above-mentioned (as is their Duty) they make it their whole Endeavour to baffle them, and make them of no Effect, by all the Tricks they are able. For,

1. They never take any such Caution or Security, as the hundred and second Canon enjoins in their Licenses; but, on the contrary, scarce ever direct any that they grant to the Parishes where the Parties dwell, but put in any other Parishes which the Parties to be married shall desire, at what Distance soever they may be from the Places of their usual Habitation, without any Regard at all had to the Canon which enjoins the contrary. Whereby Occasion is given to Abundance of Frauds in this Particular, which otherwise might be prevented.

2. Where-

2. Whereas the hundred and first Canon enjoins, That none shall grant any Licenses, but such as have episcopal Authority, or the Commissary of the Faculties, Vicars-general of the Archbishops, and Bishops, *sede plenâ*, or the Guardian of the Spiritualities, *sede vacante*, or Ordinaries exercising Right of episcopal Jurisdiction in their several Jurisdictions: And whereas the Law is, That those Grants are only to be made before themselves, and not before any Substitute whom they shall appoint, that all the Matters, requisite to the Granting of a License, may be first well enquired into, as Whether there be any Precontract; Whether there be Consent of Friends; Whether the Parties to be married are within the prohibited Degrees of Relation, or no, &c. which often require the Skill of the Judge himself to determine in them. The good Orders of the Church have been so far neglected in all these Particulars, and the Corruption of Officers in our Ecclesiastical Courts, for the Sake of Gain, hath run so high, that every Thing is done contrary to them in this Matter. For instead of Chancellors and Commissaries taking any Pains in the Particulars above-mentioned, or making any previous Examinations requisite to prevent either Fraud, or illegal Copulations, they leave the whole Matter to their Registers, who, regarding nothing else, but to make the most of this Trade, by dispersing and vending as many of those Licenses as they can, as often as they have Occasion for them, seal them by Heaps, with Blanks reserved to insert the Names of any such as shall afterwards come for them; and, as Customers come in, fill them up, without any other Enquiry of the Persons concerned, than for their Money to pay for them. And when this Stock is spent, then they go to sealing again; and, for the better advancing of this unlawful Gain, they are not content to break all the good Orders of the Church concerning this Matter, themselves, but also involve a great many of the Clergy with them, in the Guilt and Scandal of this Corruption, by making some of them their Factors in every Deanry, for the dispersing of those Licenses; who, under the Name of *Surrogates*, are drawn in to be their Underagents in so scandalous a Work, which is to the great Damage of the Church, as well as against all Right and Law. For,

1. No Chancellor or Commissary hath Power to make any such Surrogates to act out of their respective Courts. For, although they now take

upon them thus to do, it is only founded on a Clause in their Patents, which give them the Office to be executed, *aut per se, aut per sufficientes Deputatos*. The Meaning of which only is, that, in Case of Sicknes, Absence on just Occasions, or any other lawful Impediment, they may appoint others to hold their Courts for them, and expedite all other Acts usually done out of Court; but not that they should erect inferior Courts under them, as they do now by their Surrogates in every Deanry, to draw the more Grist to their Mills; which is directly contrary to Law, and of infinite Prejudice to the Church, in corrupting and depraving all the good Orders and Discipline of it, and drawing thereby the *Odium* of the People upon the Governors thereof, by the frequent Acts of Injustice, which by clandestine Marriages are done unto them.

2. It is a very great Snare to Clergymen, in being thus made the Tools of those Men's Knaveries, and may expose them to one of the most disgraceful Punishments of the Law, that is, the Pillory. For to fill up a blank Instrument, after the Seal is put to it, is Forgery by the Law of the Land; and I had once the Curiosity to advise with one of the ablest Lawyers in *England* about it, who assured me it was so; and although I urged the constant Practice of every Diocese in *England* against it, he answered, *That would not alter the Law, but whosoever shall insert any Thing into an Instrument, after the Seal is put to it, will certainly be found guilty of Forgery in Westminster-Hall, whenever prosecuted there for it. And, if a Clergyman once undergoes the disgraceful Punishment due to that Crime, the Blot may be sufficient to make his Ministry ineffectual all his Life after.*

3. It is making Clergymen Parties to Knavery and Fraud, and putting the Blame of the unjust Practices of Chancellors, Commissaries, and Registers, upon those, who for the Reputation of the Church, as well as of themselves, are most concerned to prevent them. And thereby a great deal of Clamour is drawn upon us, which we can never prevent, as long as any of the Clergy are thus permitted in so mean and base a Manner to be subservient to the Knavery and unjustifiable Practices of these Men. For they, regarding nothing else but their Gain in the Choice of those whom they appoint to be their Surrogates, chuse only such as are properest for their Purpose this Way, who, being of the poorer and meaner Sort, make their Advantage

vantage of the Employment, by marrying themselves all those that come to them for Licenses, and, thereby advancing their own Gain as well as that of their Masters, become the more diligent Agents for them. And I am told of some that keep Markets weekly for this Purpose, there exposing their blank Licenses to Sale, as Tradesmen do their Wares, which they fill up for any that will pay for them, without any other Reserve, but that of the Marriage to themselves, by putting in only those Churches for the solemnizing of it, where they themselves are Ministers. But at best, though all Surrogates do not thus carry their blank Licenses to Market, yet all keep Shops of them, at Home, and seldom or never refuse any Customer that comes on how unjustifiable an Account soever. And therefore, when a Wedding comes to them, and a Marriage-Fee is to be gotten, without any further Enquiry, the blank License is brought forth, the Names of the Persons to be married are inserted into it, and then the Surrogate thinks himself safe, and away he goes to the Church with them, and there marries them by Vertue of a License from himself, without regarding how they come together, so he hath a Fee to his Masters for the License, and another to himself for the marrying of them. And, if it happens that any such are afterwards questioned for these Marriages, the License is produced for their Justification, which being under the Seal of the Office, and in the Name of the Chancellor or Commissary that grants it, the Matter is usually shuffled off, and no Justice at all done to any that complain of the Injuries, that they suffer in this Kind. For the Truth is, was the Thing brought to an Examination, the Law would excuse the Minister, who produceth the License (unless his being Party to the Fraud were proved upon him, which he usually takes Care to provide against in the Manner of transacting it) and lay the whole Blame upon the Chancellor or Commissary, in whose Name it is granted, who usually know Ways enough to baffle all Prosecution, that shall be made against them on this Account, and therefore, no Examples being made of those that offend in this Kind, they are the more bold still to go on in the same illegal Practices, and the Church infinitely suffers in its Reputation thereby; and in Truth, no Excuse can be made in this Particular, while our Governors, who have Officers under them for the putting the Laws of the Church in Execution, permit

them thus in so scandalous a Manner to corrupt them all for their own Advantage.

Of which scandalous Corruption, being abundantly sensible, by what I found of it, where concerned, about two Years since, I set myself to reform it, and drew up a Monitory to be sent to all the Clergy of my Jurisdiction, wherein I inhibited them to marry any either by License, or otherwise, unless one of the Parties lived in their Parish, according as it is enjoined in the Canon above mentioned. But hereon the Commissary and Register came to me with open Mouths, complaining, *that this would totally spoil their Places.* To which I answered, that my Business was not to take Care of their Places, but that the Canons be kept; and if they would make Gain, by what was inconsistent herewith, they were not to be tolerated in it. Whereon the Commissary told me, that, *although the Canon was as I said, yet he could assure me, that the Practice was quite the contrary, through the whole Kingdom; and that since the Archbishops, and all their Suffragans thought fit to tolerate it, he thought it would not become me to contradict it.* And on Inquiry, finding it really to be so, as he told me, I was forced to let the Matter fall, because I thought it would appear a ridiculous Singularity in me, to attempt a Reformation in that which the Archbishops and Bishops of our Church thought fit, in all Parts of the Nation besides, to allow. And besides, I had an Account given me, that the late Bishop of *Norwich* miscarried in the same Attempt. For, on his first Coming to his Diocese, finding great Clamour about clandestine Marriages, he made his Chancellor and Commissaries call in all their Surrogations, and suppress all blank Licenses, and ordered, that no Minister should marry any, but whereof one of the Parties dwell in his Parish: And by this Means, for a-while, Things were kept in good Order, but they had not been long so, but the Master of the Faculties, and the Vicar-General to the Archbishop, took the Advantage to send their Licenses into the Diocese; which the Bishop perceiving, and having no Authority to controul them herein, he thought it better, since he saw there was no Remedy, to suffer the Corruption to be still continued by his own Officers, over whom he had some Awe, than by those Interlopers, with whom he had nothing to do; and therefore relaxed all his former Orders, and left his Officers to proceed in the same Course as they did before; and the Mischiefs,

Mischiefs, which have since followed hereon, are too many to relate; but two very signal ones, in my Neighbourhood, I cannot pass over; the one of a Man that hath married his Father's Wife, and the other of one that married a Woman, whose Husband was alive in the next Parish, by Vertue of those Licenses. And this Course can never be remedied, unless the two Archbishops will be pleased to undertake it, and send their Orders to all their Suffragans, that the Canons be punctually observed in these following Particulars.

1. That all Surrogates, with blank Licenses, be suppressed, and no License for Marriage at all granted, but by the Person himself, that hath Authority in this Particular, or the Deputy only who keeps his Seals, and presides in his Court in his Absence.

2. That all previous Examinations be made, and all Cautions and Securities carefully taken, which are by Law required, before any License be granted.

3. That no Parish Church or Chapel be put into the License for the Place of celebrating the Marriage, but those only where one of the Parties, that are to be married, dwells. And if the Archbishops have Authority so to do (which I think they have, all Licenses in this Kind being only *ex Gratiâ*) that they limit it to the Parish Church or Chapel where the Woman dwells.

4. That a severe Prosecution be enjoined against all those that transgress in any of the Premises.

If the Bill pass against clandestine Marriages, which I hear is now before the Parliament, I confess it will be too late for the Church to meddle with this Matter; but in Case the Bill be cast out (as perhaps it may) I think it will then be very proper for the Church to undertake the Business, and employ all the Authority it hath to reform so great an Abuse. And if the Archbishops and Bishops would be pleased so to do, to whom the Cognizance of this Matter doth most properly belong, I know no Way can be more effectual for it, than the putting the Canons in Execution in the Particulars I have mentioned. And if this be done as soon as the Bill is cast out, by a publick Order from the two Archbishops, to their respective Provinces, and the Bishops be hearty and zealous in the Executing of it, I doubt not there will be these following good Effects thereof.

1. A speedy Remedy will thereby be put to

this great Abuse, which hath raised the Clamour of the Nation so loud against us, and made so many disaffected to the Church, by reason of the Injuries that some of their Families have suffered by our tolerating so unjustifiable a Practice among us.

2. Full Satisfaction will be given to those who so earnestly call for a Reformation in this Particular; which will be the most effectual Method of preventing the ill Designs of those who endeavour the bringing sanguinary Laws upon us for this Purpose; which, if effected, will be a great Severity, and may prove a constant Snare to their Lives, whenever the People have Malice enough to raise a Prosecution against them.

3. It will stop the Mouths of those who are too often heard to reproach the Bishops with this whole Abuse, as if the whole Reason of it were from this, That they sold their Chancellors, Commissaries, and Registers Places, and therefore were bound to tolerate those Officers under them in all their illegal Practices, that they may thereby the better raise the Money that they exacted from them, for their Admission to those Employments.

And thus far having stated to your Lordship this whole Case, and shewn you therein from whence the great Abuse of clandestine Marriages ariseth, the Manner how the Practice of it is grown so frequent, and the Means whereby it may be prevented, I earnestly beseech your Lordship to make Use of that Opportunity which God hath given you, in putting to your helping Hand for the Reformation of this Corruption, that the Reputation of our Church, and the Interest of so many Families that are Members of it, may not thus continually be sacrificed to the illegal Gain, which Chancellors, Commissaries, and Registers reap to themselves from the Practice of it. In order whereto, I wish your Lordship would be pleased to lay the State of this whole Matter before my Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that if the Parliament puts not that severe Act upon us for the Reformation of this Abuse (as I hope they will not) his Grace may do herein, what in his great Wisdom he shall see may be most conducing to the Good of the Church.

I am,

Decemb. 11,
1691.

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most humble Servant.

A private

A private Letter sent from one *Quaker* to another.

The following Letter (which was really sent from a Country Quaker, to his Friend in London) I here publish, not with Design to reflect on the Quakers, but that the Reader may see I am so impartial, that I will insert every Thing wrote either by Churchman, Presbyterian, or Quaker, &c. that I think deserves it.

Friend *John*,

‘ **I** Desire thee to be so kind as to go to one of those *Sinful*
 ‘ *Men in the Flesh*, called an *Attorney*, and let him take
 ‘ out an *Instrument with a Seal fixed thereunto*, by means
 ‘ whereof we may seize the *Outward Tabernacle* of *George*
 ‘ *Green*, and bring him before the *Lamb-skin Men* at *Westmin-*
 ‘ *ster*, and teach him to do, as he would be done by: And so I
 ‘ rest thy *Friend in the Light*.

R. G.

The *Golden Speech* of Queen *Elisabeth*, to her last Parliament,
November 30, Anno Dom. 1601. [From a 4^{to} Edition.]

Within these three hundred Years last past, almost all Europe (except Muscovy) lived under the happy Form of a mixt Monarchical Government; having this Maxim of the Ancients, That the King and the People's Interest are one and the same. The King had his Dues, and the People had theirs; as it was then in France, Spain, Germany, Poland, &c. But the Pope, envying the Happiness of Princes, and People, under this mild Monarchy; and to secure his new Trentine Antichristian Supremacy, having gotten his Jesuits to be King's Confessors, flattered and wheedled Princes, that, as in the Text, This shall be the Manner of your Kings, God was giving the People the Jus Divinum of Government, when, in Truth, He was threatening them with the Plague of Tyrants! And this took such Effect, as to turn the former easy Monarchies into absolute illegal Tyrannies; which first began by Lewis the Eleventh, in France, and followed by that horrid Inquisition in Spain, &c. So that Europe, and the West-Indies,

Indies, have been the Sbambles of Papal Barbarities in the Massacres of Millions of Christians, and other human Souls, ever since.

Our wise Queen Elisabeth, therefore, having a right Regard to the general Good and Weal of the People, accommodated her Government to the true Genius of the Monarchical Institution, as it then stood: For she constantly courted the People, expressing her Monarchy was founded in the People's Affections: And by that Expedient kept up herself and Monarchy to that Height and Glory, as it first stood in its natural Foundation; and this against all Foreign Powers. And she thus answered all the Ends of Government; for Faëtions and Parties were thus sunk, the Interest of Court and Country were made one, and Virtue, Honesty, and Piety were restored and encouraged.

This Speech ought to be set in Letters of Gold, that as well the Majesty, Prudence, and Virtue of her gracious Majesty, Queen Elisabeth, might in general most exquisitely appear; as also that her Religious Love, and tender Respect, which she particularly, and constantly, did bear to her Parliament, in unfeigned Sincerity, might be nobly and truly vindicated, and proclaimed, with all grateful Recognition to God for so great a Blessing to his People of England, in vouchsafing them heretofore such a gracious Princess, and magnanimous Defender of the Reformed Religion, and heroick Patroness of the Liberty of her Subjects, in the Freedom and Honour of their Parliaments; which have been, under God, the continual Conservators of the Splendor, and Wealth of this Kingdom, against Tyranny and Oppression.

Her Majesty being set under State in the Council-Chamber at White-Hall, the Speaker, accompanied with Privy-Counsellors, besides Knights and Burgeses of the Lower House, to the Number of Eight-score, presenting themselves at her Majesty's Feet, for that so graciously and speedily she had heard and yielded to her Subjects Desires, and proclaimed the same in their Hearing, as followeth:

Mr. Speaker,

WE perceive your Coming is to present Thanks unto Us: Know, I accept them with no less Joy, than your Loves can have Desire to offer such a Present, and do more esteem it, than any Treasure of Riches; for those *We* know how to prize, but Loyalty, Love, and Thanks, I account them invaluable: And though God hath raised Me high, yet this I account the Glory of my Crown, that I have reigned with your Loves. This makes that I do not so much rejoice, that God hath made Me to be a Queen, as to be a Queen over so thankful a People, and to be the Mean, under God, to conserve you in Safety, and to preserve you from Danger; yea, to be the Instrument to deliver you from Dishonour, Shame, and Infamy; to keep you from Servitude, and from Slavery under our Enemies*, and cruel Ty-

ranny, and vile Oppression, intended against Us: For the better Withstanding whereof, We take very acceptably your intended Helps, and chiefly in that it manifesteth your Loves, and Largeness of Heart to your Sovereign. Of myself I must say this, I never was any greedy scraping Grasper, nor a strict fast-holding Prince, nor yet a Waster; my Heart was never set upon any worldly Goods, but only for my Subjects Good. What you do bestow on Me, I will not hoard up, but receive it to bestow on you again; yea, my own Properties I account yours, to be expended for your Good, and your Eyes shall see the Bestowing of it for your Welfare.

Mr. Speaker, I would wish you, and the rest to stand up, for, I fear, I shall yet trouble you with longer Speech. Mr. Speaker, you give Me Thanks, but I am more to thank you, and I charge you, thank them of the *Lower House* from Me, for, had I not received Knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the Lapse of an Error, only for Want of true Information. Since I was Queen, yet did I never put My Pen to any Grant, but upon Pretext and Semblance† made Me, that it was for the Good and Avail of My Subjects generally, though a private Profit to some of My antient Servants, who have deserved well; but that My Grants shall be made Grievances to My People, and

* The Pope and Popish Princes, especially the King of Spain.

† Representation.

Oppressions, to be privileged under Colour of Our *Patents*, Our Princely Dignity shall not suffer it. When I heard it, I could give no Rest unto my Thoughts until I had reformed it, and those Varlets, lewd Persons, Abusers of My Bounty, shall know that I will not suffer it. And, Mr. *Speaker*, tell the House from Me, I take it exceeding grateful that the Knowledge of these Things are come unto me from them. And though, amongst them the principal Members are such as are not touched in private, and therefore need not speak from any Feeling of the Grief; yet We have heard that other Gentlemen also of the House, who stand as free, have spoken as freely in it; which gives Us to know, that no Respects or Interests have moved them, other than the Minds they bear to suffer no Diminution of Our Honour, and Our Subjects Love unto Us. The Zeal of which Affection tending to ease my People, and knit their Hearts unto Us, I embrace with a Princely Care, far above all earthly Treasures. I esteem my People's Love, more than which I desire not to merit; and God, that gave Me here to sit, and placed Me over you, knows that I never respected Myself, but as your Good was concerned in Me; yet what Dangers, what Practices, and what Perils I have passed, some, if not all of you know, but none of these Things do move Me, or ever made Me fear, but it is God that hath delivered Me. And, in My governing this Land, I have ever set the last Judgment-Day before My Eyes, and so to rule, as I shall be judged and answer before a higher Judge, to whose Judgment-Seat I do appeal, in that never Thought was cherished in My Heart that tended not to My People's Good. And if My Princely Bounty have been abused, and My Grants turned to the Hurt of My People, contrary to My Will and Meaning, or if any in Authority under Me have neglected, or convert-

ed what I have committed unto them, I hope God will not lay their Culps * to my Charge. To be a King, and wear a Crown, is a Thing more glorious to them that see it, than it is pleasant to them that bear it; for Myself, I never was so much enticed with the glorious Name of a King, or the Royal Authority of a Queen, as delighted that God hath made Me his Instrument to maintain his Truth and Glory, and to defend this Kingdom from Dishonour, Damage, Tyranny, and Oppression. But should I ascribe any of these Things unto Myself, or My Sexly Weakness, I were not worthy to live, and of all most unworthy of the Mercies I have received at God's Hands; but to God only and wholly all is given and ascribed. The Cares and Trouble of a Crown I cannot more fitly resemble, than to the Drugs of a learned Physician, perfumed with some aromatical Savour, or to bitter Pills gilded over, by which they are made more acceptable, or less offensive, which indeed are bitter and unpleasant to take; and for My own Part, were it not for Conscience-Sake, to discharge the Duty that God hath laid upon Me, and to maintain his Glory, and keep you in Safety, in My own Disposition I should be willing to resign the Place I hold to any other, and glad to be freed of the Glory with the Labours; for *it is not My Desire to live or reign longer, than My Life and Reign shall be for your Good.* And though you have had, and may have, many mightier and wiser Princes sitting in this Seat, yet you never had, nor shall have any, *that will love you better.*

Thus, Mr. *Speaker*, I commend Me to your loyal Loves, and yours to My best Care, and your further Counsels; I pray you Mr. *Comptroller*, and Mr. *Secretary*, and you of My Council, that, before these Gentlemen depart into their Countries, you bring them all to kiss My Hand.

* Faults.

A Nar-

A Narrative of the Proceedings of a great Council of *Jews*, assembled in the Plain of *Ageda* in *Hungary*, about thirty Leagues distant from *Buda*, to examine the Scriptures concerning *Christ*, on the Twelfth of *October*, 1650. By *Samuel Brett*, there present.

Also, A Relation of some other Observations in his Travels beyond the Seas; and particularly in *Egypt*, *Macedonia*, *Dalmatia*, *Calabria*, *Apuleia*, *Sicily*, *Assyria*, *Sclavonia*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*; the Islands of *Cyprus*, *Candia*, *Patmos*, and *Delphos*; the Cities of *Carthage*, *Corinth*, *Troy*, *Constantinople*, *Venice*, *Naples*, *Leghorn*, *Florence*, *Milan*, *Rome*, *Bottonia*, *Mantua*, *Genoa*, *Paris*, &c.

[From a *Quarto* Edition, printed at *London*, for *Richard Moon*, at the *Seven Stars* in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, near the great *North-Door*, 1655.]

The Contents of this Pamphlet are very extraordinary; some of them of the last Importance to the Christian Commonweal, and all of them Matter of great Curiosity, and scarce to be met with in any other English Historian. As for the Author, take his own Accrunt of himself as follows:

There was nothing I more desired, than to travel beyond the Seas, and to know the various Manners of the Nations of the World; for which, through God's Providence, I had an Opportunity offered me, to my great Satisfaction, being Chirurgeon of an *English* Ship in the Streights, where, for a Cure that I did for *Orlando de Spina* of *Gallipoli*, an eminent Man in those Parts, I was by him preferred to be Captain of a Ship of *Malta*, which was set out by the said *Orlando*, and committed to my Command against the *Turks* in the *Arches*, in Assistance to the *Venetians*; in the which Service I spent about nine Months, till the tempestuous Season of the Year forced me to return into Harbour again. And, in this Time of Employment, I made five Fights at Sea, and two at Land; being chosen, by Lot, to invade the *Turk's* Country, with a certain Company of Soldiers collected out of our Fleet, to do some Execution upon the Borders of the Enemy, and to get some Provision for our Relief; in all which Fights, tho' very perilous,

God gave me the Victory. The whole Time I spent beyond the Seas, before and after this Employment, was almost four Years, not staying long in any one Place. But first I travelled to all the Sea-Towns of Note for Merchandising, to know the Trade of the Places, and the Conveniency of their Harbours, that I might be able to do some profitable Service in Merchant Affairs. Also I travelled into several Countries, and the most eminent Cities and Towns therein, viz. *Egypt, Macedonia, Dalmatia, Calabria, Apuleia, Sicily, Assyria, Sclavonia*, and some Parts of *Spain* and *Portugal*; to the Islands of *Cyprus, Candia, Patmos, and Delphos*; to *Cartbage, Corinth, Troy* and *Constantinople*; besides many other Towns and Places; but my longest Abode was in *Italy*, and therein at *Venice, Naples, Leghorn, Florence, Milan, Rome, Bottonia, Mantua, Genoa, &c.* And at last, looking Homeward, I came into *France*, taking a brief View of many eminent Places in that Kingdom. And at *Paris* I found many of my Countrymen, of which, though some be Persons of great Quality, yet, God knoweth, they are in a low Condition. And, now, I shall give a brief Account of some of my Observations, during the Time of my Abode beyond the Seas.

AT *Paris*, our Countrymen live peaceably, and enjoy our Religion without Disturbance. There is a Place allowed them, with necessary Accommodations for the Exercise of Religion. Dr. *Steward* did often preach to them; and, for their Form of Worship, it is the same that was formerly in *England*, with the Book of Common-Prayer, and the Rites therein used; and also they continue the Innovations that were practised by many of our Clergy; as, Bowing at the Name of *Jesus* towards the Altar, &c. which, I know, giveth Offence to the good *French Protestants*, who, to me, did often condemn those Innovations ~~for~~ *Romish* Superstitions; doubtless, they would do our Church and our Religion more Credit there, if they did use less Ceremony. As for the *French Papists*, truly they are more civil to them than was expected; for the Opinion of the World, where I have been, is but mean of that Nation. And, I believe, the *Italians* may be their Cousin-Germans, for both of them are false and faithless enough. And this Consideration (God having taken away *Orlando*, my noble Friend, who did always much countenance me) did lessen my Affection to continue in that Service; for my Soldiers were all *Italians*, except a few *Greeks*; and I never saw much Cause to be confident in their Fidelity; but it was chiefly for Fear of him, that they were so tractable to me.

As for Religion, in most Parts where I have been, it is generally the same with the Church

of *Rome*; but for the *Grecians*, for amongst them I was, they are neither pure *Protestants* nor pure *Papists*; I mean, neither only *Protestants*, nor only *Papists*, but their Religion is a Mixture of both; for, though they hold some Fundamentals with us, yet they follow many of the *Romish* Superstitions; and, according to my Observation, they follow more the Religion of *Rome*, than the *Protestant* Church, and they are much poisoned with Heresies.

But of all Nations, according to my Observation, none are more zealous for the Religion of *Rome* than the *Spaniards*; who, I think, for this, are more *Romanists* than the *Romans* themselves; for, with them, there is an Inquisition, and in *Rome* I never heard of the same dangerous Snare*; there I had as much Freedom, as I could desire; and more Courtesy than I could expect, without any Temptation to apostatise from my Religion.

As for the Occurrences that I met with, they were many, but these four were the most considerable:

First, The Strangling of the great *Turk*, by the Janizaries, at which Time there was great Fear and Trouble in *Constantinople*; but they introned his Son, and this brought about a peaceable Settlement; and with him there were cut off divers *Basha's* Heads, all whose Heads, excepting the great *Turk's*, lay three Days in Chargers before the Palace-Gate for the publick View of the People, which, they say, is the Custom for the Noblemen that are beheaded.

* There is an Inquisition at *Rome*, but not so rigorous.

The next Thing is, The Flowing of the River Nile in Egypt, the Manner whereof is this: It beginneth to flow about the Fifteenth of June every Year; the People know the Time thereof, and expect it accordingly; and this is after their Harvest, which is usually ended about the Beginning of May. As for Rain, there seldom falleth any in Egypt. During the Time the River is up, all the Country appeareth like Islands. Their Towns are seated upon Hills, and their lower Grounds are all covered with Waters; and the Inhabitants use small Boats to pass from Place to Place about their Affairs; and, because they know the yearly Flowing of the Nile, they provide for the Safety of their Cattle till the Waters are wasted away again. There are also certain Pillars of Stone set up, with divers Marks upon them, by which they know the Degrees of the Rising, and the usual Height that the Waters do ascend unto; and, if the Waters do ascend above the highest Mark, they do expect some strange Consequence thereof. But the greatest Wonder is the present Cessation of the Plague upon the Flowing of this River. There died some Thousands of the Plague, the Day before the Flowing of the Nile, in Grand Cairo, as they certified me; and, a Day or two after, not one Person died of the Infection. This I observed, that the Land is full of unhealthy Fogs, Mists, and Vapours, which cause the Disease; and it seems the Waters of the Nile do purify it again.

In the Kingdom of Grand Cairo, alias, Pharaoh's Town, is the City, and it is greater than any elsewhere I did behold; but Memphis is the nearer City; and being there, I went to see the Land of Goshen, where the Israelites did inhabit: This is a very pleasant and fruitful Land for Pasture, such as I have no where seen the like. At this Time also, I had an Opportunity to see the Red-Sea, and the Place where (as they informed me) the Israelites did enter their Journey through the same; there also they shewed me the great Mountains that inclosed them, when Pharaoh pursued them with his great Army; and the Hills where the two Armies lay in Sight of one another; and there I found the true Reason why it is called the Red-Sea; not because the Water is red naturally, but because the Sand is red; and this was clear to me, by plain Demonstration; for I put some of the Water into a clean Vessel, and there I did see it had the same Colour of other Water; but the Sand is

reddish, and giveth the same Colour to the Water.

I shall omit many other Things concerning Egypt; only this, it is under the Turk's Dominions, and the Natives are his miserable Slaves.

Thirdly, you may expect some News from Rome, where also I was, and did behold their great Solemnity, it being then the *Anno Sancto*, (as they there call it) that is, the Year of Jubilee.

There I beheld the Pope in his Glory, and how in great State he was carried about the City; the Streets were thronged with the People; and, as he passed by, they made them even to ring with Acclamations and Rejoicings; he was carried by some eminent Men, having a rich Canopy over him. He made his Crosses in the Air with his Fingers, and threw his Blessings amongst them. And truly these Delusions were so prevailing with the People, that (poor Souls) they seemed to me to rejoice, as if Christ himself had been come to Rome, and brought them down the Felicities of Heaven.

At one Time I beheld, in Naples (perhaps it will seem strange, but it is true) about Eight-thousand Pilgrims going to Rome, for their Absolution; all which the Vice-Roy of Naples maintained three Days at his own Charge; and, on the fourth Day, they did present themselves before him at his Palace in Pilgrim Weeds, viz. with leaden Pictures of Saints in their Hats, and Leather Collars about their Necks, which fell down half Way over their Arms, and their Staves in their Hands; and thus they marched away from Naples, in the Posture of an Army towards Rome, and so farewell Rome: *Vidi, satis est vidisse*; i. e. I have seen it, and that is enough.

I omit to recite many other Occurrences, which by Conference I shall willingly communicate to my Friends; they being too many to commit to writing: Only now

The fourth remarkable Thing remaineth to present you withal; and that is,

The Proceedings of a great Council of Jews assembled in the Plain of Ageda in Hungary, about thirty Leagues distant from Buda, to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ, on the Twelfth of October 1650.

It hath been much desired by many honest Christians, that this Narrative of the Jews

Council should be published, which I did intend only to communicate to private Friends; the chief Argument by which they have persuaded me to do it, is, because they do conceive it to be a Preparative, and hopeful Sign of the *Jews* Conversion; and that it will be glad Tidings to the Church of *Christ*; and therefore I have yielded to satisfy their Desires therein. And thus it was:

At the Place above-named, there assembled about *three-hundred* Rabbies, called together from several Parts of the World, to examine the Scriptures concerning *Christ*; and, it seems, this Place was thought more convenient for this Council, in regard that Part of the Country was not much inhabited, because of the continual Wars between the *Turk* and the King of *Hungary*; where (as I was informed) they had fought two bloody Battles; yet both Princes, notwithstanding their own Differences, did give Leave to the *Jews* to hold their Council there. And, for their Accommodation there, the *Jews* did make divers Tents for their Repose, and had Plenty of Provisions brought them from other Parts of the Country, during the Time of their sitting there. There was also one large Tent, built only for the Council to sit in, made almost four-square; the North and the South Parts of it being not altogether so large as the East and West Parts thereof. It had but one Door, and that opened to the East; and, in the Middle thereof, stood a little Table and a Stool for the Propounder to sit on, with his Face towards the Door of the Tent. The said Propounder was of the Tribe of *Levi*, and was named *Zacharias*; and within this Tent round about were placed divers Forms for the Consulters to sit on. It was also inclosed with a Rail, that stood a Distance from it, to prevent Entrance to all Strangers, and to all such *Jews* as could not prove themselves to be *Jews* by Record, or could not dispute in the *Hebrew* Tongue, which many had forgotten, who lived in such Countries, where they are not allowed their Synagogues, as in *France*, *Spain*, and those Parts of *Italy* that do belong to the King of *Spain*, viz. the Kingdom of *Naples*, with the Province of *Calabria*, and *Apuleia*; the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*; in which Places, if a *Jew* be found, and he deny the *Papish* Religion, he is in Danger to be condemned, and executed for

it; and yet Profit and Benefit allureth them to dwell in those Countries, notwithstanding their Fears and Dangers; and themselves are willing to forget and so neglect to teach their Children their native * Language; rather than they will lose their Opportunity of Profit; and some have burnt the ancient Records of their Tribe and Family, that they might not be discovered by searching, or otherwise. And for this Defect, that they could not prove their Tribe or Family, they were not permitted to come within the Rail, but were commanded to remain without with the Strangers that remained there, to see the Issue of their Proceeding, which were above Three-thousand Persons; and they were for the most Part of them *Germans*, *Almains*, *Dalmatians*, and *Hungarians*, with some *Greeks*, but few *Italians*, and not one *Englishman* that I could hear of besides myself.

I was informed, that the King of *Hungary*, not favouring the *Reformed* Religion, did give no Encouragement to any *Protestant* Churches, to send any Divines thither; but he did allow, that some Assistants should be sent from *Rome*; and their coming thither did prove a great Unhappiness to this hopeful Council.

When the Assembly did first meet, they spent some Time in their mutual Salutations; and, as their Manner is, they kissed one the other's Cheek, expressing much Joy for their happy Meeting; and all Things being provided for their Accommodation, they considered of the *Jews* that were to be admitted Members of this Council; and they were only allowed to be Members, which could by Record prove themselves to be native *Jews* †; and, for Defect herein, I observed above three-hundred refused; though, doubtless, they were true-born *Jews*, yet they could not by Record prove themselves so to be; and for this they were not admitted to be Members of the Council; but they did abide without the Rail with the Strangers that were there; and the Number of them that were accepted to be Members, was about three-hundred *Jews*. And this was all that was done the first Day.

On the second Day, the Assembly being full, the Propounder stood up, and made his Speech concerning the End of their Meeting: And, *This*, said he, *is to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ ‡, whether he be already come, or whether we*

* Original.

† *Jews* by original Record or Genealogy.‡ The *Messiah*.

are yet to expect his Coming. In examining this Question, they searched the *Old Testament* with great Care and Labour, to be resolved of the Truth thereof, having many Bibles with them there for this End. And about this Point there were great Disputes amongst them. The major Part were of Opinion, *That he was not come*; and some inclined to think, *that he was come*; being moved thereunto by their great Judgment*, that hath continued now this 1600 Years upon them.

I remember very well, one of the Council, in his Conference with me, seemed to be very apprehensive of the great and long Desolation of their Nation, ever since their Destruction by the *Roman Emperors*; and he imputed this their Affliction to their Impenitency, and comparing their present Judgment with their other Judgments they had suffered before. The same he ingenuously confessed, that he did conceive it was for some great Wickedness; and that their Nation was guilty of the Blood of the Prophets sent from God to their Nation, and the many Massacres that have been committed by the several Sects and Factions amongst them. *For*, said he, *we are no Idolaters, neither do I think we were guilty of Idolatry since our Captivity in Babylon; and therefore*, said he, *I do impute this our Calamity and present Judgment to the forenamed Causes*. And this is the Sum of that which was disputed amongst them, the second Day of their Meeting; and so they adjourned till the next Morning, which was the third Day of their Meeting.

When, being assembled together again, the Point that was chiefly agitated was concerning the *Manner of Christ's Coming*. And, This, some said, shall be like a *mighty Prince*, in the full Power and Authority of a King, yea, in greater Power than ever any King had; and that he will deliver their Nation out of the Power of their Enemies, and their Temple shall be rebuilt again; and that the Nations shall be of their Religion, and worship God after their Manner. For they hold, That the *Messiah* will not alter their Religion, whensoever he cometh. And further, concerning his Parentage, they did agree in this, that he should be *born of a Virgin*, according to the Prediction of the Prophets; and they agreed also, that he may be

born of *such a Virgin*, which might be of *mean Note* amongst their Nation, as was the *Virgin Mary*. And here some of them seemed to me to incline to think, that *Christ* was come. Therefore when they came together again, the next Day, the Propounder demanded of them, if *Christ* was already come? And who they thought he was? And to this Demand they gave this Answer, That they thought *Elijah* was he, if he was come, because he came with great Power, which he declared by slaying the Priests of *Baal*; and, for the Fulfilling of the Scripture, he was oppressed by *Ahab* and *Jezabel*; yet they esteemed him to be more than a mortal Man, because he so strangely ascended up into Heaven. And, because this Opinion was contradicted by others, the Day following, they took into Examination the same Question, to answer them that said *Elijah* was not the *Messiah*. They of the contrary Opinion did urge the Care and Love of *Elijah*, for the Good of their Nation, in that he left them *Elisba*, his Disciple, to teach and instruct the People; which they expect to be the Care of their *Messiah*. These were the chief Arguments they had to defend their Opinion; and, the same Day towards Night, it came into Question amongst them, *What he then was that said he was the Son of God, and was crucified by their Ancestors*. And, because this was the great Question amongst them, they deferred the further Consideration thereof, until the next Day.

When, meeting again, the *Pharisees* (for some of this Sect were amongst them, that were always the Enemies of *Christ*) they first began to answer this last Night's Question; and these by no Means would yield that he was the *Christ*; and these Reasons they gave for their Opinion.

First, because (said they) he came into the World like an ordinary and inferior Man, not with his Scepter nor Royal Power; wherewith they affirmed the Coming of *Christ* should be glorious. 2. They pleaded against him the *Meanness* of his Birth, in that his Father was a *Carpenter*; and this they said was a Dishonour, that *Christ* should not be capable of. 3. They accused him to be an *Enemy to Moses's Law*, in suffering his Disciples, and in doing Works himself, that were prohibited on the *Sabbath-day*; for they believe that the *Messiah*

* Of having neither Church nor Nation, and their being a Vagabond People ever since the Destruction of their City and Temple.

will punctually and exactly keep the Law of *Moses*; and where the Gospel doth testify of *Christ*, that he did fulfil the Law, they reject the Testimony thereof, because they do not own the Gospel. But I observed, these Reasons of the *Pharisees* did not satisfy all that heard them, but there still remained some Doubt in some of them concerning *Christ*; for there stood up one *Rabbi* called *Abraham*, and objected against the *Pharisees* the Miracles that *Christ* wrought whilst he was upon Earth, as his raising of the *Dead* to Life again, his making the *Lame* to walk, the *Blind* to see, and the *Dumb* to speak. And the same *Abraham* demanded of the *Pharisees*, by what Power he did those Miracles? The Answer, the *Pharisees* returned to him, was to this Purpose: They said he was an *Impostor*, and a *Magician*; and blasphemously traduced him of doing all his Miracles by Magick: Thus, said they, he first caused them to be blind, to be dumb, to be lame; and then, by taking away his magical Charm, they were restored to their former Condition. Nevertheless, this Answer gave little Satisfaction to the said *Abraham*; but thus he replied, that he could not charm those that were born in that Condition, as blind, &c. and born also before *Christ* himself was born; as it appeareth some of them were: This seemed to him an absurd Paradox; and truly the pressing of this Argument did almost put them to a Nonplus, till at last they had this Evasion (though weak and vile) they were, said they, by other Magicians convinced to be so in their Mothers Wombs; and that, although himself was not then born when they were born with these Evils, yet he being a great Dissembler, and more cunning than any Magician before him, Power was given him, by the Devil, to remove those Charms, which others had placed; and there was one *Pharisee* named *Zebedee*, that of the *Pharisees* there did most opprobriously revile him, and vehemently urge these Things against him; but I conceive he did it not to the Well-liking of many there that heard him, even Members of the Council. And as the *Pharisees* that Day played their Parts against him; so did the *Sadduces* also endeavour (for some of that Sect were also of the Council) to render *Christ* vile and odious to the rest of the *Jews* that were assembled there. I observed it was with them as it was once with *Herod* and *Pilate*; though they two could not agree betwixt themselves at other Times, yet they could agree together to crucify *Christ*; for the *Pharisees* and

Sadduces, though they be much divided in Opinion among themselves, yet did they at this Time too much agree to disgrace and dishonour *Christ* with their Lies, Calumnies, and Blasphemies; for the *Sadduces*, as well as *Pharisees*, did in other Things accuse him for a grand Impostor, and for a Broacher of corrupt Doctrine; in that in his Gospel he teacheth the Resurrection from the Dead, which they there denied to be true Doctrine; but it is no new Thing to see Factions dissenting, to agree in some evil Design against others, as I found it by Experience; being at *Rome* in the Year 1650, which was the Year of their *Jubilee*, there was a great Strife between the *Jesuits* and the *Friars* of the Order of *St. Dominick*, both which were against the *Protestants*; and although their Differences have been, by the Care and Vigilance of the *Pope*, so smothered, that the World hath not taken much Notice thereof, yet this Fire broke out into a Flame greater than ever it was before (as they certified me there) both by publick Disputings, and by bitter Writings one against another, opening the Vices and Errors of one another's Faction, thus seeking to disgrace one the other; which caused the *Pope* to threaten to excommunicate the Authors of all such black and libellous Books, that did tend to the Dishonour of his Clergy and Religion, to make them infamous to the World. But this by the Way.

We are now come to the seventh and last Day of their Council; and, on this Day, this was the main Quere amongst them: If *Christ* be come, then what Rules and Orders hath he left his Church to walk by? This was a great Question among them; and because they did not believe the New Testament, nor would be guided by it, they demanded some other Instruction to direct and guide them, in this Point; thereupon six of the *Roman* Clergy (who of Purpose were sent from *Rome* by the *Pope*, to assist in this Council) were called in, viz. two *Jesuits*, two *Friars* of the Order of *St. Augustine*, and two of the Order of *St. Francis*; and these, being admitted into the Council, began to open unto them the Rules and Doctrine of the holy Church of *Rome* (as they call it) which Church they magnified to them, for the *Holy Catholick* Church of *Christ*, and their Doctrine to be the infallible Doctrine of *Christ*, and their Rules to be the Rules which the Apostles left to the Church for ever to be observed, and that the *Pope* is the holy Vicar of *Christ*, and the Successor of *St. Peter*;

Peter; and for Instance, in some Particulars, they affirmed the *real Presence* of *Christ* in the Sacrament, the *Religious* Observation of their *Holy Days*, the *Invocation of Saints*, *Praying* to the *Virgin Mary*, and her *commanding Power* in Heaven over her Son; the holy Use of the *Cross* and *Images*, with the rest of their idolatrous and superstitious Worship; all which they commended to the Assembly of the *Jews*, for the Doctrine and Rules of the Apostles. But, as soon as the Assembly had heard these Things from them, they were generally and exceedingly troubled thereat, and fell into high Clamours against them, and their Religion, crying out, *No Christ, no Woman-God, no Intercession of Saints, no Worshipping of Images, no Praying to the Virgin Mary, &c.* Truly their Trouble hereat was so great, that it troubled me to see their Impatience; they rent their Cloaths, and cast Dust upon their Heads, and cried out aloud, *Blasphemy, Blasphemy!* and, upon this, the Council broke up: Yet they assembled again, the eighth Day; and all that was done then, was to agree upon another Meeting of their Nation three Years after, which was concluded upon before their final Dissolution.

I do believe there were many *Jews* there, that would have been persuaded to own the Lord *Jesus*; and this I assure you for a Truth, and it is for the Honour of our Religion, and the Encouragement of our Divines, one eminent *Rabbi* there did deliver his Opinion, in Conference with me, that he at first feared that those, which were sent from *Rome*, would cause an unhappy Period to their Council; and professed to me, that he much desired the Pre-

sence of some *Protestant* Divines, and especially of our *English* Divines, of whom he had a better Opinion, than of any other Divines in the World; for he did believe that we have a great Love to their Nation; and this Reason he gave me for their good Opinion of our Divines, because he understood that they did ordinarily pray for the Conversion of their Nation; which he did acknowledge to be a great Token of our Love towards them; and, especially, he commended the Ministers of *London*, for excellent Preachers, and for their Charity towards their Nation; of whom he had heard a great Fame. As for the Church of *Rome*, they account it an idolatrous Church, and therefore will not own their Religion; and by conversing with the *Jews*, I found that they generally think, that there is no other *Christian* Religion in the World, but that of the Church of *Rome*; and for *Rome's* Idolatry, they take Offence at all *Christian* Religion; by which it appeared that *Rome* is the greatest Enemy of the *Jews* Conversion.

For the Place of the *Jews* next Meeting, it is probable it will be in *Syria*, in which Country I also was, and did there converse with the Sect of the *Rechabites*, living in *Syria*; they still observe their old Customs and Rules; they neither sow nor plant, nor build Houses; but live in Tents, and often remove from one Place to another, with their whole Family, Bag and Baggage. And seeing I find that, by the *Italian* Tongue, I can converse with the *Jews*, or any other Nation, in all the Parts of the World where I have been; if God give me an Opportunity, I shall willingly attend their next Council. *The good Lord prosper it. Amen.*

The Art of good Husbandry, or the Improvement of Time:
Being a sure Way to get and keep Money. In a Letter to
Mr. R. A. by R. T. With Permission, *August 7, 1675.*
Roger L'Estrange.

[From a *Quarto* Edition, printed at *London*, for J. G. in the
Year MDCLXXV.]

In this Treat are prescribed several Rules, for Merchants, Shopkeepers, and mechanical Tradesmen (as well Servants as Masters) how they may husband their Time to the best Advantage; the Loss whereof is the sole Cause of Poverty in this City and Nation. Likewise, the Loss of a Man's Time spent in a Tavern, Coffee-house, or Ale-house, computed. Also Instructions to all Sorts of People, how to order their Business for the Future, both to the Inriching of themselves and their Families.

S I R,
IN Compliance to your late Requests, obliging me to write to you, as soon as I came to *London*, I have sent you the Result of a few serious Minutes concerning the great *Decay of Trade, and Want of Money*; which is now the general Cry of all People both in City and Country; the Grounds and Reasons of which many have attempted to find out, by curious Inquiries into the several *Laws and Statutes* made for the Promoting of Trade, supposing the Non-execution of those Laws to be the Occasion of it. To this End large Discourses have been made concerning the Decay of the *Fishing Trade*; several Proposals offered by ingenious Persons for the Restoration of it; and the great Advantages that would ensue thereupon; with the many Damages destructive to Trade in general, that arise from the Inquiries into the *Wool-Trade*, alledging the Exportation of Wool, the Importation of foreign Manufactures, and the Permission of Foreigners to work here, to be the chief Cause of that *Decay of Trade, and Want of Money*, which every Person complains of.

Now though the Grounds and Reasons before-mentioned are guarded with so many Pro-

babilities, and seeming rational Demonstrations, that every understanding Person will be ready, at the first View, to hold up his Finger and give his Assent to them; yet upon critical Inspection, or more curious Survey, we shall find them to be only circumstantial.

There is something more material which is near us, that we overlook by looking so far off; that is, The little Value or Price we set upon that inestimable Jewel, *Time*, which most People slight, like the *Cock* in the *Fable*, if they cannot make use of it, to satisfy their lascivious Appetites. *It is the industrious Hand, that enricheth the Land, and not the contriving Pate.* The Wasps and Hornets, by their Rapine, bring to their Nests more Honey at once, than the industrious Bees can at many Times; and yet, for all this, they usually die for Want in the Winter; whilst the industrious Bees, by continual Labour and Improvement of *Time*, gather sufficient to serve themselves in the Winter, and can afford their Masters a liberal Share out of their plentiful Stock.

I shall first begin with the *inferior Rank of People*, for those are the Persons most concerned in this general Complaint, and shew them, how they may remedy what they complain of.

First,

First, Let them be *diligent* and *industrious* in their several *Trades* and *Callings*.

Secondly, Let them *avoid* all such *idle* Societies, that squander away a great Deal of *Time*, at a cheap Rate.

I shall instance in those sober and civil Conventions, as at *Coffee-Houses*, and *Clubs*, where little Money is pretended to be spent, but a great Deal of precious *Time* lost, which the Person never thinks of; but measures his Expences, by what goes out of his Pocket; nor considers what he might put in by his Labour, and what he might have saved, being employed in his Shop. As for Example:

A *mechanick Tradesman*, it may be, goes to the *Coffee-house* or *Ale-house* in the Morning, to drink his *Morning's-Draught*, where he spends *Two-pence*, and in Smoaking and Talking, consumes at least an *Hour*: In the Evening, about Six o'Clock, he goes to his *Two-penny Club*, and there stays for his *Two-pence* till Nine or Ten; here is *Four-pence* spent, and *four Hours* at least lost, which, in most mechanick Trades, cannot be reckoned less than a *Shilling*; and, if he keep Servants, they may lose him near as much by Idling, or Spoiling his Goods, which his Presence might have prevented. So that, upon these Consideration, for this his *supposed Groat* (a Day's Expence) he cannot reckon less than *seven Groats*; which comes to *fourteen Shillings a Week* (*Sundays* excepted) which is *Thirty six Pounds ten Shillings a Year*. A great Deal of Money in a poor Tradesman's Pocket!

Now the same may be applied to the *higher Trades* and *Professions*, whose Loss of *Time* is according to the Degree, or Spheres they move in; and yet this is the least Thing thought of. We are apt to favour and excuse ourselves, and impute a general Calamity to Things afar off, when we ourselves are the Occasion of it at Home.

It will be necessary, before I proceed, to take Notice of one *Objection*, which seems to be most material, *viz.* That some Men's Business lies Abroad, and cannot be so well managed at Home, and that these Meetings, or Societies, are advantageous to them. As first, Merchants, by these *Clubs* or *Meetings*, have Intelligence of *Ships* going out, and coming in; and also of the Rates and Prices of *Commodities*, and meet with *Customers* by Accident, which possibly might never make Inquiry at their Houses or Warehouses. The like Excuses all Men of Business and Trade pretend.

To this I answer: That Indulging this Custom, hath made it *seemingly* necessary; but yet there is no *absolute* Necessity for it; for the *Exchange* is appointed for the Merchant's Intelligence, and his *Warehouse* is his Shop. And, to other Tradesmen, their *Shops* are their Markets; to which, if they would be reserved, they might better themselves, and improve that *Time*, they spend in *Taverns* and *Coffee-houses*, to a greater Advantage: For, by these *idle Meetings*, they lose not only what they spend, but what might be improved by the Overseeing their Goods, and Examining their Accounts, which they now wholly trust to the Fidelity of a Servant or Servants; who, being led by their Master's Examples, grow idle and extravagant; and, knowing their Masters sure, make sure for themselves; furnishing themselves for their debauched Affigations, they now plot and invent the Means and Ways for their extravagant Meetings, which are the Occasion of the Ruin of many Masters, and hopeful Servants; all which might be prevented by the diligent Eye of the Master; the Want of which is the Occasion of all the Debauchery, Poverty, and Misery, which every Place cries out of. From this Negligence and Loss of *Time*, come many more Inconveniences, that heap on Poverty, and entail upon themselves and Generations.

From these *Clubs* and *Societies* (how civil soever they appear to be) it is impossible in any such Meeting, but some of them are given to Vice; and it is probable, the greatest Part: By this Means are introduced *Gaming*, *foolish Wagers*, *Wenching*, *Swearing*, and other *Debaucheries*. And usually at Parting, or Breaking up of these Clubs, they divide themselves according to their several Inclinations or Dispositions; some go to a Tavern, some to a convenient Place for Gaming, others to a Bawdy-house, by which Means, the Family is neglected, and not governed as it ought to be; the Wife (though possibly a very virtuous and careful Housewife) exasperated by the Extravagancies of her Husband, and foreseeing Poverty and Want attending her, and her Children, grows desperate; and, it may be, yields to some Temptations that are too common in these Days; by which Means, oftentimes an Estate, that was gathered by Grains, is scattered abroad by Bushels.

The Servants too, by these Examples, fall into the same Vices, and many Times ruin both themselves and their Friends, who have strained their Estates to the utmost, to get them into those Places, and engaged their Friends for their

C c c

Fidelity,

Fidelity, hoping that their Industry might afterwards make them some Retaliation; all which is frustrated, and they become Vagrants and Extravagants, by which Means City and Country are filled with so many idle Persons, that live only by Spoil or Rapine; or like Droans, feeding upon others Labours; the greatest Part of their Business being to undo what others do, and to devise or contrive Ways to cozen, supplant, or cheat each other; accounting it as lawful to get twenty Shillings by Cheating or Playing, as by the most honest and industrious Labour; so that, by this Means, our Commodities, which might be employed by industrious Manufacturers, lie waste; and no Wonder that we complain for Want of Trade, when the Hands, that should be employed about it, are idle; for, if a strict Inquiry were made into the City and Suburbs, of all the Persons that are capable of Work, either in the *Wool* or *Fishing-Trade*, as Men, Women, and Children from seven Years upwards, that are now all together idle, or not employed to any Purpose, in Trade, there would not be found less than an *Hundred and Fifty-thousand*, that live like Droans, feeding upon the Stock of others Labours.

Now, it is our own *Negligence* and *Idleness* that brings *Poverty* upon us; for, if these idle Persons were employed, we need not cry out of the *Exportation of Wool*, neither would *industrious Foreigners* have that Encouragement to work here, if we would mind it ourselves; but, if we will not improve our Manufactures, we cannot blame others for doing of it.

Now it will be supposed, that, by those Laws for setting idle People to work, punishing Vagrants, and rectifying Disorders in Publick-Houses, all this might be prevented: This commonly is our *last Shift*, and thus are we apt to excuse

ourselves, and lay the Burden of our own Faults upon the Shoulders of our Governors; we may be very sensible, that we have in this Kingdom as good Laws as in any Place in the World; we live under such a King, that, for Prudence and Wisdom, no Empire or Kingdom can make Comparison with us; nor can Laws be better executed than in this Kingdom: But it is impossible that the Eye of Magistracy can see into every Corner; every single Person hath a Corporation within himself; every Family is a petty Principality, of which, the Master or Mistress is Vicegerent; it lies upon every private Person to put in Execution those Laws of Nature within himself, that will inform him, what he ought to do, and what he ought not to do. Every Governor or Governess of a Family should take Care, by their good Examples, to instruct their Families; and severely to punish such Disorders as shall be committed in their House or Houses, as far as their Power doth extend; the Remainder they may leave to the Magistrates, who will not be wanting on their Parts.

Now since every one is guilty, let us endeavour to mend, and no longer complain of Want, since it is in our Power to enrich ourselves and our Country. *The industrious Hand needs not make a Leg to Fortune for Wealth; nor the honest Heart bend his Knee to Flattery, to gain him a Reputation.* These are the Heads of what afterwards I shall present you with, methodically handled in a Treatise, which, as this finds Acceptance, will before long, see the Light.

In the mean Time, I am,

Yours to command,

R. T.

Proposals

Proposals for carrying on an effectual War in *America*, against the *French* and *Spaniards*.

Bellum justum, quibus necessarium, & pia Arma, quibus in Armis spes est. TIT. LIV.

Humbly offered to the Consideration of the King's most Excellent Majesty, the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Honourable the House of Commons.

[From a Quarto Edition, printed at London, in the Year MDCCII.]

AL L *Europe* is justly alarmed at the Succession of *Spain* so unexpectedly falling to the House of *Bourbon*, already too great: The intire Reconciliation, and, as may be said, Union of these two formidable Monarchies, cannot but with good Reasons cause the utmost Jealousies in all their Neighbours, who may be in Danger of becoming their Prey. Insomuch that a general Confederacy, and well-cemented League, is absolutely necessary to support a vigorous and sudden War.

If you give these two Powers Time, they will more firmly unite together, induced to it, by the Apprehensions they have of other Nations. The *French* will inspire the *Spaniards* with their active and martial Temper,

——— *Residesq; movebit.
Rursus ad Arma Viros.*

with their Art of Government and Management of their Revenues, with their Methods of advancing and engrossing Trade; and we must expect in a short Time to see the Riches of the *West-Indies* fall into the Hands of these two Nations, and they exclude all others.

Of all their Neighbours the *English* have the greatest Interest to hinder this Mischief, and *England* is the only Power that can, and ought

to do it; since its Colonies are so vast and populous, and since *America* is the only Place where *England* can well with Honour and Profit enlarge its Dominions, and soon become the most potent Nation in the World: And it looks as if Providence had pointed out that Way, when we consider the vast Increase of the *English* in the *West-Indies*.

The *English* may easily ruin all the *French* Colonies in *America*, and drive all the *Spaniards* out of their vast, but ill-fortified Plantations: They are effeminate, and would surrender to a general Enemy, and many of them are willing to be transported to *Spain*, where they have Estates in Land or Money.

The *Spaniards* have possessed the Fountains of Gold and Silver long enough; it is high Time, they should pass into the Hands of the *English*, who have in the same Part of the World so many populous Colonies, and out of which young People may be drawn, and transported to better Places, as Swarms out of Beehives, to the incredible Advantage of the Nation in general.

If twenty-four Years Experience in those Parts, some Employments not very inconsiderable in Peace and War, which the Writer of this Paper has had among the *English* and the *French*; if having seen and been concerned in most, if not all the Actions that have been in those

those Countries; if all these Things can enable him to judge rightly of the Matter, he thinks that he may, upon very good Grounds, affirm, That a War in *America* may be very practicable, and, with God's Assistance, very successful.

The Miscarriages and ill Success of most of the Undertakings there in the late War, and the great Mortality which fell among the Forces sent thither, is, perhaps, an Objection, but many Things may be replied to it: The Incapacity of most of the Commanders, their little Skill in military Affairs, the Disaffection in some, the Want of Discipline and Order in general: And you may add to this, the ill Practices about the Plunder; such Disorders will hinder the best Troops from doing any Thing, much more such People as those Forces were composed of.

As to the Mortality and the great Loss of Men, it could not well be otherwise with unruly, drunken, and dissolute People, who, falling sick, had no Body to assist and look to them. Good Discipline, good Order, good Provisions, good Physick, and such like Necessaries, would certainly remedy all these Evils.

I do here, with all Submission and Respect, propose a Method by which I am persuaded, that a War may be carried on in *America* with very little Charge; I mean, by managing the Plunder, and other Things of that Nature, in such a Manner as the proposed War should feed and maintain itself; and there is no Doubt, but that, making War, in a rich Country, if Affairs are rightly and honestly carried, the conquered People may be made to defray the Charges, and so consequently the War will be enabled to support and maintain itself.

I likewise propose to raise Forces as soon as possible in all the Colonies out of the young People, who could be more easily transported any where; I would order them all into Independent Companies, each of an hundred Centinels, with one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Ensign, and four Serjeants: When they form a Battalion, or go upon Service, the Eldest or Senior Officer should command.

Regimenting of Forces is subject to a great many Inconveniences, and is of no Use when the Regiment is not altogether, and serves in different Places; besides that, the State-Major takes up all the Spoil.

All the Standing-Forces the *French* have, in *America*, and all their Militia are Independent Companies. When they draw into a Battalion, the Senior Officer takes the right Hand,

and every other according to the Seniority of their Commission; so that the Service is performed as well as if they had Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, and Majors, and it saves the King a great Sum of Money.

Perhaps his Majesty may think it convenient to model after that Manner the Forces raised here in *England*, to be sent to the *West-Indies*, since, in a Series of Time, it would save a great Sum of Money, please very much the Militia, and take off all Occasions of Dissatisfaction and Murmurings about the Division of Spoil and Plunder, which might then be all equally divided to the several Companies, without Distinction of Standing and Militia Forces. The Militia never repines at the right Hand and Post of Honour being taken by the Standing-Forces, but cannot willingly see those, who are allowed Pay, pretend to a greater Share than they who have no Salary, and endure commonly more Hardship, and are usually put upon more difficult Service.

The Well-ordering of Plunder, and justly and impartially Dividing it, is of very great Consequence; all our Divisions and Misunderstandings proceeded from thence.

At the Taking of *St. Christophers* some were very busy about getting, hiding, securing, and transporting of Plunder, whilst others were intent on Service, and minded their Duty; so that the Division of the Spoil and Plunder was not justly made.

I would provide good Arms and good Powder; and, as most of those Countries have Store of Horses, I would carry a great Number of small ordinary Saddles and Bridles, to mount the greatest Part of the Forces, and make them Dragoons, the most useful Sort of Troops.

People in those Parts use, upon Travelling in Woods, or such like Places, to carry along with them each Man his Pavilion to sleep under and defend him from Gnats, a most troublesome and intolerable Insect, and of an extraordinary Bigness in some Places. This Pavilion is made of thin Canvas, in such a Form that, being spread and supported upon some Sticks planted in the Ground, a Man lies under it, the Canvas falling like the Curtains of a Bed, and so leaves no Room for Gnats to get in. The Man has his Fusée between his Legs, and lies upon some Grass or Leaves, and in a March carries his Pavilion like a Shoulder-belt. Tents would never hinder the Gnats. This is the Buccaneers Fashion, and by these Means their In-

camp.

campments are soon made and soon raised.

Every Soldier should have a good Fufee with a Bayonet of that Sort, that he may fire off his Fufee with the Bayonet fixed; one Pistol and a good Sword, and one Pavilion; to every four Men I would give a brass Pot, well tinned within, to dress Viſtuals, and a good Hatchet.

Of Ordnance I would carry eight brass Guns, of eighteen, or at least twelve Pounds Bullet, some hollow Bullets, and three or four Mortar-pieces of the middle Size; a great Number of Shells, some Field-pieces, Store of Hand-Grana- does, and all Ingredients for Carcasses and Fire-works, with a good Quantity of the best Gun-powder, together with all Tools necessary for Miners and Pioneers.

Among the Shipping I would have two Bomb- Ketches: Out of every Ship may be drawn a sufficient Number of People to serve the Batte- ries, or any Service a-shore for some Time. These also to be ordered into Independent Com- panies.

Besides the Forces to be sent from *Europe*, his Majesty may, out of all his Dominions in *Ame- rica*, without any Danger or Prejudice to them, draw a great Number of brisk and active Peo- ple, sending thither before-hand some-body that should carry them his Commissions, and encou- rage them to go where the Service should re- quire, and list them to that Purpose. The Of- ficers would instruct and exercise them in the mean While, until they should be ordered to march towards the Rendezvous.

What I propose of the Number of People, which may be drawn from every Place, may be altered more or less, as the Officer sent, and the Governors of the respective Places, shall judge for the best.

Such an Army well governed, and wanting no Necessaries, nor Supplies of Arms and Am- munition, may, under the Command of good Officers, conquer and subdue all the *West-Indies*, and secure to *England* the greatest Part of the Riches of the World.

I observed before the ill Effects of sharing the Plunder, and the bad Consequences of it; the Remedy may be this: If his Majesty would give Order that such Plunder, as Pieces of Plate from Churches, publick and private Houses, Sums of Money out of publick Houses, Pigs of Silver, Ingots of Gold, Slaves, Coppers, Mills for Sugar, Quantities of Indigo, Cotton, Natto, Cocoa, Sugars, Tobacco, Hides, Dying Wood, &c. be all reserved for the King's Use, and suf-

fer nothing to be plundered but Cloaths, Linnen, and loose Money, which may be also consider- able: And if, out of the Produce of the aforesaid Goods retained and reserved, the King would be pleased to give such a Gratuity as he may think fit to his Standing-Forces, such perhaps as may amount to half Pay, and whole Pay to his Mi- litia, it would, I conceive, satisfy every Body, and prevent Disorders and Murmurings. I rec- kon the Number of People each Colony may send, after this following Manner:

Places.	Companies.	Men.
<i>Barbadoes.</i>	4	400
<i>Antegoa</i>	2	200
<i>Mountserrat,</i>	1	100
<i>Nevis,</i>	2	200
<i>St. Christophers,</i>	1	100
<i>Jamaica,</i>	5	500
<i>Providence,</i>	1	100
<i>Bermudos,</i>	1	100
<i>Carolina,</i>	8	800
<i>Virginia,</i>	40	4000
<i>Pensilvania,</i>	8	800
<i>Mary-Land</i>	8	800
<i>New-Jersey,</i>	8	800
<i>New-York,</i>	10	1000
<i>New-England,</i>	40	4000
<i>Buccaneers,</i>	10	1000
	149	14900
Officers to each Company,		596

In all 15496 Men.

His Majesty sending out a general Pardon and Amnesty to all Buccaneer-Pirates, would soon bring in a great Number of them, of all Na- tions: They agree well together against the *Spa- niards*, would be fit for any Service, and soon be at *Jamaica*.

The *French* may have in *America*, by what I could observe myself, and learn of others, Men fit for Service.

	Men.
In <i>Cyenne,</i>	400
<i>Martinico,</i>	1500
<i>Guardeloupe,</i>	800
<i>Marie Galante,</i>	200
<i>St. Christophers,</i>	500
<i>Granada,</i>	300
<i>Hispaniola,</i>	5000
<i>Canada,</i>	5000
In all	13700

The

The Dutch may have also in all,

In Surinam	—	900
Essequipe,	—	200
Berbiche,	—	200
Eustathia,	—	200
Saba	—	100
Curacao,	—	500

2100 Men.

The Spaniards have not, in all America, by the best Informations I could get, One-hundred-thousand Men; and, perhaps, not near so many: They are dispersed into several Places, very distant from one another. It is easily to be believed, if we rightly consider the Disposition of the Spaniards in general; the Barrenness of their Women, and the Nature of the Country, where they are for the most Part settled.

New-England and Virginia can afford some Thousands of Men more than I mention; Virginia especially, which has no troublesome Neighbours to fear: Two-thirds of the Inhabitants of New-England, all the People of Piscataway, Acadie, and Newfoundland, live and depend upon the Fishing-Trade; the best Half of their Ships go for Spain, Portugal, and the Streights; the rest are employed in Voyages to the Southern Colonies; so that most of those People, if we have a War, will be at Leisure, and may be very serviceable. In what I propose about the Islands, an Objection may arise, That they must keep their People to guard and defend themselves. But this may be remedied, by transporting thither good Numbers of Scotch Servants, engaged to serve, as usually, for so many Years. The Planters like them very well, and will freely entertain them. They will soon learn the Use of their Arms, and help to guard and defend the Place.

When I consider the great Inconveniences which I have observed to attend Giving of the Plunder to Soldiers, the Difficulties, or rather, the Impossibilities of dividing it to their Content and Satisfaction, I cannot but urge and insist again, on what I had but hinted at before, That his Majesty would be pleased to grant and send his Commissions to all the Officers to be raised, to encourage them the better; and to allow them all, Officers and Soldiers, such a Pay as they may deserve, and esteem just; considering that they shall have, whilst upon Service, all Provisions and Ammunitions found at the King's Charge.

And the King may easily do it, providing in Time good Store of Beef and Pork from Ireland; of Beef and Pork, Salt-fish, Bisket and Pease, from New-England; and a Ship or two loaded with Salt, if possible, from France, being the best to preserve Flesh and Fish.

There is, in most Parts of America, a vast Number of Cattle, wild and tame, of Sheep, Goats, and Hogs, finding Victuals for every Body. Killing and Destroying of Cattle and Stock should be strictly forbidden; and you may procure People, as Butchers, and such like, whose whole Business would be to dress and salt such Meats. There is also, in some Places, a great Quantity of Manatees, or Sea-Cows, of Turtles, and other Sorts of Fish. The Islands, likewise, will furnish Abundance of Rum, Lime-juice, and Sugar, to make Drink.

If the King would be pleased to send some few Officers of the Mint in his Fleet, with all Things necessary for Coining: They may coin the Spanish Gold and Silver that should fall into our Hands, and the Army might be paid with it. This Way would make a large Addition to the English Coin, to the great and general Benefit of the Nation.

The Taking of Canada may be easy enough, if we attack it at once, both by Sea and Land; and not as it was done lately, by very unskilful People. The Keeping of Canada, and Settling and Fortifying that large Island of Newfoundland, will hinder the French from Fishing upon the great Bank, and consequently diminish greatly, if not totally ruin their maritime Power.

Martinico is the only Place of Strength the French have in America; its Fort-Royal is impregnable any other Way than by Famine, but it may easily be bombarded, whereby you may ruin and burn the Houses and Buildings in it; and perhaps the very Magazines and Cisterns, after which they cannot subsist long, and will be forced to surrender.

Granada is of very little Strength, having but few Inhabitants: Its Fort is on the Top of a Hill, and was surpris'd and taken by one Erasmus, a single Dutch Privateer. Its Harbour is very large, and capable of holding many of the greatest Ships. This Island is not subject to Hurricanes, its Situation lying near Trinity Island, and the Spanish Coast; and those other Places, by which most of the Spanish Ships pass in going to the West-India Plantations, make it very considerable.

It has many Rivers of excellent Water; the Land is hilly about the Harbour, and the North-side; but, towards the South and West, very level; Cocoa-Trees, and the Vanilio, grow there naturally.

In Lieu of sending two Regiments (as it is discoursed of) to *Jamaica*, I would only draw Detachments from all the Regiments here in *England*, and *Ireland*, perhaps, also, from *Scotland*; model them all into Independent Companies, and give them Commanders out of the Reformed and Half-pay Officers.

The Regiments, keeping all their Officers, would soon recruit, and be filled again, with new Soldiers, who would presently be disciplined; and these Independent Companies would be as serviceable as if they were regimented, and be of less Charge to the Nation.

I would also propose to send these Companies, as soon as possible, to the North-continent of *America*: For Example, two to *Newfoundland*, six to *New-England*, four to *New-York*, and so of all the other Companies; it would make no great Noise, and alarm no Body, not being likely to be thought, or presumed to intend, farther than the Defence of all those Places. The Transport from that Northern Continent, to the Southward, is very easy, and may be done at any Time, together with the Provisions, all the Parts of *New-England* having a great Number of Ships of their own.

The Sending of two Regiments to the Island of *Jamaica* will cause many Inconveniencies. *Jamaica* is unhealthy, and many will be sick and die, before you can bring them to Action. The Northern Parts of *America* are as healthy as *England*. *Jamaica* lies to the Leeward of all the *French Colonies*, so that it is very difficult and sometimes impossible, always very tedious, and long, to turn up to the Windward; the Winds are contrary, and the Current is against you, very often so strong, that a brisk, favourable Westerly Wind cannot make you overcome it.

I would gather all the Forces to the Islands of *Barbadoes* and the *Carribbees*: They lie to the Westward of all the *French* and *Spanish Colonies*; the Wind is always favourable to go to them at Pleasure.

I humbly propose the Attacking of the *French* first. If a War breaks out towards the Spring, most of the Forces being ready in the Continent of *New-England*, I would begin, by attacking *Canada* by Sea and Land in the Beginning of the Summer; the Conquest of it may be thoroughly

perfected before the fit Time of attempting any considerable Action in the Southern Colonies.

The Timing well your Attempt is so very necessary, that, without it, you cannot, with any Probability, succeed; yet it has been hitherto so little regarded, that all our Fleets for the *West-Indies*, in the late War, arrived always, and thought of some Action, when the Hurricanes began to be feared and expected.

It was very far in *June*, when we attacked *St. Christophers*; it was the Beginning of it, also, when we landed at *Martinico*; and it was also in *June*, when *Willmot* and *Lillingston* attacked *Port de Paix* in *Hispaniola*.

Had *Ruiter* been at *Martinico* any other Time but *June*, he would have certainly taken it: The *Dutch* committed many Errors in their Attack. But the only Thing, which forced them to withdraw, was, that, it being Hurricane Time, *Ruiter*, seeing great Appearance of a Storm, would not venture his Fleet, and caused that sudden Retreat.

The *French*, who were but few, had no other Defence, but a very bad Pallisado, and a narrow Trench, almost filled up in many Places, could not possibly have resisted a brisk Attack with Sword and Pistol in Hand. But the *Dutch* must needs land in Order, though they saw No-body to oppose their Landing, and would not advance upon the Enemy, until they had formed their Battalions, as if they had been in a pitched Battle; they were all this while exposed, from Head to Foot, to the Musquets of the Enemy, and the great and small Guns of a Man of War, which lay in the then Careening-place, commanded by M. d' *Amblimont*, who died lately General for the *French King* in *America*. The same Night the *Dutch* retreated, the *French* left and abandoned their Fort, judging it untenable, and expecting the *Dutch* would have stormed it the next Morning.

All Things should be so ordered, that the Fleet and Forces may arrive where you intend to make your Attack. In the Beginning of *October*, the Hurricane Time is just over, and you may venture your Fleet any where, during nine Months, and you have then three Months that the Heat is but moderate, and the Weather, for the most Part, very clear and dry; the best Time for Action.

I would put the Forces upon Action and Attack, as soon as they arrive; and so make the best Use of their Strength and Health, and not stay until the Heat of the Weather, or any other

other Cause, should pull their Courage down, or they should fall sick, and be out of Order.

In the *West-Indies*, I would begin with *Martinico*; take that Island from the *French*, and you will ruin them in all their Colonies: There they keep all their Stores for Ships and Land-Forces. It is easy to block up *Fort-Royal* by Sea and Land; by falling upon the Island unexpectedly, and landing near the Fort of a sudden, you may hinder the People from going and carrying any Provisions and Water into the Fort; and dry Weather may happen, so that there may be but little Water in the Cistern. One may encamp round about it very well, and commodiously, all along a River of good Water: The Country about it is also full of Provisions.

The Fort being besieged and blocked up, I would ply them Night and Day with Bombs and Carcasses, in order to burn and destroy their Houses, Magazines, and Cisterns. From some of the neighbouring Hills, Guns may shoot at Random into the Fort, and, raking along, may do much Damage.

Having left People enough to maintain and continue the Siege, some considerable Body of Forces may be sent all over the Island to subdue it; which I am confident would be easy enough, especially, if his Majesty, intending the Conquest of all the Colonies, would give out and proclaim, that he intends to keep the Island to himself, and would receive its Inhabitants into his Protection as Subjects, and so forbid Burning and Destroying of Plantations and Houses. Very many, if not all, would submit; and it would be easy afterwards to banish and force away those, that should be deemed unfit to be kept there as Inhabitants.

I would also take, keep, and fortify, the Island of *Granada*; it has an excellent large Harbour; it is never troubled with Hurricanes. And the *Spanish* Ships, going to their Western Plantations, pass near and often in Sight of it. That Island is better than any of the *English* *Caribbees*, *Barbadoes* excepted. It might soon be settled, and made a profitable Colony.

All the rest of the *French* Colonies would easily be subdued. I would ruin them, and transport what I would keep of them, to *Martinico*, or *Granada*. There are still, in the *French* Islands, many Protestants, *French* and *Dutch*, who may be trusted and depended upon.

The Taking of *Martinico* would discourage the *French*, and, I am confident, would

hinder them from assisting the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*: How could they with Reason venture out thither a considerable Fleet, after the Loss of *Martinico*, the only Strong-hold they have, being sensible that the *English* can be always their Superiors in those Parts, whensoever they please.

All our *Caribbee* Islands being secured by the Taking and Keeping *Martinico*, some few Frigates might suffice to protect and defend them from any Insult, and they may spare some of their People to help to attack the *Spaniards*.

The Island of *Cuba* is that of the *Spanish* I would begin with. The *Havannah*, its chief Town, is very strong on the Harbour and Seaside; but would be easily enough taken, if besieged on the Country and Land-side; and, as we commonly say, in Form, with those Preparations that are requisite in Sieges. You may land in many Places, and the March is easy from thence to the Town: The Country abounds in Cattle, Sheep, Goats, and Hogs: The Bays are well stored with Fish, Manatees, and Turtles: The Country Provisions very plenty every where: The Bay of *Mattanzas* would, perhaps, be the fittest Place to land in, and to preserve the Fleet, some few Frigates being sufficient to stop and block up the Harbour's Mouth, during the Siege.

The Taking and Keeping the *Havannah* would soon ruin the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*: As their Ships, coming, pass near *Granada*; going Home, they must pass also near the *Havannah*, and so through the *Bahamas*: So that some Frigates at *Granada*, and some at *Havannah*, would annoy the *Spaniards* going and coming.

I would, by all Means, keep and settle *Cuba*, though forced to abandon some other Settlements: It may, perhaps, be done, without deserting any other Place, with some People out of *New-England*, the least profitable of all the Colonies.

Having *Cuba*, we may easily seize *Porto-Bello*, *Chiagre*, and *Panama*, and so command both the North and South-Seas in *America*.

The Design I propose is great, and may, perhaps, appear impossible to some People; but I am sincerely persuaded of the Feasibleness of it to the *English* Nation, so very populous, and so very strong in the *West-Indies*.

— *Quod nemo promittere Divum
Auderet volvenda dies certe afferet ultro.*

There

There is nothing wanting for so great an Undertaking, but a faithful, honest, hearty, and honourable disinterested Mind in the commanding Officers. The Success of such an Enterprise would enrich the *English* Nation beyond Measure, making her Mistress of most of the Mines of Gold and Silver, besides all the Productions peculiar to that Part of the World, as Sugars, Cocoa's, Cotton, Indigo, Natto, Tobacco, &c. What Increase would it not bring to its Navigation and Shipping? All Sorts of Merchant-Ships may be built in the Northern

America, or with Timber brought from thence, whilst the *English* Oak, so very excellent for Building, may be kept and reserved only for Building of Men of War.

I am confident, and I dare maintain it, That the Conquest of all the *Spanish* and *French* Colonies, in *America*, would never cost *England*, what the Taking of *Namur* did, in Blood and Money. It would, without Doubt, make the *English* Nation the strongest and the richest of the World: And, that it may be so, is the hearty Wish of a faithful and devoted Subject.

An Account of the Arraignments and Tryals of Colonel Richard Kirkby, Captain John Constable, Captain Cooper Wade, Captain Samuel Vincent, and Captain Christopher Fagg, on a Complaint exhibited by the Judge-Advocate on Behalf of her Majesty, at a Court-Martial, held on board the Ship *Bredah*, in *Port-Royal* Harbour, in *Jamaica* in *America*, the eighth, ninth, tenth, and twelfth Days of *October*, 1702, for Cowardice, Neglect of Duty, Breach of Orders, and other Crimes, committed by them in a Fight at Sea, commenced the Nineteenth of *August*, 1702, off of *St. Martha*, in the Latitude of ten Degrees North, near the Main Land of *America*, between the Honourable John Benbow, Esq; and Admiral Du Casse, with four *French* Ships of War; for which Colonel Kirkby and Captain Wade were sentenced to be shot to Death. Transmitted from two eminent Merchants at *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, to a Person of Quality in the City of *London*.

[From a Folio Edition, printed at *London*, 1703.]

A Court-Martial, held on board her Majesty's Ship the *Bredah*, in *Port-Royal* Harbour, in *Jamaica* in *America*, the eighth, ninth, tenth, and twelfth Days of *October*, 1702.

Present,

The Honourable William Whiston, Esq; Rear-

Admiral of her Majesty's Ships for the *West-India* Squadron, President.

Samuel Vincent,
John Hartnoll,
Christopher Fagg,
John Smith,
John Redman,
George Walton,

William Ruffel,
Barrow Harris,
Hercules Mitchell,
Philip Boyce,
Charles Smith.

D d d

Arnold

Arnold Browne, Esq; Judge-Advocate.

Who being all duly sworn, pursuant to the Act of Parliament;

Proceeded * to the Tryal of John Arthur, Gunner of the *Defiance*, on a Complaint exhibited by Francis Knighton, third Lieutenant of the *Defiance*, and George Foster, Gunner of

for Hiding and Concealing Forty-three Barrels of Powder in the Wad-room, and Covering them with Wads and Coins, &c. when a Survey of her Majesty's Stores of Ammunition after an Engagement was ordered; and Denying to the Surveyors that there was any more Powder on Board, than was in the Powder-room and Gun-room, viz. One Hundred; which upon a second Survey were discovered.

It was proved also, That he had two Keys to the Powder-room; and that, having lost or mislaid his own, he, without making any Application to the commanding Officer then on board, who kept the other Key, prevailed with William Baker, Carpenter of the said Ship, to break open the Door.

In Mitigation of his Offence, he alledged, That, examining into the Powder-room, he found three Barrels that had received Wet, which caused his Removal of the Forty-three Barrels; but had little to say for his Concealing them from the Surveyors. Whereupon the Court adjudged, That, the said Offence falling under the Thirty-third Article of War, the said John Arthur should be carried from Ship to Ship in a Boat, with a Halter about his Neck, the Provost-Marshal declaring his Crimes; and all his Pay, as Gunner, to be mulcted and forfeited to the Chest at Chatham, and he rendered incapable of serving her Majesty in any other Employment.

Colonel Richard Kirkby, Commander of the *Defiance*, was tried before † the aforesaid Court (except Captain Samuel Vincent, and Captain Christopher Fogg, who appeared as Witnesses for the Queen) on a Complaint exhibited by the Judge Advocate, on the Behalf of her Majesty, of Cowardice, Neglect of Duty, Breach of Orders, and other Crimes committed by him in a Fight at Sea, commenced the Nineteenth of August, 1702, off of St. Martha, in the Latitude of ten Degrees North, near the main

Land of America, between the Honourable John Benbow, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the blue Squadron of her Majesty's Fleet, and Admiral and Commander in Chief, &c. on board her Majesty's Ship *Bredah*, Christopher Fogg, Commander, and six other of her Majesty's Ships, viz. The *Defiance*, Richard Kirkby Commander; the *Falmouth*, Samuel Vincent Commander; the *Windsor*, John Constable Commander; the *Greenwich*, Cooper Wade Commander; the *Ruby*, George Walton Commander; and the *Pendennis*, Thomas Hudson Commander; and Monsieur Du Casse, with four French Ships of War: Which continued until the Twenty-fourth of August, inclusive.

The Witnesses that were sworn in Behalf of the Queen, viz.

The Honourable John Benbow, Esq; Admiral	1
Captains	2
Lieutenants	8
Masters	5
Inferior Officers	5

In all 21

Who deposed, That the said Colonel Richard Kirkby, the Van in the Line of Battle, the Nineteenth of August, about Three in the Afternoon, the Signal of Battle being out, the Admiral was forced to send his Boat on board of Kirkby, and command his making more Sail, and get a-breast of the Enemy's Van, for he was resolved to fight them. About Four the Fight began, but the said Kirkby did not fire above three Broad-sides, then luffed up out of the Line, and out of Gun-shot, leaving the Admiral engaged with two French Ships till dark, and the said Kirkby receiving no Damage; that his Behaviour caused great Fear of his Desertion. At Night, the said Kirkby fell astern, leaving the Admiral to pursue the Enemy.

That on the Twentieth, at Day-light, the Admiral and *Ruby* were within Shot of all the Enemy's Ships, but Colonel Kirkby was near three or four Miles a-stern. The Admiral then made a new Line of Battle, and took the Van himself, and sent to each Ship, with a Command to the said Kirkby to keep his Line and Station; which he promised to do, but did not, keeping two or three Miles a-stern, though the Signal for

* October 8th.

† October 8th and 9th.

Battle was out all Night; the *French* making a running Fight, the Admiral and *Ruby* plied the Enemy with their Chace Guns till Night. That the Twenty-first Day, at Light, the Admiral was on the Quarter of the second Ship of the Enemy's Rear, and the *Ruby* on the board Side, very near, who plied him warmly, and met the same Return, by which he was so much disabled, though the Admiral came in to his Assistance, that he was forced to be towed off; and this prevented the Admiral's Design of cutting off the Enemy's sternmost Ship. This Action lasted two Hours, during which Time the said *Kirkby* lay a broad-side of the sternmost Ship; as did also the *Windsor*, *John Constable* Commander. The Admiral then commanded the said *Kirkby* to ply his Broad-sides on him; but, this having no Effect, the second Time he commanded the same, but he fired not one Gun; nay, his own Boatswain and Seamen repeated the Admiral's Command to him, but were severely used, and threatened that he would run his Sword through the Boatswain: And, had the said *Kirkby* done his Duty, and Captain *Constable* his, they must have taken or destroyed the said *French* Ships. The Admiral, though he received much Damage in his Sails, Rigging, Yards, &c. yet continued the Race all Night. That the Twenty-second in the Morning, at Day-light, the *Greenwich* was three Leagues a-stern, and the *Defiance*, Colonel *Kirkby*, with the rest of the Ships, three or four Miles, the *Falmouth* excepted, whose Station was in the Rear: That the said Captain *Samuel Vincent*, seeing the Behaviour of the said *Kirkby* and the rest, came up with the Admiral, and sent his Lieutenant on board, desiring Leave to assist him, which was accepted: The said *Kirkby* never coming up, and, by his Example, the rest did the same, as if they had a Design to sacrifice the Admiral and *Falmouth* to the Enemy, or desert. The Enemy were now about a Mile and a half a-head, standing in to the Shore, with a small Breeze at West, fetched within *Sambey*, the Admiral firing at the sternmost till Night, and continuing the Pursuit; and a *Flemish* Ship that was in Monsieur *Du Casse's* Company, on board of which were all the *French* and *Spanish* new Governors and other Officers, made her Escape. That the Twenty-third in the Morning, at Day-light, the Enemy bore North-West, distant about four or five Miles, the Admiral and *Falmouth* pursuing; but the said Colonel *Kirkby*, with the rest of the Ships, being three or four

Miles a-stern (though there was not a Ship, but, before and after the Battle, sailed better than the Admiral:) About seven in the Evening, it having been some Time calm, a Gale of Wind sprung up; the Admiral and *Falmouth* were about two Miles from the Enemy, and at Eight the said *Kirkby* and his separate Squadron were fair up with the Admiral; and this Day the Admiral sent away the disabled *Ruby*, *George Walton*, Commander, to *Port Royal*, and under his Convoy the *Anna Galley*, retaken from the *French*.

That the Twenty-fourth in the Morning, about Two of the Clock, the Admiral came up with the sternmost of the Enemy within Call, and the *Falmouth* pretty near; but the said Colonel *Kirkby*, with the rest of the Ships, according to Custom, were three or four Miles a-stern: The Admiral and *Falmouth* engaged the said Ship, and at Three the Admiral was wounded, his right Leg being broke, but commanded the Fight to be vigorously maintained; and at Day-light the Enemy's Ship appeared like a Wreck, her Mizzen-mast shot by the Board, her Main-yard in three or four Pieces, her Fore-top Sail-yard the same, her Stays and Rigging all shot to Pieces. Soon after Day, the said *Kirkby*, with the rest of his Ships, being to Windward of the said disabled Ship, he the said *Kirkby*, with the rest of his separate Squadron, fired about twelve Guns at the said Ship; and, fearing a smart Return from her, he lowered his Mizzen-yard, his Top-sails on the Caps, set his Sprit-sail, Sprit-sail Top-sail, and Fore-top-sail Staysail, and, having waired his Ship, set his Sail, and run away before the Wind from the poor disabled Ship, the rest following his said Example; though they had but eight Men killed on board them all (except the Admiral.) The other three *French* Men of War were, at this Time of Action, about four Miles distant from their maimed Ship; whereupon the Enemy, seeing the Cowardice of the said Colonel *Kirkby*, and the rest of the *English* Ships, in a Squall bore down upon the Admiral, who lay close by the disabled Ship, and, having got in their Sprit-sail-yard, gave him all their Fire, and, running between him and the disabled Ship, remained her, and took her in. The Admiral's Rigging, being very much shattered, was obliged to lie and rest till Ten o'Clock, and then continued the Pursuit, and the rest of the Fleet following in the greatest Disorder imaginable; the Admiral commanded Captain *Fagg* to stand a-breast

of the Enemy's Van, and then to attack him, and having then a fine steady Gale, the like not happening during the whole Engagement; and further ordered that he should send to all the Captains to keep the Line of Battle, and behave themselves like *Englishmen*; and this Message was sent by Captain *Wade*, then on board the *Bredah*. That the said Colonel *Kirkby*, on the Receipt of this Message, and seeing the Admiral's Resolution to engage, came on board him, who then lay wounded in a Cradle; and, without common Respect of enquiring after his Health, he the said *Kirkby* expressed these Words following: viz. *That he wondered that the Admiral should offer to engage the French again; it being not necessary, safe, nor convenient, having had six Days Trial of their Strength; and then magnified that of the French; and lessened that of the English.* But the Admiral, being surprised at his Speech, said it was but one Man's Opinion, and that he would have the rest of the Captains; and accordingly ordered the Signal to be made for all the Captains to come on board; and at this Time the Admiral, and the rest of the Ships were to Windward, and within Shot of the Enemy, and had the fairest Opportunity that in six Days presented to chace, engage, and destroy the Enemy.

That the said Colonel *Kirkby* had endeavoured to poison the rest of the Captains, forming a Writing under his own Hand, which was cowardly and erroneous. The Substance of which was, Not to engage the Enemy any more; he the said Colonel *Kirkby* brought it to the Admiral, who reproved him for it, saying it would be the Ruin of them all. Upon which he the said Col. *Kirkby* went away, but writ another in the following Words:

At a Consultation held on board her Majesty's Ship, Bredah, the Twenty-fourth of August, 1702, off of Carthagena, on the main Continent of America.

"IT is the Opinion of Us whose Names are under-written,

1. "Of the great Want of Men in Number, Quality, and the Weakness of those they have.
2. "The general Want of Ammunition of most Sorts.
3. "Each Ship, Masts, Yards, Sails, and Rigging, being all, in a great Measure, disabled.

4. "The Winds are so small and variable, that the Ships cannot be governed by any Strength; each Ship,

5. "Having experienced the Enemy in six Days Battle, following the Squadron consisting of five Men of War and a Fire-ship, under the Command of Monsieur *Du Casse*; their Equipage consisting in Guns from Sixty to Eighty, and having a great Number of Seamen and Soldiers on board for the Service of Spain.

"For which Reasons above-mentioned, we think it not fit to engage the Enemy at this Time, but to keep them Company this Night, and observe their Motion; and, if a fair Opportunity shall happen of Wind and Weather, once more to try our Strength with them."

Richard Kirkby, Samuel Vincent, John Constable, Christopher Fogg, Cooper Wade, and Thomas Hudson.

That, during the six Days Engagement, he never encouraged his Men; but, by his own Example of dodging behind the Mizzen-Mast, and falling down upon the Deck on the Noise of Shot, and denying them the Provisions of the Ship, the said Men were under great Discouragement. That he amended the Master of the Ship's Journal of the Transactions of the Fight, according to his own Inclination.

All which being proved as aforesaid:

The said Colonel *Richard Kirkby* denied the whole, excepting the pretended written Consultation; which being shewn to him, he owned his own Hand and Name too. He brought several of his Men to give an Account of his Behaviour during the Fight; but their Testimonies were insignificant, and his Behaviour to the Court and Witnesses most unbecoming a Gentleman. And being particularly asked by the Court, Why he did not fire at the Enemy's sternmost Ship, which lay point-blank with him, the *Twenty-first of August*? He replied, Because they did not fire at him, for that they had a Respect for him; which Words upon several Occasions, during the Trial, he repeated three several Times.

Whereupon due Consideration of the Premises, of great Advantages the *English* had in Number,

ber, being seven to four, of Guns One-hundred and Twenty-two more than the other; with his Acts and Behaviour as aforesaid, and more particularly his ill-timed Paper or Consultation, as afore-recited, which obliged the Admiral, for the Preservation of her Majesty's Fleet, to give over the Chace and Fight, to the irreparable Dishonour of the Queen, her Crown and Dignity, and come to Port-Royal, Jamaica: For which Reasons the Court was of Opinion, That he fell under the eleventh, twelfth, fourteenth, and twentieth Articles of War; and adjudged accordingly, That he should be shot to Death. But further decreed, That the Execution of Colonel Kirkby be deferred, till her Majesty's Pleasure be known therein; but be continued a close Prisoner till that Time.

Captain John Constable, Commander of the *Windsor*, was tried before the aforesaid Court, on a Complaint exhibited by the Judge Advocate on the Behalf of the Queen, for Breach of Orders, Neglect of Duty, and other ill Practices committed during a Fight commenced the Nineteenth of August, 1702, as aforesaid. (Refer to Colonel Kirkby's Trial.)

The Witnesses sworn on the Behalf of the Queen, were;

Captains	_____	2
Lieutenants	_____	7
Masters	_____	5
Other Officers	_____	2
The Honourable John Benbow, Esq; Admiral	_____	1
Witnesses		17

Who deposed, that the Captain John Constable never kept his first nor second Line of Battle, but acted in all Things, as Colonel Kirkby had done. That the Admiral had fired two Guns to command him into the second Line of Battle. That he did set more sail, in order to come into the Line and his Station; but, upon Colonel Kirkby's Calling to him, to keep his Line, he accordingly did. That the Admiral sent his Lieutenant Landridge to command him the said Constable to keep his Line of Battle, within half

a Cable's Length of the Ship before him, which was twice verbally delivered. And that he signed the Paper, Consultation; as is in Col. Kirkby's Trial aforesaid; tending to the Hinderance and Disservice of her Majesty, &c. and was drunk during the Fight, &c.

All which being fully proved, as aforesaid; the said Captain John Constable denied his Breach of Orders, or Neglect of Duty; but owned the signing the Paper or Consultation prepared by Colonel Kirkby, and did it at his Request, and for that he had received Damage in his Masts and Rigging; and owned no other Article to be true, but, that he had signed to: He called several Witnesses to his Behaviour during the Fight; who all declared he kept the Quarter-deck during the Engagement, and encouraged his Men to fight; and that sometimes he gave them Drums of Rum; and that verbal Message, delivered by Lieutenant Landridge, was delivered him in some Heat and Passion, and was understood to be, to keep the Line within half a Cable's Length, and to follow Kirkby; which he did. That he so understood it himself, and several of his Men: He prayed the Mercy of the Court, and so concluded, &c.

Whereupon due Consideration of the Premises, the Court was of Opinion, that the said John Constable, Captain, fell under the 12th, 14th, and 20th Articles of War; and adjudged the said Captain John Constable to be immediately cashiered, and rendered incapable of serving her Majesty, and be imprisoned during her Majesty's Pleasure, and sent Home to England a Prisoner in the first Ship, the Admiral shall think fit; and be confined a Prisoner, till then.

Captain Cooper Wade, Commander of the *Greenwich*, was tried * before the aforesaid Court, on a Complaint exhibited by the Judge Advocate, on the Behalf of the Queen, of high Crimes and Misdemeanors, of Cowardice, Breach of Orders, and Neglect of Duty, and other ill Practices; committed during a Fight, commenced the Nineteenth of August, 1702, as aforesaid. (Refer to that Part of Colonel Kirkby's Trial.)

* October 10th and 12th.

The Witnesses sworn on Behalf of the Queen;

The Honourable John Benbow, Esq; Admiral 1

Lieutenants 9

Masters 3

Inferior Officers 3

Witnesses 16

Who deposed, that, during the six Day's Engagement, he never kept the Line of Battle, fired all his Shot in vain, not reaching half Way to the Enemy; that he was often told the same by his Lieutenants and other Officers, but notwithstanding he commanded them to fire, saying, they must do so, or the Admiral would not believe they fought, if they did not continue the Fire. That, during the whole Fight the Admiral was engaged in, the said Captain Wade received but one Shot from the Enemy; that he was in drink the greatest Part of the Time of Action; and that he signed the Paper or Consultation drawn up by Colonel Kirkby, as aforesaid; and, in the Time of Fight, arraigned the honourable Courage and Conduct of the Admiral.

All which being fully proved, as aforesaid:

That the said Captain Cooper Wade denied the Arraignment of the honourable Courage and Conduct of the Admiral, during the whole six Days Engagement, declaring the Bravery and good Management of the Admiral in this Time of Action, and that no Man living could do more or better, for the Honour of the Queen and Nation. He called some Persons to justify his Behaviour, who said little in his Favour. He begged the Mercy of the Court, and so concluded. Whereupon the Court was of Opinion, that the said Cooper Wade fell under the 11th, 12th, 14th, and 20th Articles of War; and accordingly adjudged the said Cooper Wade to be shot to Death: But it is farther declared by the Court, that the Execution of the said Captain Cooper Wade be deferred, till her Majesty's Pleasure be known therein; but be continued a close Prisoner till that Time.

Captain Samuel Vincent, Commander of the *Falmouth*, and Captain Christopher Fogg, Commander of the *Bredah*, were tried * before the

aforesaid Court, on a Complaint exhibited by the Judge-Advocate, for high Crimes and Misdemeanors, and ill Practices in the Time of Admiral Benbow's Fight with Monsieur Du Casse, as aforesaid, in signing a Paper called a Consultation and Opinion held on board the *Bredah*, the 24th of August 1702. (Which is Verbatim recited in Colonel Kirkby's Tryal, to which I refer.) It tending to the great Hinderance and Disservice of her Majesty's Fleet then in Fight: And the said Paper so written, being shewed to each of them, they severally owned their Hands to the same. But the said Captain Vincent and Captain Fogg, for Reason of signing the same, alledged, that, being deserted during each Day's Engagement by Colonel Richard Kirkby in the *Defiance*, Captain John Constable in the *Windsor*, Captain Cooper Wade in the *Greenwich*, and Captain Thomas Hudson in the *Pendennis*, and left as a Prey to Monsieur Du Casse, they had great Reason to believe they should be Captives to the Enemy. And the Honourable John Benbow, Esq; Admiral, &c. coming in Court, declared, That during the six Days Fight the said Captain Fogg behaved himself with great Courage, Bravery, and Conduct, like a true Englishman, and Lover of his Queen and Country: And that the said Captain Samuel Vincent valiantly and courageously behaved himself during the said Action, and desired Leave to come into the said Admiral's Assistance, then engaged with the Enemy, and deserted by all the rest of the aforesaid Ships, which he did to the Relief of the said Admiral, who otherwise had fallen into the Hands of Monsieur Du Casse.

Whereupon the Court, being of Opinion, That the signing of the aforesaid Paper brought them under the Censure of the twentieth Article of War, accordingly adjudged Captain Samuel Vincent, and Captain Christopher Fogg, to be suspended: But the Execution thereof is hereby respited, till his Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, Lord High Admiral of England, &c. his further Pleasure be known therein.

Captain Thomas Hudson, Commander of the *Pendennis*, died on board his said Ship in the Harbour of Port Royal, at Jamaica, the

At Five o'Clock the twelfth Day of October, 1702, the President, &c. having finished all the Business before the Court, dissolved the same.

* October 12th.

The Instrument, by which Queen *Jane* was proclaimed Queen of England, &c. setting forth the Reasons of her Claim, and her Right to the Crown. [From the *first* Edition, in three Folio Sheets.]

Whoever reads the latter Part of the Life of Henry the Eighth, will soon be convinced, That he left the Succession of the Crown so disputable, that it could only be owing to the Hand of Providence, that the Nation had not, for ever after, been distracted with contrary Claims.

His Divorces from Catharine of Arragon and Ann Bullen; the Acts of Parliament confirming those Divorces; other subsequent Acts, which seemed to repeal what the first had ordained; the Power given to the King, to appoint his Successors, and to place them in what Order he pleased; and his last Will itself so embroiled the Affair of the Succession, that it was left full of Obscurity and Contradiction. For, as the Makers of these new Laws were not swayed with Justice and Equity, and calculated merely to gratify the Ambition and Schemes of a Prince, who would have taken Vengeance on those that should act in Opposition to his Directions, it was not possible to act in such Emergencies according to the ancient Laws and Customs of the Realm.

He, after Cohabiting with Catharine of Arragon eighteen Years, and having several Children by her, obliged the Archbishop of Canterbury, to pronounce him divorced from her, and his Marriage with her to be null and void; but not before he had contracted a second Marriage with Ann Bullen, of which he also grew weary; and, accusing his second Queen of Adultery, he ordered her to be beheaded, after he had been also publicly divorced from her.

His next Step was to obtain an Act of Parliament (1536) to confirm both these Divorces, and to declare Mary and Elisabeth, the Children of these two Marriages, illegitimate, and incapable of succeeding to the Crown, without his special Will and Appointment. But in an Act, made in 1544, Mary and Elisabeth were declared successively to inherit the Crown after Edward, still allowing the King to impose Conditions on these two Princesses, without which, they could have no Right to succeed. And Henry made his last Will and Testament in the same Manner; by which, preferring Edward to be his immediate Successor, he left it as his Opinion, that his Daughters were illegitimate.

Thus far the Succession was much disturbed; but what still conduced to embroil it more, was the not mentioning, in his Will, the Issue of Margaret Queen of Scotland, Henry's eldest Sister, and placing the Children of his younger Sister Mary, Queen Dowager of France, and Duchess of Suffolk, next to his Daughter Elisabeth. And

To compleat this Confusion of Claims to the Crown, Edward the Sixth confirmed the Act, which declared Mary and Elisabeth illegitimate; abrogated, by his own Authority, the Act which gave his Father Power to settle the Succession, and, by his own Will, excluded Mary, Elisabeth, and the Queen of Scotland from the Throne, and conveyed the Crown to Jane Grey, by the Importunity and Ambition of the Duke of Northumberland, who was known to hold Edward's Council in Subjection; and therefore whatever Methods were taken before, or after the young King's Death, to secure and settle Jane on the Throne, and the Drawing up and Publishing the following Procla-

Proclamation must be looked upon as the Act and Deed of the said Duke, and not to be ascribed to the Council.

This was the State of Affairs, when Edward the Sixth was removed by Death, and by this short Recapitulation it may easily be perceived, what a Door of Divisions and Civil Wars was opened by Henry the Eighth and his Successor. For, according to their Acts and Wills, and Letters Patents, Mary, Elisabeth, the Queen of Scotland, and Jane Grey, four Princesses, could claim the Crown after Edward's Death, and each of these Princesses could find in these very Acts, &c. Arguments to oppose the Claim of her Competitors. Yet only Jane, who, though by far the youngest, was not less endowed with the Gifts of Nature, and preferable to all her Adversaries in the Endowments of her Mind, and least tainted with the ambitious Desire of a Crown, was forced by the Importunity of her Relations to accept of it, and thereby fell a Sacrifice to their Ambition; as it is excellently well related by Dr. Heylin, in these Words, in his History of the Reformation:

She was eldest Daughter of Henry Lord Grey, Duke of Suffolk. Her Mother was the Lady Frances, Daughter, and, in fine, one of the Coheirs of Charles Brandon, the late Duke of Suffolk, by Mary his Wife, Queen Dowager to Lewis the Twelfth of France, and youngest Daughter of King Henry the Seventh. She seemed to have been born with those Attractions, which seat a Sovereignty in the Face of most beautiful Persons; yet was her Mind endued with more excellent Charms, than the Attractions of her Face; modest and mild of Disposition, courteous of Carriage, and of such affable Deportment, as might intitle her to the Name of Queen of Hearts, before she was designed for Queen over any Subjects.

These her native and obliging Graces, were accompanied with some more profitable ones, of her own Acquiring; which set an higher Value on them, and much increased the same, both in Worth and Lustre. Having attained unto that Age, in which other young Ladies used to apply themselves to the Sports and Exercises of their Sex, she wholly gave her Mind to good Arts and Sciences; much furthered in that Pursuit by the loving Care of Mr. Elmer, under whose Charge she came to such a large Proficiency, that she spake the Latin and Greek Tongues, with as sweet a Fluency, as if they had been natural and native to her; exactly skilled in the liberal Sciences, and perfectly well studied in both Kinds of Philosophy.

*Take here a Story out of Mr. Ascham's Schoolm. Page 11. in his own Words: One Example, whether Love or Fear doth work more in a Child, for Virtue or Learning, I will gladly report; which may be heard with some Pleasure, and followed with more Profit. Before I went into Germany, I came to Broadgate in Leicestershire, to take my Leave of that noble Lady, Jane Grey, to whom I was exceeding much beholding. Her Parents, the Duke and the Duchess, with all the Household, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, were hunting in the Park; I found her in her Chamber, reading *Phædon Platonis* in Greek, and that with as much Delight, as some Gentlemen would read a merry Tale in *Boccace*. After Salutation, and Duty done, with some other Talk, I asked her, Why she would lose such Pastime in the Park? Smiling, she answered me, I know, all their Sport in the Park is but a Shadow to that I find in *Plato*: Alas! good Folk, they never felt what true Pleasure meant. And how came you, Madam, quoth I, to this deep Knowledge; and what did chiefly allure you unto it, seeing not many Women, but very few Men have attained thereunto? I will tell you, saith she, and tell you a Truth, which perchance you will marvel at. One of the greatest Benefits, that e-*

ver God gave me, is, that he sent me so sharp and severe Parents, and so gentle a Schoolmaster. For, when I am in Presence either of Father or Mother, whether I speak, keep Silence, sit, stand, or go; eat, drink, be merry, or sad; be sowing, playing, dancing, or doing any Thing else, I must do it, as it were, in such Weight, Measure and Number, even so perfectly, as God made the World; or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea presently sometimes, with Pinches, Nips, and Bobs, and other Ways (which I will not name, for the Honour I bear them) so without Measure misordered, that I think myself in Hell, till the Time come, that I must go to Mr. Elmer; who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair Allurements to Learning, that I think all the Time nothing, whilst I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall to Weeping, because whatsoever I do else, but *Learning*, is full of Grief, Trouble, Fear, and whole Misliking unto me. And thus my *Book* hath been so much my *Pleasure*, and bringeth daily to me more and more Pleasure, that in Respect of it, all other Pleasures, in very Deed, be but Trifles and Troubles unto me. I remember this Talk gladly, both because it is so worthy of Memory, and because also it was the last Talk that I ever had, and the last Time that I ever saw that noble and worthy Lady. *Thus far Mr. Ascham.*

By this eminent Proficiency in all Parts of Learning, and an Agreeableness in Disposition, she became very dear to the young King Edward; to whom Fox not only makes her equal, but doth acknowledge her also to be his Superior, in those noble Studies. And for an Ornament, superadded to her other Perfections, she was most zealously affected to the true Protestant Religion, then by Law established; which she embraced, not out of any outward Compliance with the present Current of the Times, but because her own most excellent Judgment had been fully satisfied in the Truth and Purity thereof. All which did so endear her to the King, that he took great Delight in her Conversation.

Thus lived she in these sweet Contentments, till she came unto the Years of Marriage, when she, that never found in herself the least Spark of Ambition, was made the most unhappy Instrument of another Man's. The proud and aspiring Duke of Northumberland treats with the Duke of Suffolk, about a Marriage between the Lord Guilford Dudley, his fourth Son, and the Lady Jane. The Marriage is concluded, and, by Northumberland's Policy, the Crown is transferred from King Edward, to his Cousin the Lady Jane, his two Sisters, the Lady Mary and Lady Elisabeth, being passed by. Memorable is the Speech she made to the two Dukes, when they owned her for Queen, to this Effect: That the Laws of the Kingdom, and natural Right, standing for the King's Sisters, she would beware of burthening her weak Conscience with a Yoke, which did belong to them: That she understood the Infamy of those, who had permitted the Violation of Right, to gain a Scepter: That it was to mock God, and deride Justice, to scruple at the Stealing of a Shilling, and not at the Usurpation of a Crown. Besides (said she) I am not so young, nor so little read in the Guiles of Fortune, to suffer myself to be taken by them. If she enrich any, it is but to make them the Subject of her Spoil: If she raise others, it is but to pleasure herself with their Ruins. What she adored, but Yesterday, is To-day her Pastime. And, if I now permit her to adorn and crown me, I must To-morrow suffer her to crush and tear me in Pieces, &c. But the Ambition of the two Dukes was too strong and violent, to be kept down by any such prudent Consideration. So that*

* Mary and Elisabeth.

being wearied at last with their Importunities, and overcome by the Intreaties of her Husband, whom she dearly loved, she submitted unto that Necessity which she could not vanquish, yielding her Head with more Unwillingness to the ravishing Glories of a Crown, than afterward she did to the Stroke of the Ax.

Accordingly the Duke of Northumberland declared, in his Report to the Council, that this good Lady Jane was so far from aspiring to the Crown, as to be rather made to accept of it, by Enticement and Force. And

The Duke had no sooner obtained Lady Jane's Consent, but it was resolved that the Council should move with her into the Tower of London, and that she should be proclaimed in the Manner following: A Proclamation, which, for its Substance, Antiquity, Curiosity, and Scarceness, well deserves the Attention of the Reader, and to be preserved, in this Miscellany, from the Injuries of Time.

JANE by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, under Christ, in Earth the supreme Head. To all our most loving, faithful, and obedient Subjects, and to every of them Greeting. Whereas our most dear Cousin, *Edward the Sixth*, late King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in Earth the supreme Head, under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland, by his Letters Patents, signed with his own Hand, and sealed with his great Seal of England, bearing Date the twenty-first Day of *June*, in the seventh Year of his Reign, in the Presence of the most Part of his Nobles, his Counsellors, Judges, and divers others grave and sage Personages, for the Profit and Surety of the whole Realm thereto assenting, and subscribing their Names to the same, hath by the same his Letters Patents recited, that forasmuch as the Imperial Crown of this Realm, by an Act made in the thirty-fifth Year of the Reign of the late King of worthy Memory, *King Henry the Eighth*, our Progenitor and great Uncle, was, for Lack of Issue of his Body lawfully begotten, and for Lack of Issue of the Body of our said late Cousin, *King Edward the Sixth*, by the same Act limited, and appointed to remain to the Lady *Mary*, by the Name of the Lady *Mary*, his eldest Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten, and, for Default of such Issue, the Remainder thereof to the Lady *Elisabeth*, by the Name of the Lady *Elisabeth*, his second Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten, with such Conditions, as should be limited and appointed by the said late King of worthy Memory, *King Henry the Eighth*, our Progenitor and Great Uncle, by his Letters Patents, under his great Seal, or by his last Will in Writing, signed with his

Hand. And forasmuch as the said Limitation of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, being limited (as is aforesaid) to the said Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elisabeth*, being illegitimate, and not lawfully begotten, for that the Marriage had between the said late King, *King Henry the Eighth*, our Progenitor and Great Uncle, and the Lady *Catharine*, Mother to the said Lady *Mary*, and also the Marriage had between the said late King, *King Henry the Eighth*, our Progenitor and Great Uncle, and the Lady *Anne*, Mother to the said Lady *Elisabeth*, were clearly and lawfully undone, by Sentences of Divorces, according to the Word of God, and the Ecclesiastical Laws: And which said several Divorcements have been severally ratified, and confirmed by Authority of Parliament, and especially in the twenty-eighth Year of the Reign of *King Henry the Eighth*, our said Progenitor, and Great Uncle, remaining in Force, Strength, and Effect, whereby as well the said Lady *Mary*, as also the said Lady *Elisabeth*, to all Intents and Purposes, are, and have been clearly disabled, to ask, claim, or challenge, the said Imperial Crown, or any other of the Honours, Castles, Manors, Lordships, Lands, Tenements, or other Hereditaments, as Heir, or Heirs to our said late Cousin, *King Edward the Sixth*, or as Heir, or Heirs to any other Person, or Persons whatsoever, as well for the Cause before rehearsed, as also, for that the said Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elisabeth* were unto our said late Cousin but of the half Blood, and therefore, by the ancient Laws, Statutes, and Customs of this Realm, be not inheritable unto our said late Cousin, although they had been born in lawful Matrimony, as indeed they were not, as by the said Sentences of Divorce, and the said Statute of the twenty-eighth Year of the Reign of *King Henry the Eighth*, our said Progenitor and Great Uncle, plainly appeareth.

And

And forasmuch also as it is to be thought, or, at the least, much to be doubted, that if the said Lady *Mary*, or Lady *Elisabeth*, should hereafter have, and enjoy the said Imperial Crown of this Realm, and should then happen to marry a Stranger born out of this Realm, that then the same Stranger, having the Government and the Imperial Crown in his Hands, would adhere and practise, not only to bring this noble free Realm into the Tyranny and Servitude of the Bishop of *Rome*, but also to have the Laws and Customs of his or their own native Country or Countries to be practised, and put in Use within this Realm, rather than the Laws, Statutes, and Customs here of long Time used; whereupon the Title of Inheritance of all and singular the Subjects of this Realm do depend, to the Peril of Conscience, and the utter Subversion of the Commonweal of this Realm. Whereupon our said late dear Cousin weighing and considering with himself, what Ways and Means were most convenient to be had for the Stay of the said Succession in the said Imperial Crown, if it should please God to call our said late Cousin out of this transitory Life, having no Issue of his Body, and calling to his Remembrance, that we and the Lady *Catharine*, and the Lady *Mary*, our Sisters, being the Daughters of the Lady *Frances*, our natural Mother, and then and yet Wife to our natural and most loving Father, *Henry*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Lady *Margaret*, Daughter of the Lady *Eleanor*, then deceased Sister to the said Lady *Frances*, and the late Wife of our Cousin, *Henry*, Earl of *Cumberland*, were very nigh of his Grace's Blood, of the Part of his Father's Side, our said Progenitor and great Uncle, and being naturally born here within the Realm, and for the very good Opinion our said late Cousin had of our, and our said Sisters and Cousin *Margaret's* good Education, did therefore, upon good Deliberation and Advice herein had and taken, by his said Letters Patents declare, order, assign, limit, and appoint, that if it should fortune himself our said late Cousin, King *Edward the Sixth*, to decease, having no Issue of his Body lawfully begotten, that then the said Imperial Crown of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Confines of the same, and his Title to the Crown of the Realm of *France*, and all and singular Honours, Castles, Prerogatives, Privileges, Pre-eminences, Authorities, Jurisdictions, Dominions, Possessions, and Hereditaments, to our said late Cousin, King *Edward the Sixth*, or to the said Imperial Crown belonging, or in

any Wife appertaining, should, for Lack of such Issue of his Body, remain, come, and be unto the eldest Son of the Body of the said Lady *Frances*, lawfully begotten, being born into the World in his Life-time, and to the Heirs Male of the Body of the same eldest Son lawfully begotten, and so from Son to Son, as he should be of Antienty in Birth, of the Body of the said Lady *Frances*, lawfully begotten, being born into the World in our said late Cousin's Life-time, and to the Heirs Male of the Body of every such Son, lawfully begotten; and for Default of such Son born into the World, in his Life-time, of the Body of the said Lady *Frances* lawfully begotten, and, for Lack of Heirs Male of every such Son lawfully begotten, that then the said Imperial Crown, and all and singular other the Premises, should remain, come, and be to us, by the Name of the Lady *Jane*, eldest Daughter of the said Lady *Frances*, and to the Heirs Male of our Body lawfully begotten, and for Lack of such Heir Male of our Body lawfully begotten, that then the said Imperial Crown, and all other the Premises, should remain, come, and be to the said Lady *Catharine*, our said second Sister, and to the Heirs Male of the Body of the said Lady *Catharine* lawfully begotten, with divers other Remainders, as by the same Letters Patents more plainly and at large it may and doth appear. Sithens the making of which Letters Patents, that is to say, on *Thursday*, which was the sixth Day of this instant Month of *July*, it hath pleased God to call to his infinite Mercy our said most dear and intirely beloved Cousin, *Edward the Sixth*, whose Soul God pardon, and forasmuch as he is now deceased, having no Heirs of his Body begotten, and that also there remain, at this present Time, no Heirs lawfully begotten of the Body of our said Progenitor and Great Uncle, King *Henry the Eighth*, and forasmuch also as the said Lady *Frances*, our said Mother, had no Issue Male begotten of her Body, and born into the World, in the Life-time of our said Cousin, King *Edward the Sixth*, so as the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises to the same belonging, or in any wise appertaining, now be, and remain to us in our actual and Royal Possession, by Authority of the said Letters Patents: We do, therefore, by these Presents, signify unto all our most loving, faithful, and obedient Subjects, that like as we, for our Part, shall, by God's Grace, shew ourselves a most gracious and benign Sovereign Queen and Lady to all our

good Subjects in all their just and lawful Suits and Causes, and to the uttermost of our Power shall preserve and maintain God's most holy Word, Christian Policy, and the good Laws, Customs, and Liberties of these our Realms and Dominions; so we mistrust not, but they, and every of them, will again, for their Parts, at all Times, and in all Cases, shew themselves unto us, their natural liege Queen and Lady, most faithful, loving, and obedient Subjects, according to their bounden Duties and Allegiances, whereby they shall please God, and do the Thing that shall tend to their own Preservations and Sureties; willing and commanding all Men of all Estates, Degrees, and Conditions, to see our Peace and Accord kept, and to be obedient to

our Laws, as they tender our Favour, and will answer for the contrary, at their extreme Perils. In witness whereof, we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents. Witness ourself at our *Tower of London*, the tenth Day of *July*, in the first Year of our Reign.

GOD save the Queen.

Anno Domini
M.D.LIII.

*Londini in ædibus Richardi
Graftoni Reginae a Typo-
graphia excusum.*

*Cum Privilegio ad imprimen-
dum solum.*

King WILLIAM's GHOST.

[From a Half Sheet *Folio*, printed in the Year MDCCXI.]

GENTLEMEN,

THE last Time I spoke to you, I told you, you had still one Opportunity left, but, if slipped, you should be a miserable People.

I was then near my End, God inspired me, I spoke the Decrees of Fate.

What Successes! What Triumphs! have ever since attended your victorious Arms! Your Resolution to assert your own and *Europe's* Liberties.

But you stand still! A Fiend in the Likeness of an Imperial *Eagle* dazzles your Eyes. In her right Pounce the Hereditary Countries, in her Left the Dominions of *Italy*, in her Beak *Spain* and the *West Indies*.

Be not frightened. Where is her Fleet? How remote is she from your Shore? Where are her Manufactures to supplant yours?

The Phantom disappears.

Your *Lions* are, at any Time, an Overmatch for her disjointed Forces.

Your good Angel comes forth.

Behold the *Gallican* Cock and her numerous *Toads**, Three-hundred-thousand Veteran Soldiers, Thirty-thousand experienced Officers, a

mighty Fleet, how distant? Seven Leagues from your Coast.

Tremble!

But no.

Resume your usual Courage.

Rush in before *Cambray*.

The Genius of *France* sickens.

Push on your bold Squadrons, the *Toads* fly!

† *Lutetia* surrenders.

O blessed Day! I have my Wishes!

Now pause a little.

Secure the *Protestant* Interest.

Give *Austria* her Due, but recompense her Helper.

Let *Holland* keep all the Strong-holds in *Flanders*, it is your Barrier.

Reserve *Calais* your own.

Restore to *Prussia* *Orange*.

Give *Portugal* *Badajoz*, *Gallicia*, and *Algarve*.

To *Savoy* *Briancon*, Mount *Dauphine*, and Fort *Barrau*.

Erect two Bulwarks against *France*.

Let *Anjou* ‡ have *Navarre*, and add to it *Guienne*.

* Three Toads were anciently the Arms of *France*.
Spain.

† *Paris* formerly called *Lutetia*. ‡ Now King of

Lorraine

Lorrain is of the *Eagle Race*, his great Father was my best Friend, give him *Luxemburg* and *Alsace*, the three Bishopricks *Burgundy*, *Bar*, and *Champaigne*, he will be your Friend for ever.

Take for yourselves *Panama* and *Calloa*,

Havannah, and *Porto Bello*.

Burn the *Toad's Fleet*, choak *Brest* and *Toulon's* Ports.

Hang the *Pretender*, he is not of *Stuart's* Blood.

Go home, be happy, rich, and glorious.

An Account of *St. Sebastians*, in Relation to its Situation, Fortifications, Government, Customs and Trade. By one lately come from thence.

[From twenty-two Pages in *Quarto*, printed at *London*, 1700.]

ST. *Sebastians*, in the Province of *Guiposcoa*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, is a free Town, in Manner of a Republick; subject to the Crown of *Castile*, on Conditions approved on by the Kings of *Spain*. And in all their Writings they stile it,

The Most Noble and Most Loyal City of St. Sebastians.

The Kings of *Spain* have given them this Title for the Services they did the Crown, in their Wars against the *French* and Kings of *Navarre*.

The Province of *Guiposcoa* enjoys great Privileges, and does not obey the King's Orders, when that, which is required of them, is contrary to the Privileges and Liberties of the Province, which is governed thus:

Every Year there is a Convocation or Assembly, whither every Town does send their Deputies to concert Affairs relating to their County or Province. Their Meeting is in four different Places by Turns, and they are called;

St. Sebastians, *Tolosa*, *Aspeitia*, and *Ascoitia*.

The Head, or Chief of such as are chosen for the governing this Province, is a Judge, called *Corrigidor**, who is as *Lord Lieutenant* of a County, or *Intendant* of a Province. It is to him the King sends his Orders to be executed in

the County. Besides this *Corrigidor*, there is chosen, for the Governing the said Province, a *Deputation*, so called by the *Spaniards*, consisting of several Representatives of the several Places in the said Province, who have Power of refusing the King's Orders served to them by the *Corrigidor*, if any such Orders, or Commission, presented them, are against the Rights of the *Deputation*, or Places whom they represent; but if the King's Commission, or Orders to the *Corrigidor*, do not contradict the Rights of the *Deputation*, they let him put them in Execution to the full. For Example,

When the King asks of the said Province to supply him with a certain Number of Men, either Landmen or Seamen, the *Corrigidor* serves the King's Orders to the Province, and acquaints the *Deputation*; they tell him they are a free People, and that they cannot oblige any Inhabitant to leave his Family to serve the King; but, when they find that the Demand is not against their Liberties and Rights, they are so civil to give the King Leave to order a Drum to be beat, and they will not oppose it; otherwise they do as in the Case of the *Corrigidor*, Duke *Corsano*, a few Years ago, who requiring of this Province of *Guiposcoa*, and in particular of the City of *St. Sebastians*, some Things contrary to their Privileges (which I shall not mention) they presented their *Leij Secundo*, or Charter, in one Hand, and a Sword in the other, with Orders to him in four Hours to leave the Province; the Duke was fain to scow for it.

* i. e. Judge or Sheriff.

The Government of the City of St. *Sebastians*, whose Magistrates are chosen once a Year, about a Week before *Christmas*, is thus :

There are about an hundred Electors, who must be qualified as you will hear hereafter, for no Body can be of the Government of St. *Sebastians*, nor of the Province, nor indeed of the least Village, till he has proved his *Higuidalquir*, viz. That he is Noble.

Their Magistrates are chosen thus :

There is a great Silver Bowl, into which are put, confusedly, all the Electors Names; the first eight, which a Boy (like one of our Blue-coat-boys) takes out, are those who are to be *Alcayde*, *Subalcayde*, and *Syndect*, i. e. Magistrates and Jurats for the following Year.

These eight names, every one of them, one to be *Alcayde* and *Subalcayde*; the first two of these eight, the Boy takes out, are *Alcayde* and *Subalcayde*; the first *Alcayde*, the second *Subalcayde*, and so after the same Manner of the *Syndect* and other Officers.

Notwithstanding this fair Way of chusing their Magistrates, there is Faction and Interest made to get in their Friends into the Magistracy; they are generally very poor, despising Industry and Arts; and when they come to govern, or to be *Alcayde*, have Opportunities of exacting even upon their own People as well as Strangers, and which they make no Scruple of doing in the Face of the World. I could relate several Particulars to my Knowledge, but that I should expose them too much; and, indeed, it would hardly be believed that such Tricks and little Things were practised in *Spain*, where every one, from the highest to the lowest, value themselves on their Families, Nobility, and *Punctilio's* of Honour.

In order to be thus qualified to get into the Government (as I said before)

They must be Noble.

Their Nobility is thus, not to have had any of their Kindred a *Jew*, *Moor*, *Turk*, or *Heretic*.

And, to prove this, the Person that would be of the Government, presents a Request to the Province of *Guiposcoa*, in which is explained his

Intention, and asks to be a *Cavallero Dillegenzero**, viz. That his Birth and Estate may be enquired into, in order to his being made a Nobleman.

The Province or Town orders their *Syndect*, whose Business it is to enquire into his Family (and for which he has a Pistole a Day) to go to the Place of his Birth along with him, and there take both private as well as publick Informations of his Family, which afterwards he reports to the Province or Magistrates of the Place, where such a one would be of the Government; if the Report is allowed, the *Cavallero Dillegenzero* is declared Noble.

Besides these Qualifications already mentioned,

There is one yet very remarkable, and without it, if they were descended from *Cæsar's* or *Achilles's* Race, they cannot be Noble, viz.

If they live, or are to live in Town, they must have a House of their own, or else they must have land enough in the Province whereon they have Two-thousand Apple-trees, or whereon they may raise Two-thousand Apple-trees, and then the *Cavallero Dillegenzero* is admitted, or made capable of being admitted into the Government. No Man can be Noble by his Wife, or by her Estate.

The Town of St. *Sebastians* is seated on the South Side, and at the Bottom of a high Hill of Free-stone, in a square Form; the Town is hid by the Hill, as you make towards the Land, and is not to be seen till you are in the Road.

There are two Gates, that of the *Peer*, and the other that is called the *Passage-Gate*, from which goes a Road to *Passage*, a noble Harbour: There is a Horn work with a Ravelin before it, that covers the *Passage-Gate*, and but very ordinary, and in ill Repair, and out of all due Proportion.

The Castle upon the Top of the Hill stands prettily, a noble Prospect from it all along that Part of the Bay of *Biscay*, from *Cape Martinchauc* to *Arkason* and *Cape-Britton* in *France*. The going up, or Access to this Castle, is difficult, which adds to the Strength of it, and, I think, all that can be said justly of this Castle is this. Although the *Spaniards* are extreme proud of it, and quote you *Charlequin*, who said in Praise of it (if you will be-

* A Candidate for an honourable Employment.

lieve them) that, if he should lose all *Spain*, and had only the Castle of St. *Sebastians*, he would recover it.

The Castle was blown up by the *Magazine's* taking Fire, but is now rebuilt, and in good Repair; all the Water in the Castle is Rain-water, which is conveyed into a Well by leaden Pipes from the Roof of the Guard-room, and *Barracks*, which are indeed very fine, and capable of lodging Two-thousand Men conveniently.

The Garison at present consists of a Serjeant and six Men, which by Detachment from the main Guard (which does not consist of above Twelve, besides a Governor, Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign) is relieved every Day by the like Number, and by sometimes a lesser. The Soldiers are all Beggars, and, if a Stranger refuses to give them something, they contrive to do him Mischiefe.

There are two Platforms mounted with Guns, I suppose designed to secure the Harbour, and play on Ships that would force themselves into the Road; they are too high to be of any Use to them, as well as the Castle for this Purpose.

In the Mouth of the Harbour there is a Hill called St. *Claire*, where there was, three Months ago, a *Hermit* of the Order of St. *Francis*, who tells twenty Legends and Stories, and helps to fill the Casks with Wine; as he must live by Begging, so the poor old Fellow will be every Day as drunk as a Beggar; for this Reason, they say, they turned him out of his Cell, but it is rather believed it was to make Room for one that is now there, a Gentleman of a considerable Estate in the Kingdom of *Castile*; for Reasons, he has his Estate taken from him, and is confined to this *Island* as a *Hermit*, to beg his Bread for fourteen Years, and then returns to his Estate again: The Church and Clergy enjoy his Estate in the mean Time.

All that die *Hereticks* are buried here; when the Corpse is carried out of Town to be waisted over to this *Island* to be buried, the Mob of Men and Women follow, insulting over the Corpse, crying aloud, *He goes to Hell*. The *Hermit* has the Benefit of the Ground on his *Island*, and sells it as he thinks fit.

To give the Clergy their Due, they are not so troublesome to Strangers when they are sick and dying, although *Hereticks*, with their extreme Unction and Wafers, as in *France*.

The Coming into the Road, and over the Bar of St. *Sebastians*, is difficult, unless with a

leading Wind, a great Rock lying under Water in the Middle of the Bar.

But, to run no Hazard, the Pilots will force themselves on board of you; which is commendable enough, if it was not on Design to impose upon you, and make one pay what they please, and no Help for it, nor no Justice done, if you complain. The *Consul* and *Merchant* Strangers, residing at St. *Sebastians*, have brought them to some better Reason, and to Composition, but, for all that, it is still as they please; every Fisherman looks upon himself as good as *Signior Alcaijde* himself: So that a Man must sit down under all Affronts and Hardships, and be quiet.

Their Way of Living at St. *Sebastians*.

People that are of the better Sort, and distinguishable, after having enjoyed the Musick of *Serenading* a little before Day, they get up and drink Chocolate, without which they will not stir abroad if their House was on Fire; then they take, both Men and Women, a great deal of Pains with their Hair, dress themselves, and go to Church; they and their Priests understand what they pray to God for much alike, for not one in twenty of their Clergy understands *Latin*.

After *Mass* the Men go to the *Pier*, where they tarry till Eleven of the Clock; then they go to the Middle of the Town, called the *four Corners*, where they stay till Twelve; after it has struck, if it was to save the Town, they would not stay a Minute longer, and oftentimes break off in the Middle of a Story or Sentence, to go Home to their *Olio*. The first Thing presented at their Tables is a Chocolate Cup of Soup, or the Gravy of Meat boiled, and Bread crumbled into it, served upon earthen Platters; then comes the roast Meat, then the boiled, and at last the Desert.

They give this Reason for bringing the roast Meat before the boiled (which seems plausible enough) the best of the boiled Meat, say they, is in the Broth, and there is more Substance and Nourishment in the roast than the boiled; for that Reason, this would pass, if they did not spoil their roast Meat and Fowl, by over-doing of them, and roasting them dry as they do their boiled Meat, by boiling it to Pieces.

But most People think it rather in Opposition to the rest of the World, for they shew it almost in every little Thing else; Cyder they have cheap,

cheap, and Abundance of sweet Apples, very large, all round the Country. The Corn of the Country is *Indian* Corn, and no other: With Wheat they are supplied from the *Sound*, and sometimes from *Barbary*, and often from *England*: They have been so hard put to it this last Year, that they have been forced to make Bread of Chestnuts, which is the Reason they are prohibited to be exported. They have extraordinary good Rabbits of *Navarre*, and Wild-Fowl plenty; their Pigeons are much esteemed, and their red Partridges of *Arragon* are excellent and large.

Fish they have Plenty, and of good Sorts, if they will be at the Pains to catch it; and if the Sea (which with a North-West blowing Wind flies high on the *Bar*, and even up almost to the Top of the *Island St. Claire*, about six-hundred Feet) will permit; the Sea oftentimes in the Harbour flies to the Top of the Walls forty Feet high and more.

When the Fishermen come from Sea with their Boats, their Wives are sitting on the *Peer* with their Husbands Clokes and long Spada's, or long Rapiers; the Husband walks in State into the Town, and his Wife carries the Basket of Fish on her Head to the Market-place and sells them. *Billingsgate* Language and Noise is nothing to what the Fishermen and Applewomen make at *St. Sebastian's*; they are always quarrelling, and will cuff heartily, and will not be Friends under a Week. Their common Language is *Basque*, which is as much different from *Spanish* as *Welsh* from *English*.

Their Houses are lofty and stately, only covered with Pan-tiles; and because of great unexpected Squalls of Wind, which happen here often, they lay great Stones on the Pan-tiles to keep them fast; sometimes both Stones and Pan-tiles are fetched down by Storms of Wind, and, their Streets being narrow, it is dangerous then to walk in them. Their Rooms are large, and there is only one Chimney in a House of five Rooms of a Floor, and four or five Stories high, and that at the Top of the House. They live all Winter in the upper Stories, to enjoy the Benefit of the Sun, and in the lower Rooms in Summer. It is very hot here; the Reflexion of the Sun from the Castle-hill on one Hand, and from the Sand in the Vale on the other, is the Cause that it is hotter here than in many Places of a more *Southern* Latitude. Their Beds are finely carved and gilt, but very hard to lie on; their Curtains are of Linnen laced

at every Half-yard broad, but not wide enough to draw round the Bed; they have few or no Glass Windows, only Lattices, their Beds stand all in *Alcoves*.

Merchant Strangers, unless married with a *Spanish* Woman, have not the Liberty to hire Houses, but must get one of the Town to hire them, and live in it with him, and they generally go Snacks with the Merchants in their Profits.

From Dinner they go to Sleep till Two or Three, and then go out of Town between the *Horn-work* and the *Town-wall*; there they tarry all the Afternoon, either playing, or looking on those that play at Tennis and Nine-pins: Their Tennis-Court is in the open Air, and rough paved, yet they are very expert in Tossing the Ball.

In the Winter they pass their Time till Eight of the Clock at Night in private Houses, or at an Assembly, where every one, that comes in, pays Six-pence; he may either pick up a Party to play at Cards, or sit and see others play and talk, and call for three or four Glasses of Wine; if they stay beyond Eight, the Mayor sends his *Algozins*, and makes Money of the Company, as well as of him that entertains them after such an Hour. Sometimes the Clock strikes Eight, when it is but Seven, if the Mayor wants a little Money.

The Men are very tight in their *Spanish* Garb, their long Spada's, their Silk Stockings and slashed Shoes; the Women, modestly and oddly attired, all of them go veiled, their Vails being very large, gathered at the Bottom in such a Manner, that, as they walk, their Vails sit as full blown about them, as the Sails of a Ship, before the Wind; their Petticoats are proportionable, and the Ladies, who generally all sit on the Ground or Floor, have such an Address, when they sit down to fling their Petticoats out in a Round, that, modestly speaking, they take up more Room than any Milstone in *England* does in Circumference, and the Wind gathered under their Coats, by the Turn they make, is so long getting out, that, by Degrees, as their Coats fall, they find a cool Breeze that is very refreshing to them, in so hot a Climate: They seldom stir abroad, the better Sort, but to Church, and even not then without a great deal of Jealousy of an ill-natured Husband; they have pretty Faces, black Eyes, and would look about them, as Women do, in other Countries, if they durst.

The

The Priests are the only happy Men that enjoy the Ladies Company, who are about eighty in all; their Revenue is but small; they live merry Lives, eat and drink of the best, in private Houses, where they are always welcome; few or none of them, but have three or four Children, and no Reflexion on them.

When a Priest would lie with a Woman, he absolves her from the great Scruple, Women make of Whoredom's being a great Sin; he tells her, he will take that Sin to himself; as for the other Scruple, that Women have of losing their Reputation and spoiling their Fortunes, there is no such Thing amongst them, for, if a Man gets a Woman with Child, that does not pass for a Prostitute, he is only to keep the Child, and give the Wench a Portion (if she has nothing of her own) who marries and is not a Bit the worse looked upon.

Women have another Advantage in this Country, for, after they are contracted and all Matters settled, and the Day of Marriage, agreed on, she has the Liberty to desire her Bridegroom to come and shew himself a Man: And if she does not find him to her Satisfaction, the Contract is void, and she is a good Maid still.

They bring up some of their young Women to play on the *Spanish* Harp, for which they let their Nails grow so long, that it looks strangely.

They do not allow of any Bawdy-houses, but every Street, in a dark Night, serves their Turn, and he must look to himself that disturbs them, or spoils Sport.

Every *Sunday* and Holyday, the ordinary Sort of them have a Dance on the Market-Place, thus:

There are three Drums and Pipes; the Drum-Major who has the biggest Drum, which is about the Bigness of a Child's Drum, is the common Hangman; there they whistle with one Hand, and beat their Drums with the other, till there is a Ring made, when one of the nimblest of the Fellows goes into the Middle of the Ring, shews his Activity, takes out of the Ring a Wench, she her Mate, and so it goes round; the first Fellow leads the Brandle, and all dance and shew their Parts for an Hour. The Coopers, who are numerous here, on *St. Andrew's-Day*, their Patron, go a Mask-querading all Day, and play twenty Tricks ridiculous enough, and would not work that Day for any Reward, but they make it up at

other Times, for they are at Work before Day.

The Country all round abounds with Oak, proper for the Staves, and Chesnut Trees, of which they make the Hoops for Casks; there is also a great Number of Casks made in the Country, and at *Passage*, and brought to *St. Sebastians* empty on Mules.

There is, near to the Town, the Convent of *St. Austin*, a Nunnery of Women, where there is to be seen the Corpse of a Woman dead Hundreds of Years ago; her Arms, Legs, and Face appear as full, as if she had been buried but Yesterday; she looks tawny, and I believe has been served *Mummy*-like; when they were digging the Foundation of this Monastery, they found this Corpse, which they pray to.

The chief Trade of the Town is Iron, Wine, and Oil.

Their Iron-mills are near to the Town, and their iron Bars are brought to the Town on Horses or Mules, on Crookfaddles, to the publick Magazine, which is under the Town-hall, where constant Attendance is given for receiving them out of the Country, and delivering and weighing them to the Buyer. Our Tin-men in *Cornwall* are here supplied with their Stamps, and other Utensils for the Carrying on their Work.

All other Merchandises, except Iron, are drawn on Sledges, by two Oxen, in and out of the Town.

They deal somewhat in Train-oil and Whalebone. They have some Ships that go to the North-ward a Whale-fishing; besides, they catch some in Sight of the Castle; and in order to this, some Months in the Year, they hire a Man that looks out continually from the Top of the Hill, betwixt *St. Sebastians* and *Passage*, who, when he sees a Whale or Bottle-nose, makes a Sign to the Castle; the Centinel, from the Castle, advertises, by his Bell, the Town; immediately the Fishermen upon that go forth to the Prey. There was a Bottle-nose about the Bigness of that which was brought up to *Greenwich*, brought into *St. Sebastians* in *November* last, out of whom they got a great Quantity of that which they call *Sperma Ceti*; the Flesh was boiled to Oil.

They have also some Trade to *Newfoundland*, but with that Sort of Fish, *Cabelau* they call it, they are better supplied from other Nations than by their own Ships.

F f f

The

The great Quantity of *Pilchards*, caught on the Coast of *Galicia*, is a mighty Help to this Part of *Spain*, of which they are great Lovers, and are in more Esteem with them than Herrings.

But the more remarkable Trade of the Town at present, and that which brings most Money to the Town, is the Wine Trade.

The late War with *France*, from whence we were supplied with their excellent *Grave Medoc* and *Pontack* Wines, occasioned our Parliament to put such a great Duty on *French* Wines, and other Liquors of the Growth of *France*, that Merchants have looked out how to be supplied otherwise, that they may pay easier Duties; and, luckily, they have light upon a Spot of Ground, called the *Spanish Navarre*, of which *Pampelone*, *Ablitas*, and *Villa Franca* are the chief Towns, that afford us as good Wines as any *French* Wines; and the *Spaniards* of late, both at *St. Sebastians*, *Passage*, *Fontarabia*, and *Guitaria*, finding such a Demand for Wines, and considerable Profit by them, have improved their Vineyards to so great a Degree, both in Quantity as well as Quality of good Wines, that their Improvement equals, if not exceeds that of *Portugal*; which, before the War, was not able to furnish us with above three or four hundred Pipes in a Year, and now there are above ten thousand Pipes a Year imported from thence, which appears from the Custom-house Books.

This will not be allowed by some, but it is

very true; one shall see at *St. Sebastians* Mules by Hundreds, loaden with Wine in *Hog-skins*; three Skins upon a Mule, containing ten Gallons each, come every Day into Town, Sunday not excepted; all this is unloaden in the Magazines and sorted, and next Day put into Casks; the Mules carry away the empty Skins into the Country for more.

This is not only done at *St. Sebastians*, but also at *Fontarabia*, *Passage*, and *Guitaria*; from these Places they come to *St. Sebastians* in Barques and *Barcelongo's*, because of the Convenience of Sea-carriage, in Casks, and are lodged in Merchants Cellars ready for the Buyer.

The Truth of all this is so well known in *England*, from the Care the Commissioners of the Customs took, in sending over two of their Officers to examine into the Truth of it, and from some Tryals at the Exchequer Bar, that it cannot be further questioned.

Besides, for all Wines shipped off from *St. Sebastians*, the Masters of Ships are obliged to take Certificates from the Mayor and Consul, as a sufficient Testimony that their Wines are of the Growth of *Navarre*, in his Catholick Majesty's Dominions, given under the great Seal of the

Most Noble and Most Loyal City of *St. Sebastians*.

And undersigned by their sworn Master Cooper, *Signior Nicola* and his Affiliants, that the very Casks are made by them.

Elynor Rymmin; the famous Ale-Wife of *England*. Written by Mr. Skelton, Poet-Laureat to King *Henry the Eighth*.

[From an Edition printed at London, 1624.]

Henry the Eighth's Reign abounded with Poetical Productions, published in loose Sheets, and other Forms in small Pamphlets, amongst which Writers *John Skelton* was one of the most remarkable; and, though he is deservedly commended for his other Works, yet the most comical of all his Pamphlets is this of *Elynor Rymmin*, the famous Ale-Wife of *England*, &c. containing two Sheets and an Half in Quarto, with the

Pictura

Picture in the Title-Page, and the like on the last Page, representing an old ill-favoured Woman, holding in her Hand a Pot of Ale, and underwritten with these Verses :

When Skelton wore the Lawrell Crowne,
My Ale put all the Ale-wiues downe.

TO all Tapsters and Tiplers,
And all Ale-house Vitlers,
Inne-keepers, and Cookes,
That for Pot-sale lookes,
And will not giue Measure,
But at your owne Pleasure,

Contrary to Law,
Scant Measure will draw,
In Pot, and in Canne,
To cozen a Man
Of his full Quart a Penny,
Of you there's too many :
For in King Harry's Time,
When I made this Rime
Of *Elynor Rymmin*,
With her good Ale tunning;
Our Pots were full quarded,
We were not thus thwarted,
With Froth-Canne and Nick-Pot,
And such nimble Quick-shot,
That a dowzen will score,
For twelve Pints, and no more.
Full *Winchester* Gage,
We had in that Age;
The *Dutchman's* strong Beere
Was not hopt ouer heere,
To vs 'twas vnkowne;
Bare Ale of our owne,
In a Bowle, we might bring,
To welcome the King,
And his Grace to beseech,
With *Wassal my Leigh*.
Nor did that Time know
To puff and to blow
In a Peece of white Clay,
As you doe at this Day,
With Fier and Coale,
And a Leafe in a Hole;
As my Ghost hath late seene,
As I walked betweene
Westminster-Hall
And the Church of *St. Paul*,
And so thorow the Citie,
Where I saw and did pittie
My Countrymens Cafes,
With fiery-smoake Faces,
Sucking and drinking
A fylthie Weede stinking

Was ne're known before
Till the Deuil, and the More,
In th' *Indies* did meete,
And each other there greeate,
With a Health they desire
Of Stinke, Smoake, and Fier:
But who e're doth abhorre it,
The City smoakes for it;
Now full of Fier-shops,
And fowle Spitting-chops,
So neefing and coughing,
That my Ghost fell to Scoffing,
And to my selfe said,
Here's fylthie Fumes made :
Good Physicke of Force
To cure a sick Horse.
Nor had we such Slops,
And Shagge-haire on our Tops:
At wearing long Haire,
King *Harry* would sweare,
And gave a Command,
With Speede out of Hand,
All Heads should be powl'd,
Aswell young as old,
And his own was first so,
Good Ensample to show.
Y'are so out of Fashion,
I know not our Nation,
Your Ruffes and your Bands,
And your Cuffes at your Hands;
Your Pipes and your Smoakes
And your short curtall Clokes;
Scarfes, Feathers, and Swerds,
And thin bodkin Beards;
Your Wastes a Span long,
Your Knees with Points hung,
Like *Morris-daunce* Bels,
And many Toyes els,
Which much I distaste,
But *Skelton's* in Haste.
My Masters, Farewell,
Reade ouer my *Nell*,
And tell what you thinke
Of her and her Drinke;
If she had brew'd amisse,
I had neuer wrote this.

The Tunning of Elynor of Rymmin.

TE L L you I chill, that if you will,
 A While be still, of a merry Gyll,
 That dwelt on a Hill, but she is not grill:
 For she is somewhat sage, and well worne in Age,
 For her Visage it would assuage

A Man's Courage.

Her lothly Leere is nothing cleere,
 But vgly of Cheere, drowpy and drowfie,
 Scuruy and lowfie, her Face all bowfie;
 Comely cryncled, wondrously wrinckled,
 Like a roast Pigge's Ear, bristled with Haire,
 Her lewd Lips twaine, they slauer Men sayne
 Like a ropie Rayne.

A gummy Glaire, she is vgly faire,
 Her Nose somedeale hooked, and camously crooked,
 Neuer stopping, but euer dropping;
 Her Skin loose and slacke, grain'd like a Sacke,
 With a crooked Backe;

Her Eyne gowndy, are full vnsoundy,
 For they are bleared, and she gray-haired,
 Iawed like a letty, a Man would haue Pitty,
 To see how shee's gumm'd, finger'd and thumb'd,
 Gently ioynted, greas'd and annointed
 Vp to the Knuckles, the Bones her Buckels
 Together made fast, her Youth is farre past.
 Footed like a Plane, legged like a Crane,
 And yet she will iet, like a iolly Set,
 In her furred Flocket, and gay russed Rocket,
 With Symper the Cocket.

Her Huke of *Lyncolne* greene, it had bin hers I weene
 More than fortie Yeare; and so it doth appeare,
 The greene bare Threeds looke like seere Weedes
 Wither'd like Hay, the Wool worne away;
 And yet, I dare say, she thinks herself gay,
 Vpon the Holyday, when she doth her aray,
 And girdeth in her Geetes, stitched with Pleetes;
 Her Kirtill Bristow red, with Clothes on her Hed,
 That waigh a Sow of Lead.

Writhen in a Wonder-wise, after the *Sarfan's* Guise,
 With a Whim-wham, knit with a Trim-tram,
 Vpon her Brain-pan, like an *Egyptian*
 Capped about, when she goeth out
 Her selfe for to shew, she driueth downe the Dew
 With a paire of Heels, as broad as two Wheelles;
 She hobbles like a Goose, with her blauked Hose,
 Her Shoone smeer'd with Tallow greased vpon Dyr, t,
 That baudeth her Skirt.

Primus Passus.

And this comely Dame, I vnderstand her Name
Is *Elynour Rummin* at Home in her Wonning,
And as Men say, she dwelt in *Sothray*,
In a certain Steed, beside *Lederbede*.
Shee is a tonnish Gib, the Deuill and she be sib,
But to make vp my Tale, shee brueth nappy Ale,
And makes thereof Pot-sale.
To Trauellers and Tinkers, to Sweaters and Swinkers,
And all good Ale Drinkers, that will nothing spare,
But drinke till they stare, and bring themselues bare,
With now away the Mare, and let vs sleigh Care,
As wise as an Hare.
Come who so will, to *Elynour* on the Hill,
With fill the Cup, fill, and sit thereby still,
Early and late; thither comes *Kate*,
Cissy, and *Sare*, with their Legs bare,
And also their Feete, hardly vnswet;
With their Heeles dagged, their Kirtles all to iagged,
Their Smockes all to ragged;
With Titters and Tatters, bring Dishes and Platters,
With all their Might running, to *Elynour Rummin*,
To haue of her Tunning.
Shee giues them of the same, and thus begins the Game;
Some Wenches vnbraced, and some all unlaced,
With their naked Paps, their Flips and Flaps,
It wigs and it wags, like tawny Saff'ron Bags;
A Sort of foule Drabs, all scurvie with Scabs,
Some be Flye-bitten, some skew'd like a Kytten.
Some, with a Shoe-clout, binde their Heads about;
Some haue no Haire-lace, their Lockes about their Face,
Their Tresses vntruff, all full of Vnluff;
Some looke strawy, some cawry mawry;
Some vntydie Tegges, like rotten Egges;
Such a lewd Sort to *Elynour* resort,
From Tide to Tide, abide, abide,
And to you shall be told, how her Ale is sold
To Mawte and to Mold.

Secundus Passus.

Some haue no Money, that thither commy
For their Ale to pay, that is a shrewd Aray:
Elynour swears nay, ye bear not away
My Ale for naught, by him that me bought;
With hey Dogge, hey, haue these Dogges away;
With get me a Staffe, the Swine eat all my Draffe,
Strike the Hogs with a Club, they haue drunke vp my Tub;
For be there never so much Prese, the Swine go to the hy Dese:
The Sow with her Pigges, the Bore his Tale wrigges,
Against the high Bench, with fough, here's a Stench:
Gather vp then, Wench; seest thou not what's fall,
Take vp Dirt and all, and beare out of the Hall;

God give it ill Preeuing, clenly as euill Chieuing :
 But let vs turn plaine, where we left againe,
 For as ill a Patch as that, the Hens run in the Mash-fat ;
 For they go to Roust, straight ouer the Ale iust,
 And dong, when it comes, in the Ale-tonnes :
 Then *Elynor* taketh the Mash-boule, and shaketh
 The Hens Dong away, and scomes it in a Tray
 Where the Yeast is, with her mangie Fiftis :
 And sometimes she blens the Dong of her Hens
 And the Ale together ; and saies, Gossip, come hither,
 This Ale shall be thicker, and flower the quicker ;
 For I may tell you, I learn'd it of a *Jew*,
 When I began to brew, and I have found it trow,
 Drink now, while it is new ;
 And ye may it brooke, it shall make you looke
 Yonger than you be, Years two or three,
 For you may proue it by me ; behold, I say, and see
 How bright I am of Blee,
 Ich am not cast away, that can my Husband say :
 When we kisse and play in Lust and Liking,
 He cals me his Whiting, his Mulling and his *Mittine* ;
 His Nobes and his Conny, his Sweeting and Honny,
 With Basse, my pretty Bonny, thou art worth *Good and Mony* ;
 This make I my falyre Fanny, till he dreame and dronny ;
 For, after all our Sport, then will he rout and snort ;
 Then sweetly together we lye, as two *Pigges in a Sty* ;
 To cease me, seemeth best, of this Tale to rest,
 And leaue this Letter, because it is no better :
 Because 'tis no sweeter, we will no farther rime
 Of it at this Time ; but we will turne plaine,
 Where we left againe.

Terius Passus

Insteede of Quoine and Mony, some bring her a *Conny*,
 And some a Pot with Honny, some a Salt, some a Spone,
 Some their Hose, some their Shoone ; some rvn a good *Trot*,
 With Skillet or Pot ; some fill a Bagge full
 Of good *Lemster* Wooll ; and Hufwife of Trust,
 When she is a-thirft, such a Web can spin,
 Her Thrift is full thin.
 Some go straight thither, be it flaty or *stidder*,
 They hold the Highway, they care not what Men say,
 Be they as be may. Some, loth to be espide,
 Start in at the Backside, ouer Hedge and Pale,
 And all for good Ale. Some rvn till they sweat,
 And bring Malt or Wheat, and *Elynor* entreate,
 To byrle them of the best. Then comes another *Guest*,
 Shee swear'd by the Roode of Rest, her Lips are so dry,
 Without Drinke she must die, therefore fill by and by,
 And haue her Pecke of Rye.
 Anon, comes another, as dry as the tother,
 And with her doth bring Meale, Salt, or other *Thing* ;
 Girdle, or Wedding-ring, to pay for her Scot,
 As comes to her Lot. Some bring their Husbands *Hood*,

Because

Because the Ale is good; another brought his Cap
To offer at the Ale-tap, with Flaxe and with Toe,
And some brought sower Doe, with Hey and with Hoe,
Sit we down arow, and drink till we blow,
And pipe tirly, tirly lowe.

Some lai'd to Pledge their Hatchet and their Wedge,
Their Hickell and their Reelee, their Rocke and Spinning-wheele;
And some went so narrow, they laid to Pledge their Wharrow,
Their Ribskin and Spindle, their Needle and Thimble;
Heere was scant Thrift, when they made such Shift:
Their Thrift was so great, they neuer asked for Meat,
But Drinke, still Drinke, and let the Cat winke;
Let vs wash our Gummes from the dry Crummes.

Quartus Passus.

Some, for very Need, lay down a Skaine of Threed,
Some Beans and Pease, some Chaffer doth ease;
Sometime, now and than, another there ran,
With a good brasse Pan, her Cullour full wan;
Shee ran in all Haste, vnbrac'd and vnlaste,
Tawny, swart, and fallow, like a Cake of Tallow,
I swear by *All-hallow*, it was a Stare to take
The Deuill in a Brake.

Then came halting *Ione*, and brought a Gambone
Of Bacon that was restie; but Lord how testie,
Angry and waspie, she began to yawne and gaspie,
And bad *Elynour* goe bet, and fill in good Met,
It was deere that was farre fet.

Another brought a Spicke, of a Bacon Slicke,
Her Tongue was very quicke, but she spake somewhat thicke,
Her Fellow did stammer and stut, but she was a foule Slut;
For her Mouth foamed, and her Belly groaned.

Ione saine she had eaten a Fyest, Queane (quoth she) thou lyest,
I haue as sweet a Breath, as thou, with shamefull Death.

Then *Elynour* said, ye Callets, I shall breake your Pallets,
Without you now cease, and so was made a drunken Peace.

Then came drunken *Ales*, and she was full of Tales
Of Tidings in *Walles*, and *St. James* in *Gales*,

And of the *Portingales*, with loe Gossip I wis,
Thus and thus it is, there hath beene great Warre

Betweene *Temple-Barre*, and the *Crosse* in *Cheape*,
And there came a Heape of Mill stones in a Rout;

Shee speaketh thus in her Snout, sniueling in her Nose,
As though she had the Pose, loe here is an old Tippet,

You shall giue me a Sippet of your strong Ale,
And God send good Sale; and as she was drinking,

Shee fell in a winking with a Barly-hood,
Shee pift where she stood; then began shee to weepe,

And forthwith fell a-sleepe: *Elynour* tooke her vp,
And bleft her with a Cup of new Ale in Cornes,

Ales found therein no Thornes, but supt it vp at once,
Shee found therein no Bones.

Quintus Passus.

Now in commeth another Rable first one with a Ladle,
 Another with a Cradle, and with a Side-fadle,
 And there began a Fable, a Clattering and a Bable,
 Of Foles filly, that had a Fole with Willy,
 With iast you and gup Gilly, she could not lie stilly.
 Then came in a Gennet, and sware by Saint Bennet,
 I dranke not, this Sennet, a Draught to my Pay;
Elynour, I thee pray, of thy Ale let me assay,
 And haue here a Pelch of Gray; I wear Skins of Conny,
 That causeth I looke so donny. Another then did hitch-her,
 And brought a Pottell-pitcher, a Tonnell and a Bottell,
 But she had lost the Stoppell; she cut of her Shooc-sole,
 And stopt therewith the Hole.
 Among all the Blommer, another brought a Scommmer,
 A Frying-pan, and Slice, *Elynour* made the Price
 For good Ale each Whit. Then start in mad *Kit*,
 That had little Wit, shee seemed some-deale seeke,
 And brought a Penny Cheeke, to Dame *Elynour*,
 For a Draught of Liquor.
 Then *Margery* Milke-ducke her Kirtle did vp tucke,
 An Ynch aboue her Knee, her Legges that ye might see;
 But they were sturdy and stubled, mighty Pestels and clubbed,
 As faire and as white as the Foote of a Kite;
 She was some-what soule, crooked neck'd like an Owle,
 And yet she brought her Fees, a Cattle of *Essex* Cheese,
 Was well a Foot thicke, full of Magots quicke;
 It was huge and great, and mighty strong Meat,
 For the Deuill to eat, it was tart and punieate.
 Another Sort of Sluts; some brought Walnuts,
 Some Apples, some Peares, and some their Clipping-sheares;
 Some brought this and that, some brought I wot nere what,
 Some brought their Husband's Hat:
 Some Puddings and Linkes, some Tripe that stinkes.
 But of all this Throng, one came them among;
 Shee seem'd halfe a Leach, and began to preach
 Of the *Tuesday* in the Weeke, when the Mare doth kicke;
 The Vertue of an vnset Leeke, and her Husbonds, Breeke;
 With the Feathers of a Quaile, she could to bord onsaile,
 And, with good Ale-barme, she could make a Charme,
 To helpe withall a Stitch; she seemed to be a Witch;
 Another brought two Goslings, that were naughty Froslings,
 Some brought them in a Wallet, she was a comely Callet;
 The Goslings were vntide, *El'nour* began to chide,
 They be wrethocke thou hast brought, and shire-shaking nought.

Sextus Passus.

Maud ruggie thither skipped, she was vgly hipped,
 And vgly thicke-lipped, like an Onyon tided,
 Like tan'd-leather hided, she had her so guided,

Betweene

Betweene the Cup and the Wall, she was there-withall
Into a Palzie Fall:
With that her Head shaked, and her Hands quaked;
One's Heart would haue aked, to haue seene her naked;
She dranke so of the Dregs, the Dropie was in her Legs;
Her Face glistring like Glasse, all foggie fat she was;
She had also the Gout in all her Ioints about,
Her Breath was fower and stale, and smelled all of Ale,
Such a Bed-fellow would make one cast his Crow;
But yet, for all that, she dranke on the Mash-fat:
There came an old Ribibe, she halted of a Kibe,
And had broken her Shin, at the Threshold comeing in,
And fell so wibe open, one might see her Token,
The Deuill thereon be wroken, what need all this be spoken,
She yelled like a Calfe: Rise vp on God's Halfe,
Said *Elynor Rymmin*, I beshrew thee for Comming;
As she at her did plucke, Quacke, Quacke, said the Ducke
In that Lampatram's Lap, with fie couer the Shap,
With some Flip-flap; God give it ill Hap,
Said *Elynor* for Shame, like an honest Dame:
Vp she start halfe lame, and scantly could goe,
For Paine and for Woe.
In came another Dant, with a Goose and a Gant;
She had a wide Wefant, she was nothing pleasant,
Necked like an Elephant, it was a Bullifant,
A greedy Cormorant.
Another brought Garlike-heads, another brought her Beads,
Of Iet or of Cole, to offer to the Ale Pole.
Some brought a Wimble, and some brought a Thymble:
Some brought a filke Lace, and some a Pin-case:
Some her Husband's Gowne, some a Pillow of Downe;
And all this Shift they make for the good Ale Sake.
Then start forth a Phisgigge, and she brought a Bore-pigge,
The Flesh thereof was ranke, and her Breath strongly stanke;
Yet ere she went she dranke, and gate her great Thanke
Of *Elynor* for her Ware, that she thither bare,
To pay for her Share. Now truly, to my Thinking,
This was a solemne Drinking.

Septimus Passus.

Soft, quoth one hight *Sibbill*, first let me with you bibbill;
Shee fate down in the Place, with a sorry Face,
Whey-wormed about, garnished was her Snout,
With here and there a Puscul, like a scabbed Muscul:
This Ale, said she, is noppy, let us sipp and soppy,
And not spill a Droppy, for so mote I hoppy,
It cooleth well my Coppy.
Dame *Elynor*, said she, haue, here's for me,
A Clout of *London* Pins, and with that she begins
The Pot to her plucke, and dranke a good Lucke,
She swing'd vp a Quart at once for her Part:
Her Paunch was so puffed, and so with Ale stuffed,
Had she not hyed a-pace, she had defiled the Place.

G g

Then

Then began the Sport amongst the drunken Sort,
 Dame *Elynour*, said they, lend here a Locke of Hay,
 To make all Things cleane, you wot well what I meane.
 But, Sir, among all that fate in that Hall,
 There was a Prick-me-dainty fate like a Sainty,
 And began to painty, as though she would fainty;
 She made it as coy as a lege Demoy,
 She was not halfe so wise as she was peeuish nice;
 She said neuer a Word, but rose from the Bord,
 And called for our Dame, *Elynour* by Name.
 We supposed I wis, that she rose to pisse;
 But the very Ground was to compound
 With *Elynour* in the Spence, to pay for her Expence,
 I haue no Penny nor Groat, to pay, said she, God wot,
 For Washing of my Throat.
 But my Beades of Amber, beare them to your Chamber.
 Then *Elynour* did them hide within her Bed-side;
 But some fate right sad, that nothing had,
 There of their owne, neither gelt nor pawne;
 Such were there manny, that had not a Penny:
 But, when they should walke, were faine with a Chalke,
 To score on the Balke:
 Or score on the Taile, God give it ill Haile,
 For my Fingers itch, I haue written to mych,
 Of this mad Mumming of *Elynour Rummin*.
 Thus endeth the Gest of this worthy Feast.

Skelton's Ghost to the Reader.

THUS, Countrymen kinde,
 I pray let me finde,
 For this merry Glee,
 No hard Censure to be.
 King *Henry the Eight*
 Had a good Conceit
 Of my merry Vaine,
 Though duncicall plaine:
 It now nothing fits
 The Times nimble Wits;

My Lawrell and I
 Are both wither'd dry,
 And you flourish greene,
 In your Workes daily seene,
 That come from the Presse,
 Well writ I confesse;
 But Time will deuouer
 Your Poets as our,
 And make them as dull
 As my empty Scull.

Dis

Discourses upon the Modern Affairs of *Europe*, tending to prove that the illustrious *French* Monarchy may be reduced to *Terms* of greater Moderation.

*Dì Denàri, dì sènno, e dì Fède
C'n'è manchò ché non Crède.*

There is commonly less Money, less Wisdom, and less good Faith than Men do account upon. VERULAM.

Et digiti pedum partim sunt ex ferro, & partim ex luto; quia ex parte regnum futurum est durum, & ex parte futurum est fragile, Dan. ii. 42.

[From a *Quarto* Edition, Twenty-four Pages, printed at the *Hague*, in the Year 1680.]

THE PUBLISHER to the READER.

The Author of these Discourses I know not. But the same coming to my Hands, beyond any Expectation of mine, I thought I was bound to give the Publick (whose Mark is upon them) Credit for the same. And, because it is one essential Property of a good Merchant to pay well, I also thought myself obliged to render the Effects of so good a Hit, into the common Bank where they are due. It is true, there are some Things in them, which seem not so fit for publick View; but those Things concerning the Author and not me, who have a Stock only going in the publick Company, and am no private Trader; I pass those Considerations over, seeing good Things (as the Philosopher long since observed) the more common, the better they are. And he that cannot speak within Doors, may sometimes take Liberty to speak without Doors, especially when those within Doors seem to forget the most material Points. Something I would also say of the Discourse itself; but because it is a Proverb as old as Apelles himself, its Author, That the Shoemaker must not go above his Last: I will pray in Aid of my Lord Bacon*, and desire him to be of Council for me. And first, for the Method and Manner of Handling, thus he speaks, The Form of Writing, which best agrees with so variable and universal an Argument (as is the Handling of Negotiations and scattered

* Advancement of Learning.

Then began the Sport amongst the drunken Sort,
 Dame *Elynour*, said they, lend here a Locke of Hay,
 To make all Things cleane, you wot well what I mean.
 But, Sir, among all that fate in that Hall,
 There was a Prick-me-dainty fate like a Sainty,
 And began to painty, as though she would fainty;
 She made it as coy as a lege Demoy,
 She was not halfe so wise as she was peeuish nice;
 She said neuer a Word, but rose from the Bord,
 And called for our Dame, *Elynour* by Name.
 We supposed I wis, that she rose to pisse;
 But the very Ground was to compound
 With *Elynour* in the Spence, to pay for her Expence,
 I haue no Penny nor Groat, to pay, said she, God wot,
 For Washing of my Throat.
 But my Beades of Amber, beare them to your Chamber.
 Then *Elynour* did them hide within her Bed-side;
 But some fate right sad, that nothing had,
 There of their owne, neither gelt nor pawne;
 Such were there manny, that had not a Peny:
 But, when they should walke, were faine with a Chalke,
 To score on the Balke:
 Or score on the Taile, God give it ill Haile,
 For my Fingers itch, I haue written to mych,
 Of this mad Mumming of *Elynour Rummin*.
 Thus endeth the Gest of this worthy Feast.

Skelton's Ghost to the Reader.

THUS, Countrymen kinde,
 I pray let me finde,
 For this merry Glee,
 No hard Censure to be.
 King *Henry the Eight*
 Had a good Conceit
 Of my merry Vaine,
 Though duncicall plaine:
 It now nothing fits
 The Times nimble Wits;

My Lawrell and I
 Are both wither'd dry,
 And you flourish greene,
 In your Workes daily seene.
 That come from the Presse,
 Well writ I confesse;
 But Time will deuouer
 Your Poets as our,
 And make them as dull
 As my empty Scull.

Discourses upon the Modern Affairs of *Europe*, tending to prove that the illustrious *French* Monarchy may be reduced to *Terms* of greater Moderation.

*Dì Denàri, dî sènno, e dî Fède
C'n'è manchò ché non Crède.*

There is commonly less Money, less Wisdom, and less good Faith than Men do account upon. VERULAM.

Et digiti pedum partim sunt ex ferro, & partim ex luto; quia ex parte regnum futurum est durum, & ex parte futurum est fragile, Dan. ii. 42.

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Occasions) that would be of all others the fittest, which *Macbiavel* made Choice of for the Handling of Matters of Policy and Government; namely, by Observations and Discourses, as they term them, upon History and Examples. For Knowledge, drawn freshly, and, as it were, in our View, out of Particulars, knows the Way best to Particulars again; and it has much the greater Life for Practice, when the Discourse or Disceputation attends upon the Example, than when the Example attends upon the Disceputation; for here not only Order but Substance is respected. And as to the Matter, who would not but be in a Passion, to see the World undone by insufficient Counsellors? Or, to speak in our own Dialect, so many good Ships lost, as it were, in the very Mouth of the Haven, through unskilful Pilots? And to see fighting Armies neglected, and impertinent Things relied on? Let him therefore speak to these two Things. To the First, The Speech of Themistocles, taken to himself, was indeed somewhat unpolite and haughty; but if it had been applied to others, and, at large, certainly it may seem to comprehend in it a wise Observation, and a grave Censure; desired at a Feast to touch a Lute, he said, he could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small Town a great City. These Words, drawn to a politick Sense, do excellently express and distinguish two differing Abilities, in those that deal in Business of Estate. For, if a true Survey be taken of all Counsellors and Statesmen that ever were, and others promoted to publick Charge, there will be found (though very rarely) those who can make a small State great, and yet cannot fiddle: As, on the other Side, there will be found a great many, that are very cunning upon the Cittern or Lute (that is, in Court-Trifles) but yet are so far from being able to make a small State great, as their Gift lies another Way, to bring a great and flourishing Estate to Ruin and Decay. To the Second, thus: Walled Towns, stored Armories and Armouries, goodly Races of Horse, Chariots of War, Elephants, Ordnance, Artillery, and the like; all this is but a Sheep in a Lion's Skin, except the Breed and Disposition of the People be stout and warlike. Nay, Number itself in Armies imports not much, where the People are of a faint and weak Courage: For, as Virgil saith, It never troubles a Wolf, how many the Sheep are. And a little after, A Man may rightly make a Judgment, and settle down for a sure and certain Truth, that the principal Point of all others, which respects the Greatness of any Kingdom or State, is to have a RACE of military Men. Farewell.

THE great Thing which has disturbed the Peace of Europe, filled it with Blood and Slaughters, and shaken the dismembered Kingdoms and States thereof, has been the huge Design of the Universal Monarchy; a Design which (by a Kind of Fascination) has possessed the Genius of the Spanish and French Monarchies, which therefore, in their Turns, have been dangerous to all Europe. But the French have made nearer Approaches to the Throne of such extended Empire, than the Spaniards. Let us then look upon the Means and Advantages the Most Christian King has, to pursue so vast a Design, as if he would plow up the Air: To the End our Minds may be stirred up (if any Thing will stir them) to raise up those Banks, which (under that Providence, to which nothing

is so high, to be above it; nothing so low, to be beneath it; nothing so large, but is bounded; nor, nothing so confused, but is ordered by it) will circumscribe such wild and boundless Ambition, within its own Limits.

And, for our Encouragement, let us, by the Way, hear the Judgment of that excellent Man, Sir Walter Raleigh, in the Case of the Spanish Monarchy, which then was, what France now is, to the rest of Europe. His Words are these: Since the Fall of the Roman Empire (omitting that of the Germans, which had neither Greatness nor Continuance) there hath been no State fearful in the East, but that of the Turk; nor in the West any Prince that hath spread his Wings far over his Nest, but the Spaniard; who, since the Time that Ferdinand expelled the Moors out of Granada, have made any Attempts to make themselves Masters of

of all Europe. And it is true, that by the Treasures of both Indies, and by the many Kingdoms which they possess in Europe, they are at this Day the most powerful. But, as the Turk is now counterpoised by the Persian, so, instead of so many Millions as have been spent by the English, French, and Netherlands, in a defensive War, and in Diversions against them, it is easy to demonstrate, that with the Charge of Two-hundred-thousand Pounds, continued but two Years, or three at the most, they may not only be persuaded to live in Peace, but all their swelling, and overflowing Streams may be brought back into their natural Channels and old Banks. But to go on.

France then is come to the greatest Perfection, in respect of domestick Empire, it is capable of. For, 1. Whereas heretofore the Body of that Kingdom was not intire, but subject to several great Barons, who were able not only to expostulate, but to contend with the King; they are all brought now to a Dependence on the Crown, and become most obsequious to it. 2. All those mighty Members, into which that Kingdom was formerly divided, are now annexed to the Crown: So that, for Largeness of Territory, and compacted and united Strength, it is become the most formidable Kingdom in all Europe. And as, by the former of these, they have secured themselves against all intestine Wars, which many Times, through the Interests and Feuds of those Barons, shook the whole Frame of that Kingdom: So, by the latter, they have fenced themselves against all foreign Invasion. For, heretofore, all the neighbouring Princes were ready upon every Occasion to invade the Kingdom of France, the Dukes of Burgundy, Britany, Guienne, or Flanders, being always tempting them thereunto, and giving them Access, Passage, and Reception. By this Means England made two Conquests of France, and at other Times forced them to buy Peace of them, and pay them Tribute. But now, whosoever would invade that Kingdom, shall not only want these for their Confederates, to invite and assist them, but shall have them for their Enemies. Thus far Machiavel has observed for Substance. 3. By abrogating the Convention of Estates*, that King has spoiled the People of that Power and Share in Government, which they have originally had in all the mixt Monarchies of Europe, and made himself absolute, even in the Point of raising Money; which is the Blood that fills the Veins of that mighty Body. By this Means

he has changed the Constitution of that Kingdom, from mixt to absolute Monarchy, for the Kind of it; which is the Form that enables a Prince to do most Mischief, both at Home and Abroad. 4. But that which is the Crown of this Perfection, and may be the strongest Stay of it, is the Naval Force, now added to the other Strengths of that powerful Monarchy, wherein it now † equals, if it be not an Overbalance to, either England or Holland. For this is a Maxim, That the Power of a Prince, whose Dominions border on the Sea, cannot be perfect without a Force in Shipping able to command the Sea. Wherefore, in my Opinion (which nevertheless is exceeding weak) one of the greatest Mischiefs this War has produced, is, That it has given Occasion to France to become mighty in Naval Power. And that Mischief can never better be demonstrated than by this Consideration: That there was never before any Example upon Earth, of a Triumvirate of mighty Nations in a Vicinity of Neighbourhood one to another, and bordering upon the same Seas, equally powerful in Naval Strength. The Consequence of which must of Necessity, in Time to come, be a perpetual Emulation and Jealousy, greater, by how much either an Union, or Division of Three is more perfect than of any other Number. Whereby it must necessarily come to pass, either that some Two of the Three shall alternately, or by Turns, fight against the Third; or that Two of the Three shall agree to extinguish the Power of the Third; that themselves may remain in indifferent Terms, without Jealousy one of another. It is now long since France wanted but one of three Things to help them to drive on that huge Design of Ambition for the Universal Monarchy, which has so long swelled their Hearts. To bring Holland under a Kind of feudal Protection of that Crown, by which Means they might serve themselves of their Ships and Seamen: Or to make themselves Masters of the Spanish Netherlands: Or, Lastly, to grow great in Naval Strength at Home. For France has been dangerous enough to the rest of Europe, whilst they were in a Manner without Shipping: Inasmuch that those two Things were observed of them in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, 'That France could never abstain from War, for 'above two or three Years together.' And, 'That they could never be poor.' 5. And, Lastly, To all this may be added, the new Con-

* Viz. The Power of their Parliament.

† Anno 1680.

quests and Acquisitions of the *French*. But nevertheless it may be doubted, whether that Monarchy has received any real Accession of Strength by those Conquests, it case it should come to feel the Shock of a powerful and vigorous Enemy. It is true indeed (what *Machiavel* has said) 'That the Conquests of Common-wealths that are ill governed, and contrary to the Model of the *Romans*, do conduce more to the Ruin, than Advancement of their Affairs.' But, when we shall a little penetrate (what he elsewhere says) That, when we have observed the Histories of former Times, we shall find, that Common-wealths had generally but three Ways of enlarging their Empire. One is that which was observed by the *Tuscans* of old, who entered into a League of Confederacy with several other Common-wealths, with Condition of Equality, that no Particular should have any Degree or Authority above the rest, and that Comprehension should be left for all their new Conquests to come in, not much unlike the Practice of the *Switzers* and the *Hollanders* of late, and the *Achaians* and *Aetolians* of old. Another Way of extending your Empire, is, by associating with several Cities, but so, as that the Dignity of the Command, the Seat of the Empire, and the Honour of the Enterprize, may remain with you, which was the Way observed by the *Romans*, and it was peculiar to them; no other People has observed it, and certainly no better is to be found. The third is the Way of the *Spartans*, and *Athenians*, who entertained no Confederates, but whatever Territories they conquered, they annexed them to their own: Which Way is, undoubtedly, the worst of the three, as appeared by the two said Republicks, who were ruined upon no other Account, but because they had grasped more Dominion than they were able to hold. I say, these Things distinctly considered, and the last Way being that which the *French* practise in their Conquests, it makes the Doubt yet greater.

From that of the State, if we descend to the Consideration of the Person of the King, it gives us these two momentous Observations. I. It shews us how necessary a Thing it is for a Prince, that would either defend or enlarge his State, to excel in *practical* Wisdom, which consists in *Application*, *Conduct*, and *Pursuit*. For by that Means he shall always be served by wise and excellent Men. For it ever was, and ever will

be true: *As the Prince himself is, so are his Council, and those that are about him.* A weak Prince will never endure wise Men; nor can wise Men ever be safe under an inadvertent Prince. And it gives him mighty Advantages over the Princes and States, that are about him; especially if their Administrations be slow, weak, and remiss. And it is commonly seen, when a great Man rises in the World, either that he is alone, or that the Magnificence of his Actions swallows up the weaker Efforts of others, as the Sea does the Rivers. And, *Secondly*, That when a wise and martial Prince rises, and is succeeded by one or two Princes of equal Condition to himself, without a pusillanimous one interposed, they may do very great Things in the World; since the Succession of two such Princes alone, *Philip* and *Alexander*, in the Kingdom of *Macedon* was sufficient to conquer the World. I conclude therefore, That, if the present King of *France* * should be succeeded by a Prince of equal Virtue to himself, they would swallow up the greatest Part of *Europe*. But because the great Things of Monarchy begin and end, with one or a few Princes; and it is rarely seen, that three sufficient Princes immediately succeed one another, without some *effeminate* or *ill-consulted* Prince between, I am of Opinion, that Monarchy will sink with its own Weight.

Now having taken a View of the Force and Strength of this Monarchy, and the Sufficiency of her present King, let us next consider what their next Attempts are like to be. In general they will do these two Things, What they begun by War, they will pursue in Peace; for they had no other Design in making Peace, than to disarm their Enemies, break their Confederation, and hinder *England* from coming into it, that they might insult over the World, by a Peace more tyrannical than the War of a gallant Enemy. And then, when the injured World can bear their Insolences no longer, out of the Elements of this Peace they will raise up a new War. For that Prince, that would make great Conquests, must make short Wars, and renew them often. *Holland* they will not attack, at least not this Year, for two important Reasons: Because *Flanders* lies between that and *France*. And besides, they will go as softly as they can, till towards the latter End of the Summer, for fear of awaking them out of that Sleep, their wasted Spirits, and trading Humour,

* *Lewis the Fourteenth.*

have cast them into. And England their Stomachs do not serve them to meddle with. For though it be true, that whoever he be, that shall attempt to set up an *Universal Monarchy* in *Europe*, will, first or last, find *England* the strongest Bar in the Way; I say *England*, which is not only the strongest, but now the only strong Kingdom that is in *Europe*, next to *France*. And therefore *Philip the Second* of *Spain*, after all his vain Attempts and Pursuits, turned himself upon *England*; in which though he miscarried, yet he maintained a long War in *Ireland*. Yet the *French* will think to serve themselves of the supine Negligence of *England*, and still hope that they may have Prorogations there for their Money, till they have eaten up the rest of *Europe*, as they eat Bread. And besides, they will find a better Way to distress *England*, and more effectual than by any point blank Attack which they can make upon it, as we shall see anon. Lastly, there is yet one very important Reason, and that is, they are afraid of *England*, and truly, if God had not placed in Man the irascible Affection of Fear, he would be a much wilder Creature than he is. But, lest the Truth of this should be doubted, it will not be amiss to call a foreign Witness, and that is *Machiavel*, whose own Words are: 'The *French* are in great Fear of the *English*, for the great Inroads and Devastations, which they have made anciently in that Kingdom; insomuch that, among the common People, the Name of *English* is terrible to this Day: But he adds, there was not then the same Reason for it.' It is true, there are not so strong Reasons, why they should fear us so much now, as they did formerly, our Advantages, which we had over that Kingdom, being most of them lost, and that Monarchy come to its full Strength, and the greatest Perfection it is ever like to see. And yet there be very strong Reasons, why they should yet fear us, and, if they do not apprehend them, it is No-body's Fault but our own. And I say, that both the *Spanish* and *French* Monarchies inherit such a Remembrance of the *English* as the *Romans* did of *Hannibal*. Nay, I think it may be truly affirmed, That *France* is more afraid of the *Parliament* of *England* (that is, the King and the Estates of *Parliament*, for they are all comprehended under the Word *Parliament*) than of any one, if not of all the Princes and States of *Europe*.

But, if *France* will do neither of these, what is it then that they will do? I answer, we must

not take our Measures by those Reports they cause to be given out, up and down the World, to cast a Mist before the Eyes of their Neighbour Princes and States, as Jugglers do; nor when they seem to look far abroad must we regard it; but consider by the exact Rules of Prudence, what is fit for them to do, and what we ourselves would do, were we in their Case. I say then, that the greatest and wisest Thing, which *France* can do next, is to make himself Master of the Residue of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and particularly to seize upon *Ostend* and *Nieuport*. And when he has done that, to turn his whole Force upon the Empire, not omitting in the mean Time to attempt all that he can do there, as well to amuse and divert them, as to open his Way to the compleat Conquest of that Branch of the miserable House of *Austria*.

To demonstrate this, I know no better Way, than a little to consider, and discourse upon the Consequences of this, with respect unto *England* and *Holland*. For *England*, if the *French* be permitted to become Masters of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and to possess *Ostend* and *Nieuport*, then *England* will not only not have a Footing on the Main, but all the Sea-coast, opposite to the whole Body of it, will be in the Hands of the *French*, always Enemies to *England*, in Interest and Humour. And, if he pleases to look over the Sea, he may seize upon *Ireland* when he pleases, which will always lie open to him, and where he will find *Papists* enough to entertain and join with him. And let it be remembered, that *Ireland* is in a Manner already cut off from *England* by the *Irish Act*; and what would *England* then be, but an Island hemmed in by the Sea, and their Enemy is its Master, and shut out of the World? By this Means they will be precluded from sending any Succours to the Rescue or Relief of those Provinces. And by this Means also it must necessarily come to pass (which is worst of all) that *England* must lose both the Dominion of the Sea, and their Trade; and in Time will not be able either to build, or sail Ships out of their own Ports, without the License of *France*; and so will be in a fair Way to become a feudal Province of *France*. And thus we see *England* may be distressed without warring directly upon it. It is the greatest Blemish in the Reign of *Henry the Seventh* (celebrated in our Histories for one of the wisest of all our Princes) that he suffered *Britany* to be lost, and annexed to the Crown of *France*; a foul Spot in so beautiful a Picture, as he is taken by

by the Pencil of my Lord Bacon. And the more I think of these Things, the more I am confirmed, that we shall stir up the just Indignation of those that are to come after us, against our Memories; and it will be the Wonder of succeeding Generations, that so great a King, as the King of England; in a War that had for its Ends an Universal Monarchy, for the most Christian King, and the Subversion of the Protestant Religion and Interest; the one as foolish and impossible to be effected, as the other is full of monstrous detestable Impiety towards God; and to which Ends our Enemies have been travelling through a Sea of Blood, and all those crooked Ways the first Attempter against God beat out to those that travel with Pride, Ambition, and Impiety: I say, that such a King*, in such a War, and such a Peace as followed it, should sit still, and suffer himself to be (as it were) besieged in his own Kingdom, whilst he suffered France, not only to grow to an Over-balance to England in Naval Force, but to plant himself all along on the opposite Shore of the main Continent, and in the mean Time to suffer the greatest Part of Europe to be consumed with the Flames of an unjust War, and be sacrificed to the Ambition of France. An Aggravation greater, by how much England has been famous for holding and casting the Balance of Europe, and Protection of the Protestant Religion. Since therefore it is a royal Virtue in Kings, not only to avoid Flatterers as a Pest, but to encourage some body to tell them the Truth roundly, still preserving the Dignity of their Persons, and the Majesty of their State; I think a Man cannot do better than to bring Things home to them; for if Princes would but a little reflect, and look back upon the Times past, where they might see the Beauty, that is upon the Memory of good Princes, and the Deformity of that of the bad, they would see the Excellency of plain Dealing, and the Odiousness of pernicious Flattery.

For Holland. It will be enough to say, That if they suffer the Spanish Netherlands to be lost, France will not only claim, by a Title prior to theirs, all the Conquests and Dominions of this State in Flanders and Brabant, but may set up the Title of the House of Burgundy to the whole seventeen Provinces; and finally, that

they will have a very bad Neighbour.

I conclude therefore, that it is the Interest of England and Holland, by all Means, not only to preserve the rest of the Spanish Netherlands from falling into the Hands of France, but to make him vomit up what he has already swallowed of them. For, besides what I have already said, if France once becomes Master of those Provinces, Holland, and the rest of the Provinces of the League, will become an easy and cheap Prey to him; which concerns England not a little, in Point of Interest. And to keep those Netherlands in the Hands of Spain is (I think) more the Advantage of England and Holland, than it is of Spain itself. For of Spain we are secure†, because he is weak, at that Distance, and neither will, nor can incroach upon his Neighbours; and so we preserve the greatest Bank of Security to both, against the Inundations of France.

To conclude this Part. For the Most Christian King, we are no doubt to look upon him as the Minister of God's Indignation, howbeit he meaneth not so, but has done all these Things in Pride and Cruelty, and attributed their Success to his Strength and Wisdom: For the Power both of Satan and wicked Kings is from God, but the Will and Malice is their own. Therefore the French King has made use of all these Powers and Advantages to do Evil, Evil I say, than which the most merciless Tyrants and Destroyers of the Earth (whom God has said he will destroy) have not, in any of the most barbarous Age of the World, committed greater, or more crying to the righteous God for Vengeance. And a Prince, affected with so vast and wild Ambition, is to be looked on as an Enemy to Mankind, as a proud Attempter to destroy the Bounds which God has set. And therefore if so excellent Hope, that God will stop the Way against our Enemies, if we return to him; if the Preservation of the true Religion, the Liberties of our Countries, the great Interests of Mankind, or whatsoever other excellent Consideration we can propose to our Minds will move us, let us behave ourselves like Men, and do some great Thing worthy of our Remembrance.

And this brings me to the second Part of my Discourse. In the first we have seen the Mischiefs, let us now consider of the Remedies.

* This was the Case of England, under King Charles the Second.

† So long as it was governed by an Interest opposite to the French. But now the Case is changed, since Spain is in the Possession of a French King, and swayed by French Counsels.

Now, because there is no separate Kingdom or State in *Europe* sufficient to balance the weighty Body of the *French* Monarchy, nor any of their Strengths, in Disjunction, competent to be opposed against so formidable Force; therefore there must be a new Fund of Power and Interest raised up, sufficient to keep the Balance of *Europe* from being called back into a *Chaos*, out of which the *French* may form an *Universal Monarchy*, according to the *Idea* they have conceived thereof.

And this can by no Means better be done than by *England* and the *United Provinces*, entering into a new *League*, for the mutual and reciprocal Defence of themselves, and their Confederates, that shall be admitted into such *League*, and for Preservation and Defence of the *Spanish Netherlands*; and for restraining the further Growth and Increase of the *French Monarchy*, and hindering their Incroachments upon the rest of *Europe*. The Excellency of which *League* will appear by this, that the Ends of it are in a manner common to all *Europe*: For, though the Preservation of the *Protestant Religion* be most the Concernment of *England* and *Holland*, yet the special and immediate End of the Preservation of *Flanders*, and the general End of holding the Balance of *Europe*, is *Universal*.

Upon Occasion of the Beginning of the War between the *Latins* and the *Romans*, *Machiavel* has delivered this Rule: 'That, in all Consultations, it is best to come immediately to the Point in Question, and bring Thing to a Result, without too tedious a Hesitation and Suspense.' And the Reason of this is founded upon divers Observations which he gathers out of several Parts of the *Roman Story*, as, 'That weak Commonwealths are generally irresolute, and ill-advised, as taking their Measures more from Necessity than Election: That it is the Property of weak States to do every thing amiss, and never to do well but in spite of their Teeth; for there is no such thing as Prudence amongst them: That weak and irresolute States do seldom take good Counsels, unless they be forced; for their Weakness suffers them not to deliberate, where any thing is doubtful; and, if that Doubt be not removed by a violent Necessity, they never come to a Resolution, but are always in Suspense: And that is a Fault peculiar to all weak and improvident Princes and Governments to be slow and tedious, as well as uncertain in their Counsels, which is as

'dangerous as the other.' With divers more of the like Nature. Wherefore there may seem to be but one thing that may perplex us, and that is, Whether this Course may sort to the Nature of the Times and our Circumstances? Touching this Point, the same Author gives this Rule, 'That the Occasion of every Man's good or bad Fortune consists in its Correspondence and Accommodation with the Times.' The wary Course that *Fabius* took against *Hannibal* was good, because the Times and the Condition of the *Romans* suited to it: But, had the same Course been holden on, when *Scipio* undertook the War, *Hannibal* might have staid in *Italy*; but, the Times being changed, they also altered the Method of the War. And it is certainly true, That to every Purpose there is a Time and a Judgment, therefore the Misery of Man is great upon him; because the Time is hard to be discerned: For, if the Time be missed, things cannot succeed; for Man knoweth not his Time. If a Man chuses a wrong Time, he may labour and travel, not only in vain as to the Issues designed, but may bring forth his own Destruction; for the universal Influence and Concourse of the first Providence is wanting. But when we shall seriously consider, that there is no other Way left; that the *French King* will neither be quiet himself, nor let any body else alone; and that we must either throw up the Cudgels, and let him domineer as he pleases, or do something that may either deter him from attempting further, or, if he does, may shew him that there is as good Iron in the World as any he has in *France*. I say, things being thus, I can foresee no Objection of Weight against the Proposition: That State, that will defend itself, must be in a Condition to offend its Enemies. And, so long as this State shall give Occasion to *France* to apprehend that they are afraid of him, he will use them as *Dogs*.

Therefore, since this is like to be a *League* of as great Importance as has been made in the World a good while, to render the same secure to the Parties; to add Majesty and Grandeur to it; to render it more sacred, and to give it Weight and Reputation in the World, it will be necessary, that the same be approved, ratified, and confirmed both by the *Parliament of England*, and the *General Estates of the Seven Provinces*, in an extraordinary Assembly. I confess the thing is both very extraordinary and magnificent, and will make the Times famous. But the Arguments that inforce the Necessity thereof are

H h h

irrefragable:

irrefragable; the Demonstration whereof I shall leave this whole Discourse, and the Dignity and Weight of the Matters themselves, to give Evidence unto; and shall say no more in this Place, Than that there is nothing that Princes and States may more justly value themselves upon, than *Faith* and *Sincerity*, in their *Leagues* and *Treaties*, and *Negotiations* with other Princes and States: And Infincerity or State-hypocrisy less becomes the Majesty of State, than it does private Persons in Moral and Civil Actions.

But, before we go any further, it will be but necessary to answer an Objection that may be made on the Part of *England*; and that is, that to confirm a *League*, by the *Parliament*, will weaken the *King's Prerogative*. To which I answer,

1. *Ad Hominem*: That which has been done in the Time of former Kings, and those the greatest and wisest of our Princes, and did not lessen their *Prerogative*, may be done again without weakening the *Prerogative* of the present King; but this Thing has been often done in former Parliaments, as our Rolls of Parliament, Records, Law Books, and Histories shew. But I shall content myself to name two or three of the most principal, as sufficient.

A League and Alliance was made between King *Henry the Fifth*, his Heirs and Successors, and *Sigismund King of the Romans*, his Heirs and Successors, Kings of the *Romans*, and was confirmed by Act of Parliament. *Coke Inst. Pars 4. 156. Rot. Parl. 4. H. V. No 14.*

That illustrious Peace, 9. *H. V.* made between *Charles the Sixth of France*, and the said *Henry the Fifth of England* (who was the very *Alexander* of the Kings of *England* for Magnificence) by which the King of *England* had confirmed to him the Regency of the Kingdom of *France*, during the Life of *Charles*; and the Succession of the Crown, after his Death, was ratified by the three Estates of *France*, and sworn to by the King of *England* in Parliament, and by the same Parliament ratified.

And 11. *Henry VII.* the same Case happened again. The three States of the Kingdom joined with the King in the Ratification of a Peace with *France* in the same Manner. This King was a Prince of great Wisdom and Sufficiency (as I said before); he invaded *France* with a Royal Army, made them buy a Peace of him,

and pay him *Tribute*, which continued yet in the Times of *Henry the Eighth*, his Son; nevertheless he ratified a Peace by the *Parliament*. So you see two Kings, one the greatest Conqueror, as the other was the greatest Politician of the Kings of *England*, ratifying their *Leagues* (which nevertheless they purchased with their own Swords) by *Parliaments*.

And so sacred were our *Leagues* and *Truces* held to be in those Times, that 2. *H. V. C. 6.* It was enacted by Parliament, *That the Breaking of Truces should be High Treason in the Subjects of England.*

But 2. I answer *ad Rem*: It is said the King's Prerogative is to make War and Peace. If the King then make a League, and the Parliament confirm that League, it is so far from lessening, that it confirms that Authority.

That there must be a new League, and that it must have not only more, but larger Dimensions, than the present League in being, is evident: Because the House of Commons in the late long Parliament voted, *That the League offensive and defensive, between his Majesty and this State, is not according to their Advices given to his Majesty, nor pursuant to the Ends by them proposed.* Which Vote has blasted the present League: And, if you should call twenty Parliaments, they would all be of the same Opinion.

And, because all human Providence is short-sighted, there may be a provisional Clause added; that, where the ordinary Provisions and Remedies of this League shall fall short or disproportionate, the Parliament shall be called to deliberate of supplemental Complements of Provisions, that may be adequate to the Force that shall attack the League; which will yet add both Strength and Reputation to it.

But, not to enter into Common-place Discourses, I will insist upon but one Thing more in this Place, and it is this: There is a Rule which *Machiavel* has observed, *That the best and most secure Way, to repress the Insolence of an ambitious and powerful State, is to prelude and stop up those Ways by which he would come to his Greatness*: And that there is not a better or more secure Way to suppress the Insolence, or cross-bite the Designs of such, than to take the same Ways to prevent, which he takes, to advance them. Now then, I think it would be of great Advantage to this League (as every body

body may easily apprehend) to put *Ostend* and *Nieuport* into the Hands of *England*. And, if *Spain* will suffer themselves to hear Reason, and be persuaded to do it, I am without all Doubts a Way may be found how they may do it with infallible Security to themselves, of having the said Places restored to them, so that their End may be obtained, and their Hazard prevented.

Having now spoken to that Part of the *Parliament's Confirmation*, I shall discourse, and that very briefly, the other Part of the Ratification by the *General Estates*; and the more willingly, because I think it may import this State in a double Respect. And I have conceived it thus: The Prescience, Predetermination, and Concurrence of God none denies, though all have not conceived of them in the same *Modus**. But the Politician has said, that it is a certain Truth, that the Things of this World are determined, and a set Time appointed for their Duration; but those run through the whole Course which is assigned them by their Stars, who keep their Body in such Order, that it may not alter at all, or if it does, it is for the better. And the Way to preserve such Bodies (*mixt Bodies*, he speaks of, as *Commonwealths*) is Renovation; for no mere Bodies are of long Duration, unless they be often renewed; and the Way to renew them is to reduce them to their first Principles; and they are reduced partly by external Accident, and partly by internal Prudence. Those Alterations are therefore salutiferous, which reduce them towards their Principles. But my Design is not to enter into the common Place of Renovation, therefore I go on. And since it is in the Nature of all Things to decline, and tend to Depravation, it is the Wisdom of Governments to look often back to their first Constitutions, which are the very *Formalis Ratio*, and fundamental Laws of their Governments. Therefore let the General Estates of the seven Provinces be summoned to meet in the great *Zaal* in the *Hague*, to these two general Ends.

First, To renew their common League among themselves, which will have these two admirable Effects:

1. To cure their internal Disease, and especially that Kind of Politick *Paralysis* of the two

Provinces of *Groeningen* and *Friesland*, which tends to Mutilation.

2. To restore a Kind of new Life and Vigour to their Government. No Government can live, that has not extraordinary Remedies to have Recourse to, in extraordinary Cases: *Rome* had its *Dictators*, which kept it in Health; and *England* has its *Parliament*, without which its Government could not stand. For this Cause have our Parliaments so often renewed our *Magna Charta*; near *Forty-Times*. And,

Secondly, To ratify this *League* with *England*: For as the first defends them against internal Diseases; so this against external Force; the two Diseases of which all Governments die. And this will also give Reputation Abroad to the States thus recreated and fenced. And, if there be any other Argument necessary to enforce the Proposition, it may be drawn from the Nature of the Government itself. There are, in Story and Politicks, but three Divisions of Commonwealths.

First, They are either single, as *Athens*, *Lacedemon*, &c. Or by *Leagues*, as the *Achaians*, *Aetolians*, *Switz*, and the *States*.

Secondly, They are divided into such as are for Preservation, as *Lacedemon* and *Venice*; or for Increase, as *Athens* and *Rome*. Or,

Thirdly, Into *Equal* and *Unequal* in *Libration*.

This is a Government of a League, and for Preservation only, and very unequal; which whosoever shall thoroughly penetrate, shall find Cause to apprehend the Weight of this Proposition; for such another War would shake the States in Pieces. And there is but one of three Ways for them; *War*, *Submission* to *France*, or a *League* with *England*.

And, if there was Time, I think a Man should not fear to want either Matter or Words, to set Home the Argument. They are now but newly delivered from the most dangerous *Crisis* that ever their State passed under since its first Formation; wherein they have laboured under, not only very dangerous domestick Convulsions, but the powerful Assaults of foreign Force. And therefore, what Physician, that is

* Manner.

not a Mountebank, would not prescribe some potent Restorative in such a Case?

I have now but two Things to do, to finish this second Part of my Discourse. The one is to set down some just Praises of the *English* Nation, to the End these People may be moved to rely upon their Friendship with the greater Confidence. And I would have done it elaborately, but that my Discourse has already drawn itself out to so great a Length. The other is, the admirable Effect that will be produced by opposing the *English* Courage to the *French* Fierceness. Let us then but run them over.

The *English* have always been sincere in their Leagues, Alliances, and Treaties. I know presently what will be cast in our Teeth, and that is the infamous Breach of the *Triple League*. But as he shall always be very far from making a true Judgment, that shall determine upon one or a few single Actions; so nothing can be more injurious than to impeach the Faith of a gallant Nation, for that which no body has regretted more than themselves. The Philosopher has said, that Actions denominate not the Subject to be such. And it is true in Divinity, that a Man is not to be judged by a few, or many single Actions; but by the Course and Tenor of his Life. I say then, that the excellent Virtue of *Faithfulness* has been the general Tenor of the *English* at all Times. Let not so foul an Indignity therefore be charged on them; but let the Crime lie at the Doors of those few Men, who were the Authors and Counsellors of it. And, in the mean Time, I will comfort myself with this Hope, that, when the Nation of our Parliament shall come to be put upon this League, his Majesty, and the whole Nation with him, will be restored to the good Opinion of all, whose Interest it is not to believe Lyes. And let me say this, that I have not found in Story any Nation to be preferred to them, for the above-mentioned excellent Quality; wherein I may affirm that they have exceeded the *Romans* themselves: For the *Romans*, passionately affecting an universal Sovereignty and Dominion, were not seldom constrained shamefully to prevaricate, to make strained Constructions of their Leagues, to violate their Faith, and to pass over all whatsoever Respects of Honour, to travel to the Ends of their Ambition. Whereas the *English* never can have any Interest to propagate their *Empire* upon the Body of *Europe* beyond those Bounds, which God by Nature (his Instrument) prescribed to them: The most

they pretend to is, to be *Arbiters* between the Princes and States of *Europe*, as we may see in the Example of *Henry the Eighth*, who living in an active Time, when three such great-spirited Princes met, as himself, *Charles the Fifth*, and *Francis the First of France*, might have made his own Markets; yet sought no more than to keep the Balance equal between those two. *England* then, in Peace, has been famous for the excellent Virtue of Loyalty and Faithfulness; and, in all Times, for keeping close to that righteous Maxim of holding the Balance of *Europe* steady, a Maxim they took up above Six-hundred Years ago. In War they have been renowned for their Courage, redoubted Strength, and great Atchievements. In a Word, in War they have been just, as well as valiant; in Peace kind, and in both sincere. And for the Profession of the true Religion (without which all other Things are either nothing, or as good as nothing) they have been celebrated above all the Nations of *Europe*. It began there early, and continued in the worst of Times; and, since the Reformation, her *Divines* have been the most learned and pious of the *Christian* World; as all foreign *Divines* will be ready to testify. These methinks should be powerful Encouragements to this State to join with *England*. *England*, in whom the publick Virtue of true Meaning is inherent; from whom both in Peace and War we may expect not only Justice but even generous Goodness, to allude to the most ancient Distinction of the *Jews*: And who against all other Nations are zealous against *Popery*.

But that it may appear we do not lay our Strefs upon General and Rhetorical Discourses, there are other Considerations of a more particular Nature, which must not be passed over. *England* has been the principal Instrument of saving this State twice from Destruction; once in the Infancy of their Common-wealth, in the Time of Queen *Elisabeth*, against the *Spaniards*; and now again in the late War, from the *French*. Again, Nothing can secure this State for the future, against the Mischiefs impending from *France*, but the Friendship of *England*. And that *England*, in Conjunction with this State, is able to balance the *French* Monarchy, I shall thus demonstrate: *France* is larger than *England*, but *England* will always afford more Soldiers than *France*, I mean Foot; and the Strength of all Armies consists in the Infantry. The Reasons of this are these two:

1st, The

1st, The Division of the People.

In *France*, and generally in all other Countries, there are but two Divisions of the People, the *Nobles* and *Peasants*; but in *England* we have three.

1. The *Nobles*, that is, the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, competent to furnish a sufficient Cavalry.

2. The *Yeomanry*, or middle Sort of People, which make up the great Body of the Kingdom, and who are sufficient to furnish the greatest and strongest Infantry, of any Kingdom or State in the *Christian* World.

And, 3. The *inferior Sort*, or *Servants*; I mean such as work for Day-wages, which are very inconsiderable, in Number, to the *Yeomanry*. The Division of the People is one of the principal Foundations of Empire: And the Division of the People of *England*, being the best and most perfect of any other in all *Europe*, it must necessarily follow, that *England* is capable to endure stronger Shocks, than any other Kingdom or State, founded upon the same Balance of Government, and is the most perfect Government, of its Kind, in *Europe*.

2^{dly}, In *England*, the People, that is, the *inferior Gentry* and *Yeomanry*, are an Over-balance, both to the King, Nobility, and Church; which is a Defect in Monarchy, and tends to the Generation of a Commonwealth. In *France* and *Spain*, the King and the Nobility have destroyed the People; but, in *England*, the King and the People have destroyed the Nobility. I say, then, the Strength of the Kingdom of *England* is in the *inferior Gentry* and *Yeomanry*; and these exceeding all other Kingdoms in Number, Strength, and Courage, it must needs follow, if the Business should come to be tried, where Blows must decide, that *England* would be found an Over-match, even to *France* itself, if Demonstration be Demonstration. But the Cause and Occasion how these two Things come to be so, that is, why the Nobility of *England* are so depressed, and the People become so formidable, as you may see they are, if you look but upon the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, in our present Parliaments: I say, the Cause is, those popular Statutes of *Population*, against Retainers of the Nobility, and for *Alienations* of their Lands, made by *Henry the Seventh* (the *Romulus* of the *English* Kings) which shews the Unwariness of that politick King, who, in seeking to cure that dangerous Flaw in

the Government, of the *Nobility's* being an Over-match to the People, made a far greater; of making the Commons formidable: For the one strikes only at a King they dislike, the other, at the Throne itself; although it be true, those Effects came not to manifest themselves till above one Hundred Years after his Death. Therefore a wise Prince indeed he was, but not long-fighted.

To the Second: The *French* have beaten and baffled the greatest Part of the *Christian* World without Fighting, and have oppressed them at their own Charge. But, if ever they should come to deal with an Enemy that would force them to fight, they would shew themselves to be *Frenchmen*, that is, would suffer themselves to be persuaded to submit to more reasonable Terms.

If you look upon the Carriage of this whole War, you may presently see, that the wisest Thing, which the *French* thought they could do, was ever to avoid Fighting; supposing surely, that therein they imitated the Wisdom of *Fabius Maximus*. But this is most certain (as the Discourses upon *Livy* prove) that a General, who desires to keep the Field, cannot avoid Fighting, when the Enemy presses, and makes it his Business to engage him. For, in such a Case, there is but one of three Ways: The first is the Way of *Fabius*, of standing upon your Guard, and keeping your Army in Places of Advantage; and this is laudable and good, when your Army is so strong, that the Enemy dares not attack you, as it was in the Case of *Fabius* and *Hannibal*; for, if *Hannibal* had advanced, *Fabius* would have kept his Ground, and engaged him. The second Way to avoid Fighting, if your Enemy will needs attack you, is flying, and fight or fly you must. *Philip* of *Macedon*, being invaded by the *Romans*, resolved not to come to a Battle; and, to avoid it, he took the Way of *Fabius*, incamped his Army upon the Top of a Mountain, and intrenched himself so strongly, that he believed the *Romans* durst not have ventured to come at him. But, alas! the *Romans* were another Kind of Enemy; they not only adventured, but removed him from his Mountain, and forced him to fly with the greatest Part of his Army; and, had it not been for the Unpassableness of the Country, which hindered the Pursuit, the *Macedonians* had all been cut off. The *French* were strongly incamped at *St. Dennis*, and did not at all believe that the Prince of *Orange* would attack

tack them; and yet, for all their Confidence, they could find no other Remedy, than to be-take themselves to their Heels. And this was the greatest and most famous Action of the whole War. The third Way to avoid Fighting is, to shut yourself up in some strong Town, which is the most pernicious Way of all, as making your Ruin inevitable. Therefore (as *Machiavel* says) to keep the Field, and avoid Fighting, is to be done no Way so securely, as by keeping fifty Miles off, and sending out Store of Spies and Scouts, that may give you Notice of the Enemy's Approach, and Opportunity to re-treat.

Nor is it necessary, to do all this, that your Army should be very numerous. The *Romans* and the *Greeks* always carried on their Wars with a few Men, depending more upon their great Order, and the Excellence of their Discipline, than great Numbers; but the Eastern and Western Nations did all by their Multitudes. *Alexander* conquered the World with Thirty-thousand Men; *Pyrrhus* was wont to say, that with Fifteen Thousand Men he would go through the World; and yet *Pyrrhus* fought against the *Romans*, and beat them in two Battles, and was, in the Judgment of *Hannibal* himself, one of the greatest Captains of the World. The ordinary *Roman* Army consisted of about Twenty-four Thousand Men, and, if they were, at any Time, overpressed with Numbers, they exceeded not Fifty Thousand; with which Number, at one Time, they opposed Two-hundred Thousand *Gauls*, or, if you will, call them *Frenchmen*.

There are two Nations, whose Genius resembles that of the antient *Romans*, the *Germans* and the *English*, who are descended from them. But there are these two Differences between them: The *Germans* you shall never bring up to make a point-blank Attack in the Mouth of Cannons, in such Fashion as the *English*; nor again, after a Rout, shall you hardly make them rally, as you may the *English*. From all these Things I make this Conclusion: That, if the *French* renew the War again, the best Way will be to oppose them with an Army of *English*, and, by all Means, to force them to fight continually, till the Field be too hot for them; and when they can keep that no longer, their Towns will be of little Service to them. The *English* have fought many Battles with the *French*, and always beaten them; and yet the *French* have exceeded them much in Numbers,

as in the memorable Battle of *Poitiers*, when the *English* were but about Eight Thousand, and the *French* were Sixty Thousand.

And thus I come to the third and last Part of my Discourse, the Office whereof is to dispose into Method such Arguments, as will be necessary to be used to the several Parties, that is to say, the *King*, *Parliament*, and *this State*, to draw them on to such a League; and they are as follow:

To the King.

1. It will serve to conciliate, and beget a better Understanding between him and the *Parliament*, and to remove some Part of that Jealousy, which the People travail with, of the King's Administration, and which will never leave burning, till it burn to the Foundations of the Throne, if not prevented. And, if it attains not the End of introducing other co-operative Acts of Concord, it will, at least, avert the hastening on of greater Evils. There be some of those Things which the *Parliament* would have, which the King would consent to, upon Condition he might not be pressed in the rest, as the Case of the Duke of *York*, &c. Therefore let them begin with some popular great Thing, that may involve the Interests and Affections of all.

2. As to that Point of the Confirmation by the *Parliament*, I have shewed the Precedents of former Times.

3. The Ratification here, by the General Estates, will be equipollent to the Ratification, in *England*, by the *Parliament*, which saves the King's Honour. For, thus, the Parties rather conspire in one, how to render this League illustrious and great, than, on their respective Parts, to be forced to any Thing.

To the Parliament.

1. Let it move from themselves, that is, let some of those in the House of Commons, who are of unquestionable Reputation for Wisdom, Honesty, and Integrity, be engaged; let them engage others, and let them communicate their Counsels with my Lord *Shaftsbury*, and that Party, in the House of Lords. Then let the Scheme and Project be proposed in the House of Commons; then the Commons seek the Lords Concurrence; and then let it be offered to the King, as the Advice of the whole Kingdom; for

for every Man is there in Person, or by Representation.

2. This will shut up those Avenues, those Back-doors, by which the French have had Accesses to our Councils, and have influenced them; and, consequently, will render the Sitting of Parliaments more calm and secure, when that mighty Trade of theirs, of buying Prorogations, shall be spoiled, and their Factors rendered less malignant.

3. This is an infallible Argument, As the End of a Thing is, so is the Thing. The two general Ends of this League are, to preserve the Protestant Religion, and to preserve and restore the Balance of Europe, by lessening the Power of France. And those are the two greatest Ends in Christendom; therefore that Thing, that has those for its Ends, is the greatest Thing; and the Minds of gallant Men are exceedingly moved with great Things, and strongly carried to the Pursuit of them.

To this State.

1. The first Argument is prudential. Prudence is that Virtue, by which, when several Things are offered, we are directed which to chuse, and which to refuse; what to do, and what not to do. Holland then must either make a League with France, or with England, or remain Neuter.

To make a League with France is utterly imprudent, for these two Reasons:

1. Because France aiming at, and designing an Universal Monarchy, would only secure himself of them, till their own Turn come, that is, till he hath swallowed up the Spanish Netherlands and Germany, when he would turn his Force upon them.

2. By such Means they would lose the best and surest Friend they have had from the Foundation of their State, and that is England. And where a State is not sufficient by its own proper Force, in respect of the Weakness of the one, or the Mightiness of its Neighbours, to defend itself, it must of Necessity rely somewhere else for Protection.

To remain in a neutral Condition cannot be; for so, instead of making one Friend, they would make three Enemies. And, in case France should renew the War upon them, England would be won, upon such Terms as France would offer, either to join with them, or to stand still, and see Holland ruined. Besides, how impolitick a Thing Neutrality is, any Man may see that will consider the Observations made thereon. Mach. Prince, Cap. 21.

It remains then, and I know nothing else that remains, to make a League with England. For that will have one of two Effects: Either France will be wholly deterred from attempting upon their State; or, if he does, they will be able, with the Assistance of England, to defend themselves. This is the first Argument.

2. The Authority and Reputation of the Proposers; it is a League proposed by the Parliament of England, to be entered into with the King and Kingdom of England. The Parliament represents the whole People of England, and commands both the Parts and Persons of a great, rich, and valiant Nation, from whom neither Money nor Soldiers will be wanting to beat down the Power of that proud and insulting Nation of France. But these People here are afraid of France, why then let them make a League with those of whom France itself is afraid. And withal, let them remember this League is to be made with a People, from whom they have received the greatest Benefits, as I have shewed before. And this Argument alone will beat down the most, if not all the Objections that would arise against such a League, proposed in any other Manner.

3. The great Reputation and Security such a League will give to this State, which will cover them as with Wings of Protection against France, and whosoever else would prey upon them.

If I have not expressed these Things so as I would, I have done it as well as I can in a short Time. And so, submitting it with all decent Humility to the grave Considerations of those excellent Personages whom it may concern, I leave it to its Fate.

Hague, May 24, 1680.

A Speech

(424)

A Speech made by Queen *Elisabeth*, (of famous Memory) in
Parliament, Anno 1593; and in the Thirty-fifth Year of
her Reign, concerning the *Spanish* Invasion.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THIS Kingdom hath had many
Wife, Noble and Victorious Prin-
ces; I will not compare with any
of them in Wisdom, Fortitude,
or any other Virtues: But saving
the Duty of a Child, that is, not to compare
with his Father in Love, Care, Sincerity, and
Justice, I will compare with any Prince that
ever you had, or shall have.

It may be thought Simplicity in me, that, all
this Time of my Reign, I have not sought to
advance my Territories, and enlarge my Do-
minions; for Opportunity hath served me to
do it. I acknowledge my Womanhood and
Weakness in that Respect; but, though it hath
not been hard to obtain, yet I doubted how to
keep the Things so obtained: And I must say,
my Mind was never to invade my Neighbours,
or to usurp over any; I am contented to reign
over my own, and to rule as a just Prin-
cess.

Yet the King of *Spain* doth challenge me to
be the Quarreller, and the Beginner of all these
Wars; in which he doth me the greatest Wrong
that can be, for my Conscience doth not accuse
my Thoughts, wherein I have done him the
least Injury: But I am persuaded in my Con-
science, if he knew what I know, he himself
would be sorry for the Wrong that he hath
done me.

I fear not all his Threatenings; his great
Preparations and mighty Forces do not stir

me: For, though he come against me, with a
greater Power than ever was, his *Invincible*
Navy, I doubt not (God assisting me, upon
whom I always trust) but that I shall be able
to defeat and overthrow him. I have great
Advantage against him, for my Cause is just.

I heard say, when he attempted his last Inva-
sion, some, upon the Sea-coast, forsook their
Towns, and flew up higher into the Country,
and left all naked and exposed to his Entrance:
But, * I swear unto you, if I knew those Per-
sons, or any that should do so hereafter, I will
make them know and feel what it is to be so
fearful in so urgent a Cause.

The Subsidies, you give me, I accept thank-
fully, if you give me your good Wills with
them; but if the Necessity of the Time, and
your Preservations, did not require it, I would
refuse them: But, let me tell you, that the
Sum is not so much, but that it is needful for
a Princess to have so much always lying in her
Coffers, for your Defence in Time of Need,
and not be driven to get it, when we should
use it.

You that be Lieutenants and Gentlemen of
Command in your Countries, I require you to
take Care that the People be well armed, and
in Readiness upon all Occasions. You that be
Judges and Justices of the Peace, I command
and straightly charge you, that you see the Laws
to be duly executed, and that you make them
living Laws, when we have put Life into
them.

* The Queen protests she will punish Cowards.

A List of the Monasteries, Nunneries, and Colleges, belonging to the *English Papists*, in several Popish Countries beyond Sea. Published to inform the People of *England*, of the Measures taken by the Popish Party for the Re-establishing of *Popery* in these Nations. In a Letter to a Member of Parliament.

[From eight Pages *Quarto*, London, printed in 1700.]

S I R,

I Find that your honourable House is fully sensible of the dangerous Consequence of the Numbers of *Papists* amongst us by your present Proceedings; and to add what I can to your Knowledge concerning *Papists*, I have here sent you a List of the *Seminaries* and *Religious Houses* Abroad, maintained at the Charge of the *English Papists*. I cannot assure you the List is perfect, believing there are many more that have slipped my Knowledge, but what I here send you is known to be true.

Lisbon.

1. **H**ERE is a College of Secular *English* Priests, in Number about Forty.
2. Here is also a Monastery of *English* Nuns *, of the Order of St. *Bridget*, their Community Thirty.
3. Also a Convent of *Irish Dominican* Friars, in Number Sixteen †.
4. Also *Dominican* Nuns ‡ of the same Country.
5. With a College of Secular *Irish* Priests, under the Government of *Portuguese* Jesuits, in Number about Thirteen.

Valladolid in Spain.

Twelve Secular Priests, under the Government of *Spanish* Jesuits. An *English* Jesuit is the Minister ¶ in the House, and is next to the Rector.

* These Nuns call their Nunnery, *Sion-House*, and pretend to be originally transported from the ancient Monastery of *Bridgettian* Nuns, at *Sion-House* near *Richmond* in *Surrey*. To which they lay Claim, when Time shall serve.

† Now increased to double the Number.

‡ These Nuns are situated at *Bethlem*, about three Miles from *Lisbon*.

§ This was originally an Hospital belonging to the *English* Factory, and afterwards turned into a College, but now it has only one Priest in it.

¶ Confessor.

Madrid.

1. An *English* College, under the Government of *Spanish* Jesuits. An *English* Man is the Minister in the House, in Number Eight.
2. A *Scots* and *Irish* College.

Sevil.

An *English* College, under the Government of *Spanish* Jesuits.

St. Lucar.

A small College § of *English*, called, St. *George's*.

Bilboa.

A House whereof Father *Anthony* is Chief.

Paris.

1. In the *Faubourge St. Jacques*, is a Convent of *English Benedictine* Monks, they are in Number Twenty-four.
2. A Monastery of Visitation Nuns, otherwise *Blue Nuns*, Number Twenty.
3. A Monastery of Nuns of the Order of St. *Augustine*. The Nuns are in Number Sixty, the Pensioners as many more.
4. A Monastery of *Benedictine* Nuns, in Number Thirty.
5. A College of *Irish* Secular Priests, called *Montacute College*.
6. A College of *Scots* Secular Priests.

7. Near *Paris* a Convent of *English* discalced,
alias bare-legged, *Carmelite* Friars.

Nieuport in *Flanders*.

A Convent of *Carthusian* Monks †, in Number
Twelve.

Doway.

1. A College of *Secular* Priests and Students,
in Number about One-hundred and Fifty.
2. A Convent of *Benedictine* Monks, in Number
Twenty-five.
3. A College in the Convent of *English* Youths,
they have been known to be Fifty-nine.
4. A Convent of *Franciscan* Friars, in Number
Sixty.
5. A *Scots* College of *Jesuits*.

Cambray.

A Monastery of *Benedictine* Nuns, under Di-
rection of the Monks of the same Order, in
Number Thirty.

Liege.

1. A Monastery of *Canonesses* Regulars of the
Order of *St. Austin*.
2. A College of *English* *Jesuits*, consisting of
One-hundred and Eighty.

Blois in *France*.

A Nunnery.

Pontois in *France*.

A Monastery of *Benedictine* Nuns, under the
Direction of the *Jesuits* *.

Dunkirk.

1. A Monastery of *Benedictine* Nuns, common-
ly called the *rich Dames*, under the Direction
of the *Jesuits*.
2. A Monastery of *poor Clares*.

Gravelin.

A Monastery of *English* *poor Clares*.

Flanders.

A Monastery of discalced, alias bare-legged,
Carmelite Nuns.

Two other Monasteries of *Augustine* Nuns.

At *Burnham* near *Brussels*.

A Convent of *Dominican* Friars, founded by
Cardinal *Howard*.

Near that,

A Monastery of *English* *Dominican* Nuns.

Near that,

A Convent of *Carmelite* Friars.

Ares in *Flanders*.

A Monastery of *poor Clares*.

Louvaine.

1. A College of *Dominican* Friars.
2. A College of *Irish* *Capuchins*.

* viz. Having *Jesuits* for their Confessors, &c.

† Who pretend a Title to the *Charter-House*, *London*, and all its Estates, whenever they can lay hold of
a *Popish* Government in *England*.

‡ Upon the Establishment of the House.

|| This College has flourished very much of late Years.

Ghent.

1. A College of *Jesuits*, in Number Six.
2. A Nunnery.

Bruges.

1. A Monastery of Nuns of the third Order of
St. Francis, in Number Thirty.
2. A Monastery of *Augustine* Nuns.

St. Omers.

A College of *Jesuits* about Thirty ‡, with One-
hundred and Eighty *English* Scholars.

Lanspring in *Germany*.

An Abbey of *Benedictine* Monks, with a Lord
Abbot, in Number Thirty.

Deiulward in *Lorraine*.

A Convent of *Benedictine* Monks, in Number
Sixteen.

Rome.

1. A College of *Secular* Priests under the Go-
vernment of the *English* *Jesuits* ||.
2. A *Scots* College.

By this Account it appears there are Fifty-one
Religious Houses maintained at the Charge of the
English *Papists*, which carries vast Sums of Mo-
ney yearly out of the Nation, and returns no-
thing in lieu thereof, but a Sort of Vermin, that
are a common Nuisance to Church and State.
The Methods, how to prevent this growing Evil,
are left to the great Wisdom of your honoura-
ble House.

I am, Sir, Yours, &c.

A Question

A Question of the Cock, and whether his Crowing affrights the Lion? Being one of those Questions handled in the weekly Conferences of Monsieur *Renaudot's Bureau d'Adresses*, at *Paris*.

[Translated into *English*, Anno 1640, in six *Quarto* Pages.]

THE first Man said thus: The *Germans*, going to the Wars, had Reason to take a *Cock* with them to serve them for a Spur and an Example of Watchfulness; whence came a Custom to this Day used by the Mule-drivers; some of which tie a *Cock* upon the foremost Carriage; and others, that will not trouble themselves with him, provide only a Plume of his Feathers. Upon the same Ground *Phidias* made a Statue of *Minerva*, bearing a *Cock* upon her Helmet; unless you will rather think his Reason to be, because this Goddess is as well President of War as of Study; both which have Need of much Vigilancy. Though this Bird, for other Causes, may be well enough said to pertain to her; as, for his being so warlike and courageous, as that he will not part with his Desire of Vanquishing, though it cost him his Life; and this Desire he prosecutes with such Fury, that *Caelius Aurelianus* reports, that a Man fell mad, having only been pecked by a *Cock* in the Heat of his Fighting. For the Passion of Choler, being a short Madness, is able exceedingly to raise the Degree of Heat in a Temper already so extremely cholerick, that in Time the Body of a *Cock* becomes nitrous; and in this Consideration it is prescribed to sick Persons to make them laxative, and it is the better, if he were first well beaten, and plucked alive, and then boiled.

And this Courage of the *Cock* moved *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, when a Soldier of *Caria* had slain Prince *Cyrus*, to grant him Leave to bear a little *Cock* of Gold upon his Javelin, as a singular Badge of his great Valour. In Imitation whereof, all the Soldiers of the same Pro-

vince fell to wear the like upon the Crests of their Helmets; and were thence called *Alectryons*, that is in *Latin*, *Galli*, a Name afterwards given to our Nation *, and it may be for the like Reason.

The *Cock* is also the Hieroglyphick of Victory, because he crows when he hath beaten his Adversary; which gave Occasion to the *Lacedemonians* to sacrifice a *Cock*, when they had overcome their Enemies. He was also dedicated to *Mars*; and the Poets feign that he was a young Soldier; and placed for a Centinel by this God of War when he went to lie with *Venus*, but feared the Return of her Husband; but, this Watchman sleeping till after Sun-rising, *Mars* and she were taken napping by *Vulcan*. *Mars*, being very angry, transformed this Sleeper into a *Cock* for his Negligence; whence, say they, it comes to pass, that, well remembering the Cause of his Transformation, he now gives Warning when the Sun draws near to our Horizon. Which Fable is as tolerable as that of the *Alcoran*, which attributes the Crowing of our Cocks to one that, as he saith, stands upon the first Heaven, and is of so immense a Hugeness, that his Head touched the Second; which *Cock* crows so loud, that he awakens all the *Cocks* upon the Earth, that immediately they fall to provoking one another to do the like; as if there were one and the same Instant of Cock-crowing all over the Face of the whole Earth. The *Cock* was also dedicated to the Sun, to the Moon, and to the Goddesses *Latona*, *Ceres*, and *Proserpina*; which was the Cause that the Novices, or those that were initiated in their Mysteries, must not eat of a *Cock*. He was also dedicated to *Mercury*, because Vigilancy and early

* The Author was a Frenchman.

428 *A Question of the Cock, and whether his Crowing affrights the Lion?*

Rising is necessary for Merchants; and therefore they painted him in the Form of a Man sitting, having a Crest upon his Head, with Eagles Feet, and holding a *Cock* upon his Fist. But particularly he was consecrated to *Æsculapius*, which made *Secrates*, at the Point of Death, to will his Friends to sacrifice a *Cock* to him, because his Hemlock had wrought well. And *Pyrrhus*, curing Men of the Spleen, caused them to offer a white *Cock*, whereas *Pythagoras* forbade his Followers to meddle with the Life or Nourishing of any of that Colour.

The Inhabitants of *Calecut* sacrifice a *Cock* to their Deity, whom they conceive in the Shape of a He-goat; and *Acosta*, out of *Lucian*, assures us, that anciently they worshipped a *Cock* for a God; which, *Christianity* not suffering, hath put them upon Churches, the Spires of Steeples, and high Buildings, calling them Weather-cocks, because, as Fans, they shew the Coast whence the Wind comes, unless you rather think they are set up in Remembrance of *St. Peter's* Repentance at the second Crowing of a *Cock*.

The Cause of his Crowing is commonly attributed to his Heat, which makes him rejoice at the Approach of the Sun, as being of his own Temper; of which Approach he is sooner sensible than others, because he more easily than any other Creature receives the Impression of the Air, as appears by that harsh Voice which he sometimes useth in Crowing when he hath been newly moistened by the Vapours; and, therefore, the Countrymen count it an ordinary Sign of Rain. And forasmuch as the whole Species of Birds is more hot, dry, and light than the Species of four-footed Beasts; therefore the Lion, though he be a solar Creature, as well as the *Cock*, yet is so in a lesser Degree than he. Whence it comes to pass, that the *Cock* hath a Pre-eminence over the Lion, which he understands not, till the Crowing raise in his Imagination some Species which in him produce Terror. Unless you will say, that the Spirits of the *Cock* are communicated to the Lion, by Means of his Voice; for that is a Thing more material, and so more capable to act than the Spirits which come out of sore Eyes, which nevertheless do infect those that are sound, if they look on them; nay, to speak with the Poet, they do bewitch the very Lambs.

The *Second* said, we must reckon this Error [of a *Cock* scaring a Lion by Crowing] among

divers other vulgar ones, of which often times the Chairs and Pulpits ring, as if they were certain Truth, when, in the Tryal, they prove stark false. It may be some tame Lion, grown cowardly by the Manner of his Breeding, hath been seen affrighted by the shrill Sound of some *Cock* crowing suddenly and near to his Ears; which will seem not unlikely to them that, in the Beginning of *March* last past, were present at the intended Combate in the Tennis-court at *Rochelle*, between such a Lion and a Bull; at the Sight of whom the Lion was so afraid, that he bolted through the Nets, throwing down the Spectators which were there placed in great Numbers, as thinking it a Place of greater Security; and, running thence, he hid himself, and could by no Means be made re-enter the Lifts. Or it may be the Novelty of this Crowing surprised some Lion that never heard it before, as having always lived far from any Village or Country-house where Poultry are bred; and thereupon the Lion at this first Motion startled.

It is also possible, and most likely too, that the Startle of Choler, whereinto the Lion falls as soon as any Thing displeases him, was mistaken by Somebody for a Sign of Fear, whereas it was a Token of his Indignation. For I see no Shew of Reason to imagine in this generous Beast a true and universal Fear of so small a Matter as the Voice of a *Cock*, seeing that this Likeness of Nature, which is attributed to them, should rather produce some Sympathy than any Aversion; and yet this Enmity, if any were, and that as great as between Wolves and Sheep, ought no more to scare the Lion than the Bleating of a Sheep affrights a Wolf. But the Wolf devours the Sheep and assimilates it to his own Substance, rather for the Good-will that he bears himself, than for any Ill-will or Hatred that he bears towards the Sheep. Besides, we ordinarily see Cocks and Hens in the Court-yards of the Houses where Lions are kept, which never make any Shew of Astonishment at their Crowing. Nay, I remember, I have seen a young Lion eat a *Cock*; it is true, he did not crow any more than those of *Nibas*, a Village near to *Theffalonica* in *Macedonia*, where the Cocks never crow. But the Lion would have been content with tearing the *Cock* in Pieces, and not have eaten him, if there had been such an Antipathy between them as some imagine. But this Error finds Entertainment for the Moral's Sake, which they infer upon it, to shew us that

that the most Hardy are not exempt from Fear, which often-times arises whence it is least looked for. So that to ask, *Why the Crowing of a Cock scares Lions*, is to seek the Causes of a Thing that is not.

The *Third* said, we must not make so little Account of the Authority of our Predecessors, as absolutely to deny what they have averred, the Proof of which seems sufficiently tried by the continued Experience of so many Ages; for to deny a Truth, because we know not the Reason of it, is to imitate *Alexander*, who cut the *Gordian Knot*, because he could not unty it. It is better, in the Nature of the Cock and his Voice, to seek a Cause of the Fright of the Lion, who being a Creature always in a Fever, by his excessive cholerick Distemper, of which his Hair and his Violence are Tokens; great Noise is to him as intolerable as to those that are sick and feverish, especially those in whom a cholerick Humour, inflamed, stirs up the Head-

ach. Besides, there are some Kinds of Sound, which some Persons cannot endure; and yet can give you no Reason for it, but are constrained to fly to specifical Properties and Antipathies; and such we may conceive to be between the Cock's Crowing and a Lion's Ear, with much more Likelihood than that the *Remora* stays Vessels under full Sail; and a thousand other Effects impenetrable by our Reason, but assured by our Experience.

Lastly, This Astonishment that the Cock puts the Lion into, with his Crowing, is not very unreasonable: This King of Beasts having Occasion to wonder, how out of so small a Body should issue a Voice so strong, and which is heard so far off, whereas himself can make such great Slaughters with so little Noise. Which Amazement of the Lion is so much the greater, if the Cock be white, because this Colour helps yet more to dissipate his Spirits, which were already scattered by the first Motion of his Apprehension.

An Enquiry into the Measures of Submission to the Supreme Authority; and of the Grounds upon which it may be lawful or necessary for Subjects to defend their Religion, Lives, and Liberties.

[From sixteen Pages, *Quarto*, printed in the Year 1688.]

THIS Enquiry cannot be regularly made, but by taking, in the first Place, a true and full View of the Nature of *Civil Society*, and more particularly of the Nature of *Supreme Power*, whether it is lodged in one or more Persons.

1. It is certain, that the Law of Nature has put no Difference nor Subordination among Men, except it be that of Children to Parents, or of Wives to their Husbands; so that, with Relation to the Law of Nature, *all Men are born free*: And this Liberty must still be supposed intire, unless so far as it is limited by Contracts, Provisions, and Laws; for a Man can either bind himself to be a Servant, or sell him-

self to be a Slave, by which he becomes in the Power of another, only so far as it was provided by the Contract: Since all that Liberty, which was not expressly given away, remains still intire; so that the Plea for Liberty always proves itself, unless it appears that it is given up, or limited by any special Agreement.

2. It is no less certain, that as the Light of Nature has planted in all Men a natural Principle of the *Love of Life*, and of a *Desire to preserve it*, so the common Principles of all Religion agree in this, that, *God* having set us in this World, we are bound to preserve that Being, which he has given us, by all just and lawful Ways. Now this Duty of *Self-preservation* is exerted in Instances of two Sorts; the one is in the Resisting of violent Aggressors, the other is the

the Taking of just Revenges of those who have invaded us so secretly, that we could not prevent them, and so violently, that we could not resist them. In which Cases, the Principle of *Self-preservation* warrants us, both to recover what is our own, with just Damages, and also to put such unjust Persons out of a Capacity of doing the like Injuries any more, either to ourselves, or any others. Now, in these Instances of *Self-preservation*, this Difference is to be observed, that the first cannot be limited, by any slow Forms, since a *pressing Danger* requires a *vigorous Repulse*, and cannot admit of Delays; whereas the second, of taking *Revenges* or *Reparations*, is not of such Haste, but that it may be brought under Rules and Forms.

3. The true and original Notion of *Civil Society* and Government is, that it is a Compromise made by such a Body of Men, by which they resign up the Right of demanding Reparations, either in the Way of Justice against one another, or in the Way of War against their Neighbours, to such a single Person, or to such a Body of Men, as they think fit to trust with this. And in the Management of this *Civil Society*, great Distinction is to be made between the Power of making Laws for the Regulating the Conduct of it, and the Power of Executing these Laws; the *Supreme Authority* must still be supposed to be lodged with those who have the *Legislative Power* reserved to them; but not with those who have only the *Executive*, which is plainly a Trust, when it is separated from the *Legislative Power*; and all Trusts, by their Nature, import, that those, to whom they are given, are accountable, even though that it should not be expressly specified in the Words of the Trust itself.

4. It cannot be supposed by the Principles of Natural Religion, that God has authorised any one Form of *Government*, any other Way, than as the general Rules of Order and of Justice oblige all Men not to subvert Constitutions, nor disturb the Peace of Mankind, nor invade those Rights, with which the Law may have vested some Persons; for it is certain, that as private Contracts lodge or transact private Rights, so the publick Laws can likewise lodge such Rights, Prerogatives, and Revenues, in those under whose Protection they put themselves; and, in such a Manner, that they may come to have as good a Title to these, as any private Person can have to his Property; so that it becomes an Act of high Injustice and Violence to invade these,

which is so far a greater Sin, than any such Actions would be against a private Person, as the publick Peace and Order is preferable to all *private Considerations* whatsoever. So that, in Truth, the Principles of *Natural Religion* give those that are in Authority no Power at all; but they do only secure them in the Possession of that which is theirs by Law. And as no Considerations of Religion can bind me to pay another more than I indeed owe him, but do only bind me more strictly to pay what I owe; so the Considerations of Religion do, indeed, bring Subjects under stricter Obligations to pay all due Allegiance and Submission to their Princes; but they do not at all extend that Allegiance further than the Law carries it.

And though a Man has no Divine Right to his Property, but has acquired it by Human Means, such as Succession, or Industry, yet he has a Security for the Enjoyment of it, from a Divine Right: So, though Princes have no immediate Warrants from Heaven, either for their original Titles, or for the Extent of them, yet they are secured in the Possession of them, by the Principles and Rules of *Natural Religion*.

5. It is to be considered that, as a private Person can bind himself to another Man's Service by different Degrees, either as an ordinary Servant for Wages, or as an Apprentice for a longer Time, as an Apprentice; or, by a total giving himself up to another, as in the Case of Slavery. In all which Cases, the general Name of Master may be equally used; yet the Degrees of his Power are to be judged by the Nature of the Contract; so, likewise, Bodies of Men can give themselves up, in different Degrees, to the Conduct of others. And, therefore, though all those may carry the same Name of King, yet every one's Power is to be taken from the Measures of the Authority which is lodged in him, and not from any general Speculations, founded on some equivocal Terms, such as *King*, *Sovereign*, or *Supreme*.

6. It is certain, that God, as the Creator and Governor of the World, may set up whom he will, to rule over other Men; but this Declaration of his Will must be made evident by Prophets, or other extraordinary Men sent by him, who have some manifest Proofs of the Divine Authority, that is committed to them, on such Occasions; and upon such Persons declaring the Will of God, in Favour of any others, that Declaration is to be submitted to and obeyed. But this Pretence of a Divine Delegation can be carried

carried no farther than to those who are thus expressly marked out, and is unjustly claimed by those who can prove no such Declaration to have been ever made in Favour of them, or their Families. Nor does it appear reasonable to conclude, from their being in Possession, that it is the Will of God that it should be so; this justifies all Usurpers, when they are successful.

7. The Measures of Power, and, by Consequence, of Obedience, must be taken from the express Laws of any State, or Body of Men, from the Oaths that they swear; or from immemorial Prescription, and a long Possession, which both give a Title, and, in a long Tract of Time, make a bad one become good; since Prescription, when it passes the Memory of Man, and is not disputed by any other Pretender, gives, by the common Sense of all Men, a just and good Title. So, upon the whole Matter, the Degrees of all Civil Authority, are to be taken either from express Laws, immemorial Customs, or from particular Oaths, which the Subjects swear to their Princes; this being still to be laid down for a Principle, that, in all the Disputes between *Power* and *Liberty*, *Power* must always be proved, but *Liberty* proves itself; the one being founded only upon positive Law, and the other upon the Law of Nature.

8. If from the general Principles of Human Society, and Natural Religion, we carry this Matter to be examined by the Scriptures, it is clear, that all the Passages, that are in the *Old Testament*, are not to be made Use of in this Matter, on neither Side. For as the Land of *Canaan* was given to the *Jews*, by an immediate Grant from Heaven, so God reserved still this to himself, and to the Declarations that he should make from Time to Time, either by his *Prophets*, or by the Answers that came from the Cloud of Glory that was between the Cherubims; to set up Judges or Kings over them, and to pull them down again as he thought fit, here was an express Delegation made by God; and therefore all that was done in that Dispensation, either for or against Princes, is not to be made Use of in any other State, that is founded on another Bottom and Constitution; and all the Expressions in the *Old Testament* relating to *Kings*, since they belong to Persons that were immediately designed by God, are without any Sort of Reason applied to those who can pretend to no such Designation, neither for themselves nor for their Ancestors.

9. As for the *New Testament*, it is plain, that there are no Rules given in it, neither for the *Forms of Government* in general, nor for the Degrees of any one Form in particular, but the general Rules of Justice, Order, and Peace, being established in it upon higher Motives, and more binding Considerations, than ever they were in any other Religion whatsoever, we are most strictly bound by it, to observe the Constitution in which we are; and it is plain, that the Rules, set us in the Gospel, can be carried no further. It is, indeed, clear from the *New Testament*, that the *Christian Religion*, as such, gives us no Grounds to defend or propagate it by Force. It is a Doctrine of the Cross, and of Faith and Patience under it; and if, by the Order of Divine Providence, and of any Constitution of Government, under which we are born, we are brought under Sufferings, for our Professing of it, we may indeed retire and fly out of any such Country, if we can; but, if that is denied us, we must then, according to this Religion, submit to those Sufferings under which we may be brought, considering that God will be glorified by us in so doing, and that he will both support us under our Sufferings, and gloriously reward us for them.

This was the State of the *Christian Religion*, during the three first Centuries, under *Heathen Emperors*, and a Constitution in which *Paganism* was established by Law; but if, by the Laws of any Government, the *Christian Religion*, or any Form of it, is become a Part of the *Subject's Property*, it then falls under another Consideration, not as it is a Religion, but as it is become one of the principal Rights of the Subjects, to believe and profess it; and then we must judge of the Invasions made on that, as we do of any other Invasion that is made on our Rights.

10. All the Passages in the *New Testament*, that relate to *Civil Government*, are to be expounded as they were truly meant, in Opposition to that false Notion of the *Jews*, who believed themselves to be so immediately under the Divine Authority, that they would not become the Subjects of any other Power; particularly of one that was not of their Nation, or of their Religion; therefore they thought, they could not be under the *Roman Yoke*, nor bound to pay Tribute to *Cæsar*, but judged that they were only subject out of Fear, by Reason of the Force that lay on them, but not for Conscience-

science-Sake; and so in all their Dispersion, both at *Rome* and elsewhere, they thought they were *God's Freemen*, and made Use of this pretended *Liberty as a Cloke of Maliciousness*: In Opposition to all which, since in a Course of many Years they had asked the Protection of the *Roman Yoke*, and were come under their Authority, our Saviour ordered them to continue in that by his Saying, *Render to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's*; and both *St. Paul* in his Epistle to the *Romans*, and *St. Peter* in his general Epistle, have very positively condemned that pernicious Maxim, but without any formal Declarations made of the Rules or Measures of *Government*. And, since both the People and Senate of *Rome* had acknowledged the Power that *Augustus* had, indeed, violently usurped, it became legal when it was thus submitted to, and confirmed both by the Senate and People; and it was established in his Family by a long Prescription, when these Epistles were writ; so that, upon the whole Matter, all that is in the *New Testament*, upon this Subject, imports no more but that all *Christians* are bound to acquiesce in the *Government*, and submit to it, according to the Constitution that is settled by Law.

11. We are then at last brought to the Constitution of our *English Government*; so that no general Considerations from the Speculations about *Sovereign Power*, nor from any Passages either of the *Old* and *New Testament*, ought to determine us in this Matter; which must be fixed from the Laws and Regulations that have been made among us. It is then certain, that with Relation to the *Executive Part* of the Government, the Law has lodged that singly in the King, so that the whole Administration of it is in him; but the *Legislative Power* is lodged between the *King* and the two Houses of Parliament, so that the Power of making and repealing *Laws* is not singly in the King, but only so far as the two Houses concur with him. It is also clear, that the King has such a determined Extent of Prerogative, beyond which he has no Authority: As for Instance, if he levies Money of his People, without a Law empowering him to it, he goes beyond the Limits of his Power, and asks that, to which he has no Right, so that there lies no Obligation on the Subject to grant it; and if any in his Name use Violence for the Obtaining it, they are to be looked on, as so many Robbers, that invade our Property, and they being violent Aggressors, the

Principle of Self-preservation seems here to take Place, and to warrant as violent a Resistance.

12. There is nothing more evident, than that *England* is a free Nation, that has its *Liberties* and *Properties* preserved to it by many positive and express *Laws*; if then we have a Right to our *Property*, we must likewise be supposed to have a Right to preserve it; for these Rights are by the Law secured against the *Invasions* of the Prerogative, and by Consequence we must have a Right to preserve them against those *Invasions*. It is also evidently declared by our Law, that all Orders and Warrants, that are issued, not in Opposition to them, are null of themselves; and by Consequence, any that pretend to have Commissions from the King, for those Ends, are to be considered, as if they had none at all: Since these Commissions, being void of themselves, are indeed no Commissions in the Construction of the Law; and therefore those, who act in Virtue of them, are still to be considered, as private Persons, who come to invade and disturb us. It is also to be observed, that there are some Points that are justly disputable and doubtful, and others that are so manifest, that it is plain that any Objections, that can be made to them, are rather forced Pretences, than so much as plausible Colours. It is true, if the Case is doubtful, the Interest of the publick Peace and Order ought to carry it; but the Case is quite different, when the *Invasions*, that are made upon Liberty and Property, are plain and visible to all that consider them.

13. The main and great Difficulty here, is, that though our Government does indeed assert the Liberty of the Subject, yet there are many express Laws made, that lodge the Militia singly in the King, that make it plainly unlawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, or any commissioned by him; and these Laws have been put in the Form of Oath, which all that have borne any Employment either in Church or State have sworn; and therefore these Laws, for the Assuring our Liberties, do indeed bind the King's Conscience, and may affect his Ministers; yet, since it is a Maxim of our Law, that the King can do no Wrong, these cannot be carried so far as to justify our Taking Arms against him, be the Transgressions of Law ever so many and so manifest: And, since this has been the constant Doctrine of the Church of *England*, it will be a very heavy Imputation on us, if it appears, that
though

though we held these Opinions, as long as the Court and the Crown have favoured us, yet, as soon as the Court turns against us, we change our Principles.

14. Here is the true Difficulty of this whole Matter, and therefore it ought to be exactly considered. *First*, all general Words, how large soever, are still supposed to have a tacit Exception, and Reserves in them, if the Matter seems to require it. Children are commanded to obey their Parents in all Things; Wives are declared, by the Scripture, to be subject to their Husbands in all Things; as the Church is unto *Christ*: And yet how comprehensive soever these Words may seem to be, there is still a Reserve to be understood in them; and though, by our Form of Marriage, the Parties swear to one another, till Death them do part, yet few doubt but this Bond is dissolved by Adultery, though it is not named; for odious Things ought not to be suspected, and therefore not named upon such Occasions: But, when they fall out, they carry still their own Force with them.

2. When there seems to be a Contradiction between two Articles in the Constitution, we ought to examine which of the two is the most evident and the most important, and so we ought to fix upon it, and then we must give such an accommodating Sense to that which seems to contradict it, that so we may reconcile those together. Here then are two seeming Contradictions in our Constitution: The one is the publick Liberties of the Nation; the other is the Renouncing of all Resistance, in Case that were invaded. It is plain, that our Liberty is only a Thing that we enjoy at the King's Discretion, and during his Pleasure, if the other against all Resistance is to be understood, according to the utmost Extent of the Words; therefore since the chief Design of our whole Law, and all the several Rules of our Constitution, is to secure and maintain our Liberty, we ought to lay that down for a Conclusion, that it is both the most plain and the most important of the two: And therefore the other Article against Resistance ought to be so softened, as that it do not destroy this.

3. Since it is by a Law, that Resistance is condemned, we ought to understand it in such a Sense, as that it doth not destroy all other Laws: And therefore the Intent of this Law must only relate to the Executive Power, which is in the King, and not to the Legislative, in which we cannot suppose that our Legislators, who made that Law, intended to give up that,

which we plainly see they resolved still to preserve intire, according to the ancient Constitution. So then the not Resisting the King can only be applied to the Executive Power, that so, upon no Pretence of ill Administrations in the Execution of the Law, it should be lawful to resist him; but this cannot with any Reason be extended to an Invasion of the Legislative Power, or to a total Subversion of the Government. For it being plain, that the Law did not design to lodge that Power in the King; it is also plain, that it did not intend to secure him in it, in case he should set about it. 4. The Law mentioning the King, or those commissioned by him, shews plainly, that it only designed to secure the King in the Executive Power: For the Word Commission necessarily imports this, since, if it is not according to Law, it is no Commission; and by Consequence, those who act, in Virtue of it, are not commissioned by the King, in the Sense of the Law. The King likewise imports, a Prince clothed by Law with the Regal Prerogative; but, if he goes to subvert the whole Foundation of the Government, he subverts that by which he himself has his Power, and by Consequence he annuls his own Power; and then he ceases to be King, having endeavoured to destroy that, upon which his own Authority is founded.

It is acknowledged by the greatest Asserters of Monarchical Power, that, in some Cases, a King may fall from his Power, and in other Cases that he may fall from the Exercise of it; his deserting his People, his going about to enslave, or sell them to any other, or a furious going about to destroy them, are, in the Opinion of the most Monarchical Lawyers, such Abuses; that they naturally divest those that are guilty of them, of their whole Authority. Infamy or Phrensy do also put them under the Guardianship of others. All the crowned Heads of *Europe* have, at least, secretly approved of the putting the late King of *Portugal* under a Guardianship, and the keeping him still Prisoner, for a few Acts of Rage, that had been fatal to a very few Persons: And even our Court gave the first Countenance to it, though of all others the late King had the most Reason to have done it at least last of all, since it justified a younger Brother's supplanting the Elder; yet the Evidence of the Thing carried it even against Interest; therefore, if a King go about to subvert the Government, and to overturn the whole Constitution, he by this must

be supposed either to fall from his Power, or at least from the Exercise of it, so far as that he ought to be put under Guardians; and, according to the Case of *Portugal*, the next Heir falls naturally to be the Guardian.

The next Thing to be considered is, to see in Fact whether the Foundations of this Government have been struck at, and whether those Errors, that have been perhaps committed, are only such Malversations, as ought only to be imputed to *Human Frailty*, and to the Ignorance, Inadvertencies, or Passions, to which all Princes may be subject, as well as other Men; but this will best appear, if we consider, what are the fundamental Points of our Government; and the chief Securities that we have for our Liberties.

The Authority of the Law is, indeed, all in one Word, so that, if the King pretend to a Power to dispense with Laws, there is nothing left, upon which the Subject can depend; and yet, as if *dispensing Power* were not enough, if Laws are wholly suspended for all Time coming, this is plainly a Repealing of them, when likewise the Men, in whose Hands the Administration of Justice is put by Law, such as Judges and Sheriffs, are allowed to tread all Laws under Foot, even Theft, that infer an Incapacity on themselves, if they violate them; this is such a Breaking of the whole Constitution, that we can no more have the Administration of Justice, so that it is really a Dissolution of the Government; since all Tryals, Sentences, and the Executions of them, are become so many unlawful Acts, that are null and void of themselves.

The next Thing in our Constitution, which secures to us our *Laws* and *Liberties*, is a *free and lawful Parliament*. Now not to mention the Breach of the Law of *triennial Parliaments*, it being above three Years since we had a Session, that erected any Law; Methods have been taken, and are daily taking, that render this impossible. *Parliaments* ought to be chosen with an intire Liberty, and without either Force or Pre-engagements, how they will vote, if they were chosen themselves; or how they will give their Votes in the Electing of others, this is plainly such a Preparation to a Parliament, as would, indeed, make it no Parliament, but a Cabal, if one were chosen after all that Corruption of Persons, who had pre-engaged themselves, and after the Threatening and Turning out of all Persons out of Employments who had refused to do it; and if there are such daily Regulations made in the Towns, that it is plain,

those, who manage them, intend at last to put such a Number of Men in the *Corporations* as will certainly chuse the Persons who are recommended to them. But above all, if there are such a Number of *Sheriffs* and *Mayors* made over *England*, by whom the Elections must be conducted and returned, who are now under an Incapacity by Law, and so are no legal Officers, and by Consequence, these Elections, that pass under their Authority, are null and void; if, I say, it is clear that Things are brought to this, then the Government is dissolved; because it is impossible to have a *free* and *legal Parliament* in this State of Things. If then both the Authority of the Law and the Constitution of the Parliament are struck at and dissolved, here is a plain Subversion of the whole Government. But if we enter next into the particular Branches of the Government, we will find the like Disorder among them all.

The *Protestant Religion* and the *Church of England* make a great Article of our Government; the Latter being secured not only of old by *Magna Charta*, but by many special Laws made of late; and there are particular Laws made in King *Charles the First's* and the late King's Time, securing them from all *Commissions* that the King can raise for Judging or Censuring them; if then, in Opposition to this, a Court so condemned is erected, which proceeds to judge and censure the *Clergy*, and even to disseize them of their *Freeholds*, without so much as the Form of a Tryal, though this is the most *indispensable Law* of all these, that secures the *Property of England*; and if the King pretends that he can require the *Clergy* to publish all his *arbitrary Declarations*, and, in particular, one that strikes at their whole Settlement, and has ordered Process to be begun against all that disobeyed this illegal Warrant, and has treated so great a Number of the Bishops as Criminals, only for representing to him the Reasons of their not obeying him; if likewise the King is not satisfied to profess his own Religion openly, though even that is contrary to Law, but has sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, and received *Nuncios* from thence, which is plainly Treason by Law; if likewise many *Papish Churches* and Chapels have been publicly opened; if several Colleges of *Jesuits* have been set up in divers Parts of the Nation, and one of the Order has been made a Privy-Counsellor, and a principal Minister of State; and if *Papists*, and even those who turn to that Religion, though declared Traitors by Law,

Law, are brought into all the chief Employments, both Military and Civil; then it is plain, that all the Rights of the Church of England, and the whole Establishment of the Protestant Religion, are struck at, and designed to be overturned; since all these Things, as they are notoriously illegal, so they evidently demonstrate, that the great Design of them all is the Rooting out this pestilent Heresy, in their Stile, I mean the Protestant Religion.

In the next Place, if, in the whole Course of Justice, it is visible, that there is a constant practising upon the Judges, that they are turned out upon their varying from the Intentions of the Court, and if Men of no Reputation or Abilities are put in their Places; if an Army is kept up in Time of Peace; and Men who withdrew from that illegal Service are hanged up as Criminals, without any Colour of Law, which by Consequence are so many Murders; and if the Soldiery are connived at and encouraged in the most enormous Crimes, that so they may be thereby prepared to commit great ones; and, from single Rapes and Murders, proceed to a Rape upon all our Liberties, and a Destruction of the Nation: If, I say, all these Things are true in Fact, then it is plain, that there is such a Dissolution of the Government made, that there is not any one Part of it left sound and entire; and if all these Things are done now, it is easy to imagine what may be expected, when arbitrary Power that spares no Man, and Popery that spares no Heretick, are finally established; then we may look for nothing but Gabels, Tallies, Impositions, Benevolences, and all Sorts of illegal Taxes; as from the other we may expect Burnings, Massacres, and Inquisitions. In what is doing in Scotland, we may gather what is to be expected in England; where, if the King has over and over again declared, that he is vested with an absolute Power, which all are bound to obey without Reserve: And has upon that annulled almost all the Acts of Parliament that passed in King James the First's Minority, though they were ratified by himself when he came to be of Age, and were confirmed by all the subsequent Kings, not excepting the present: We must then conclude from thence, what is resolved here in England, and what will be put in Execution, as soon as it is thought that the Times can bear it. When likewise the whole Settlement of Ireland is shaken, and the Army that was raised, and is

maintained by Taxes, that were given for an Army of English Protestants, to secure them from a new Massacre by the Irish Papists, is all now filled with Irish Papists, as well as almost all the other Employments; it is plain, that not only all the British Protestants, inhabiting that Island, are in daily Danger of being butchered a second Time, but that the Crown of England is in Danger of losing that Island, it being now put wholly into the Hands and Power of the native Irish; who, as they formerly offered themselves up sometimes to the Crown of Spain, sometimes to the Pope, and once to the Duke of Lorrain, so are they, perhaps, at this present treating with another Court for the Sale and Surrender of the Island, and for the Massacre of the English in it.

If thus all the several Branches of our Constitution are dissolved, it might be at least expected, that one Part should be left intire, and that is the regal Dignity; and yet that is profaned, when we see a young Child put in the Reversion of it, and pretended to be the Prince of Wales, concerning whose being born of the Queen, there appear to be not only no certain Proofs, but there are all the Presumptions that can possibly be imagined to the contrary. No Proofs were ever given, either to the Princess of Denmark, or to any other Protestant Ladies, in whom we ought to repose any Confidence, that the Queen was ever with Child; that whole Matter being managed with so much Mysteriousness, that there were violent and publick Suspensions of it before the Birth. But the whole Contrivance of the Birth, the sending away the Princess of Denmark, the sudden shortening of the reckoning, the Queen's sudden going to St. James's, her no less sudden Delivery, the hurrying the Child into another Room, without shewing it to those present, and without their hearing it cry; and the mysterious Conduct of all since that Time; no Satisfaction being given to the Princess of Denmark upon her Return from the Bath, nor to any other Protestant Ladies, of the Queen's having been really brought to Bed; these are all such evident Indications of a base Imposture in this Matter, that, as the Nation has the justest Reason in the World to doubt of it, so they have all possible Reason to be at no Quiet, till they see a legal and free Parliament assembled, which may impartially, and without either Fear or Corruption, examine that whole Matter.

If all these Matters are true in Fact, then I suppose no Man will doubt that the whole Foundations of this Government, and all the most sa-

cred Parts of it, are overturned; and, as to the Truth of all these Suppositions, that is left to every Englishman's Judgment and Sense.

The Expedition of his Highness the Prince of *Orange* for *England*. Giving an Account of the most remarkable Passages thereof, from the Day of his setting Sail from *Holland*, to the first Day of this Instant *December*, 1688. In a Letter to a Person of Quality.

[From a *Quarto*, containing eight Pages, printed in the Year 1688.]

S. I R.
THIS Account you so earnestly desired of me, of the Prince's Expedition and Invasion of England, is a Task no one should have commanded from me but yourself; the ancient Friendship between us makes nothing appear difficult in the Way to serve you. I shall not undertake to determine the Legality of this great and bold Attempt, nor reflect on the Counsels that have brought this Misery upon us, but shall content myself with giving you a brief Account of the Prince's Expedition.

And, First, you are to take Notice, that his Highness set sail from *Holland* with fifty-one Men of War, eighteen Fire-ships, and about Three-hundred and thirty Tenders, being Ships hired of Merchants, for the Carriage of Horse and Foot, Arms, Ammunition, &c. The Fleet stood out at Sea to the Northward, which met with horrid Storms for two Days and two Nights together; in which bad Weather there were lost above Five-hundred Horse, and a Vessel parted from the Fleet, wherein were Four-hundred Foot, supposed to be lost, but now known to be arrived at the *Texel*, tho' grievously shattered and torn by the Storm; two of the Prince's principal Men of War were forced to new rig at *Helvetfluce*.

The Prince, immediately on his return back, informed the States of the Condition of the Fleet (which was not so damnified as was represented by the vulgar and ignorant) who, thereupon, to lull a great Man * a-sleep, the States, or

some one employed by them, ordered that the *Haerlem* and *Amsterdam* Courantier should make a dismal Story of it, by representing to the World, that the Prince returned with his Fleet miserably shattered and torn, having lost nine Men of War, and divers others of less Concern; a Thousand Horse ruined; a Calenture among the Seamen; the Loss of Dr. *Burnet*, and the chief Ministers under the Prince; the ill Opinion the States had of the Expedition; in short, that one hundred Thousand Pounds would not repair the Damage sustained; and, almost next to an Impossibility, that the Prince should be in a Condition to pursue his Design till the Spring. And yet at the same Time all Hands were at work to repair the damaged Ships, which were inconsiderable; so that in eight Days Time they were all refitted. The Signal being given by the Discharge of a Gun, all the Fleet immediately weighed Anchor, and stood out at Sea, steering their Course Northwards all that Night; next Day upon Tide of Ebb, they made a Stretch, and made a Watch above a League, and then stood Westward, and lay all Night in the same Posture, not making two Leagues a Watch.

In the Middle of the Night, an Advice Boat brought us an Account, that the *English* Fleet, consisting of thirty-three Sail, lay to the Westward of ours. Upon which the Prince fired a Gun, which caused a great Consternation in the whole Fleet; we, having a brisk Easterly Wind, concluded ourselves to be all ruined; but the small Advice Boats, cruising for a more cer-

* James II.

gain Account of the *English*, brought us back Word, that, instead of the *English* Fleet, which the former Advice had alarmed us with, it was Admiral Herbert with Part of our Fleet, which had been separated some Hours from the Body of our Fleet: Upon whose Arrival great Rejoicing was among us all, and a Signal of Joy was given for it by the Prince.

In the Morning, about Eight, the Prince gave a Signal, that the Admiral should come aboard him. Immediately after the whole Fleet was got into the *North Foreland*, upon which the Prince gave the usual Sign of Danger (according to the printed Book) and ordered that the Fleet should all come up in a Body, some fifteen or sixteen deep, his Highness leading the Van in the Ship the *Brill* (in *English*, *Spectacles*.) His Flag was *English* Colours; the Motto, impaled thereon, was, *The PROTESTANT RELIGION, and LIBERTIES of ENGLAND*, and underneath, instead of *Dieu & Mondroit*, was, *And I will maintain it.*

The Council of War from on board the Prince, sent three small Frigates into the Mouth of the *Thames*, viz. the *Porpus*, *Postilion*, and *Mercury*; who, on their Return, brought us Word, that the *English* Fleet lay in the *Buoy of the Nore*, consisting of thirty-four Sail, and three more which lay in the *Downs*. The Wind continuing at E. N. E.

The Prince immediately thereupon gave another Signal of stretching the whole Fleet in a Line, from *Dover* to *Calais*, twenty-five deep; so that our Fleet reached within a League of each Place; the Flanks and Rear were guarded by our Men of War. This Sight would have ravished the most curious Eyes of *Europe*. When our Fleet was in its greatest Splendor, the Trumpets and Drums playing various Tunes to rejoice our Hearts; this continued for above three Hours.

Immediately after the Prince gave us a Sign to close, and sailed that Night as far as *Beach*, and commanded us to follow the Signal by Lights he had hung out to us, viz. all the small Sail should come up to him by Morning.

By the Morning-day we espied the *Isle of Wight*, and then the Prince ordered the Fleet to be drawn into the same Posture, as before related; yet not stretching above half Channel over, in this Place. About Five in the Morning we made the Start, the Wind chopping about to the *Westward*; upon which we stood fair by *Dartmouth*, and so made for *Torbay*, where the

Prince again ordered the whole Fleet into the same Posture as at *Dover* and *Calais*.

Upon his Arrival at *Torbay*, the People on Land, in great Numbers, welcomed his Highness with loud Acclamations of Joy.

Immediately after the Prince gave two Signals, that the Admirals should come aboard him, which they did; and then ordered, that the whole Fleet should come to an Anchor, and immediately land; and further ordered, that the Admirals should stand out at Sea, as a Guard, as well as the smaller Men of War, to attend and guard their Landing; and also ordered six Men of War to run in to guard *Torbay*.

The Prince then put out a red Flag at the Mizen-yard-arm, and provided to land in sixty Boats, laid ready for that Purpose: Upon which the Prince signified, that General *Mackay* with his six Regiments of *English* and *Scotch* should first land; and also, that the little *Porpus*, with eighteen Guns, should run a-ground, to secure their Landing: But there was no Opposition; for the People bid us heartily welcome to *England*, and gave us all Manner of Provisions for our Refreshment.

The Fifth of *November* (a Day never to be blotted out of the *Englishman's* Heart) the Prince caused to be landed about two Thousand. On the Sixth we landed as many Horse and Foot as we could possibly, and so continued the Seventh: The Country bringing in all Manner of Provision, both for Man and Horse, and were paid their Price honestly for it.

The Prince the same Day commanded Captain *M*— to search the Lady *Cary's* House, at *Tor-Abby*, for Arms and Horses; and so all other Houses which were *Roman Catholicks*. The Lady, entertaining them civilly, said her Husband was gone to *Plymouth*: They brought from thence some Horses and a few Arms, but gave no further Disturbance to the Lady or her House. Nor shall it be forgotten, what was faithfully acted at this Lady's House, immediately on our Arrival at *Torbay*: There were a Priest and some others with him upon a Watch-Tower, to discover what our Fleet was, whether *French* or *Dutch*. At last they discovered the white Flags on some of our Men of War; the ignorant Priest concluded absolutely we were the *French* Fleet, which, with great Impatience they had so long expected; and having laid up great Provisions for their Entertainment; the Priest ordered all to the Chapel, to sing *Te Deum*, for the Arrival of their supposed Forces; but,

but, being soon undeceived on our Landing, we found the Benefit of their Provisions; and, instead of *Vostre Servitude Monsieur*, they were entertained with *Yeen Mynbeer*, Can you Dutch Spraken; upon which they all run away from the House, but the Lady and a few old Servants.

The whole Army, to the best of my Knowledge, consisted of Eighteen thousand Horse, Three thousand Dragoons, and one Thousand Eight hundred Foot, besides a Thousand Volunteer Persons of Quality, Horse well equipped, and about Five hundred Horse for Carriage.

November the Eighth, the Prince came from Chudleigh, towards Exeter, with the greatest Part of his Army attending him, and about One of the Clock, entered at the West-gate of the City, welcomed with loud Acclamations of the People.

The Manner of his publick Entrance into Exeter was as follows:

1. The Right Honourable the Earl of *M...* with Two hundred Horse, the most Part of which were English Gentlemen richly mounted on *Blanders* Steeds, managed and used to War, in Head-pieces, Back and Breast, bright Armour.

2. Two hundred Blacks brought from the Plantations of the Netherlands in America, having on embroidered Caps lined with white Fur, and Plumes of white Feathers, to attend the Horse.

3. Two hundred Finlanders or Laplanders in Bears-skins taken from the wild Beasts they had slain, the common Habit of that cold Climate, with black Armour, and broad flaming Swords.

4. Fifty Gentlemen, and as many Pages to attend and support the Prince's Banner, bearing this Inscription, *God and the Protestant Religion*.

5. Fifty led Horses, all managed and brought up to the Wars, with two Grooms to each Horse.

6. After these rode the Prince on a Milk-white Palfrey, armed *Cap-a-pee*, a Plume of white Feathers on his Head, all in bright Armour, and Forty-two Footmen running by him.

7. After his Highness followed likewise on Horseback Two hundred Gentlemen and Pages.

8. Three thousand Switzers with Fuzes.

9. Five hundred Volunteers, each two led Horses.

10. His Captain and Guards Six hundred armed *Cap-a-pee*.

The rest of the Army brought up the Rear.

That Night the Prince lay at the Deanery, having before ordered the advanced Guard to march to *Clift heath*, and settled the Quarters of the Army, which was done so much to the Content and Satisfaction of the Inhabitants in, and about the City, and such just Payments made for what the Soldiers had, and such civil Behaviour among them, without swearing and damning and debauching of Women, as is usual among some Armies, that it is to Admiration to behold. I am sure, Sir, I was an Eye-witness of the whole Order, and, when we marched away from this City, their Joy was turned into Dulness and Cloudiness.

On the Ninth the Prince commanded Dr. *Burnet* to order the Priest Vicars of the Cathedral, not to pray for the Prince of Wales, and to make Use of no other Prayer for the King, but what is in the second Service, which they refused to observe, till they were forced and very severely threatened, the Bishop and the Dean being then gone from the City.

About Twelve this Day, Notice was given to the Canons, and all the Vicars, Choral and singing Mads, to attend in the Cathedral immediately, for that the Prince would be there; and Dr. *Burnet* ordered them, as soon as the Prince entered into the Quire, they should sing *Te Deum*, which was observed. The Prince sat in the Bishop's Chair, and all his great Officers attending on him. After *Te Deum* was sung, Dr. *Burnet*, in a Seat under the Pulpit, read aloud the Prince's Declaration, and Reasons for this his Expedition; when this was over, the Prince returned to the Deanery.

The Baggage was many Days bringing from *Torbay*, but the Ammunition, both Arms for Foot and Horse, and the Artillery were brought into *Topsham* Road, and there, by Boats and other Carriages landed; the Field-pieces were sent after the Army at *Clift heath*, the Brass Cannon remaining some of them in *Exon*.

The greatest Part of the Army were ordered to march forward to *Ottery* and *Honyton*, and in several Parties were ordered to divers Places in the County. One Party was sent to the North of *Devon* for Horses, which were bought

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at excessive Rates: From *Roman Catholics*, they took Horses without Money, and many Gentlemen, who might have had Money for their Horses, refused, as the Bishop's Son and divers others.

On Sunday, Dr. Burnet preached at the Cathedral on this Text, *Psalms cvii.* last Verse. *Ferguson* preached in the *Presbyterian* Meeting-house, but was fain to force his Way with his Sword up to the Pulpit, for even the old *Presbyter* himself could not away with the Breath of his Brother *Ferguson* in his Diocese: His Text was in *Psalms xciv.* *Who will rise up for me, against evil Doers.* I heard one of that Gang say, that his Discourse came very much under the Last of the 25th of *Edward the Third*; he is not much regarded by any of the Prince's Retinue.

Sir *William W*— who had been at *Ford* with the Prince, to see Sir *William C*—, were both refused to be seen of him. One Major *M*—, and Sir *Will*— were in Commission to make new Levies, which was carried on vigorously, and many enlisted under them: But Sir *W*—, it seems, began to use an old Trade of taking Money for Quarters: Complaint was made thereof to the Prince, and they were discarded, and the Men disbanded to seek for new Officers. But Sir *W*— does continue under the Prince's Protection.

The Prince was here above three Days, before any Appearance of Gentry came, insomuch that the great Officers began to wonder, that the Prince should be invited into *England* by them, and not to appear to the Prince's Assistance; but this Consternation was soon over, when a considerable Body of the Gentry came in to him. Some that were for Taking off the Test and Penal Laws, they have not appeared as yet. So that now the Counties of *Cornwall* and *Devon* are in the Possession of the Gentry thereof, and the Prince's Army quite marched away.

Pendennis Castle is managed by several Gentlemen, who take their Turns. *Plymouth* Fort is declared for the Prince's Service, by the Earl of *B*—, who, it seems, was to have been poisoned, by throwing white Mercury over a Leg of Mutton (appointed as one Dish for his Supper) instead of Flour: For that, and some other Reasons, he secured the Lord *H*—, turned out all *Papist* Soldiers, and has taken in the Country Soldiers into the Fort.

Since which, there is an Association among the Gentry, worded much after that of my Lord *Shaftsbury's*.

Mr. *Seymour* being made Governor of *Exeter*, and the Lord *Mordaunt* in his Absence, there are new Levies raising every Day; so that this City is almost full of these new Regiments, which are hourly disciplining by Officers and old Soldiers left here by the Prince. All their Arms are the Prince's, and I am told, he brought with him as many as will set out Twenty-thousand, both Horse and Foot. I am apt to believe this to be true, having seen most of what has been landed. All the Vessels that brought up the Ammunition, &c. are returned again to *Torbay*, under the Guard of the principal Men of War, a Squadron of which lie now in the Sound of *Plymouth*, and saluted each other with many Cannon from the Fort and the Fleet.

On Sunday last, there was a Report that the Twenty-thousand *French* were landed at *Porlack* in this County, upon which the whole Country rose with Pikes, Spits, Scythes, and what Weapons they could get, and made away for *Exeter*, but it proved a false Alarm; for there were two small *French* Ships driven by the *Dutch* Fleet ashore, and the *French* quitted their Vessels and went on Land, and were some killed, others sent hither. So that now they are pretty quiet again; but it has given that Advantage to the commissioned Officers, who are to raise new Levies, to pick and chuse amongst them whom they please.

I shall now return again to the Prince: When his Highness left *Exeter*, Wednesday Nov. 21, he marched with his own Guards, attended by a great many of the Gentry both of *Somersetshire* and *Devon* to *St. Mary Ottery*, where he dined; after which he marched to *Axminster*, where he continued four Days; from thence to *Crook-horn*, where he tarried only one Night; from thence to *Sherborne*, where his Highness was splendidly entertained by the Lord *D*—; from thence he went to *Wincanton*, where he lodged at the House of one Mr. *Churchill* a Merchant, and, it is credibly reported, designs for *Oxford*.

Sir, I have given you the best Account I can of this great Affair; you may communicate it to such Friends as you think fit. Sir, I am, with all due Respects,

Wincanton,
Dec. 1. 1688.

Your most obedient Servant,
N. N.
A further

A further Account of the Prince's Army, in a Letter sent from Exon, dated Nov. 24.

HAD I not insensibly overslipped my Time the last Post, you had received this then: When I came here, I endeavoured to inform myself, after the best Manner I could, as to the Number and Quality of the Prince's Army; and all generally concluded them to be about Thirty-thousand, all picked Men, and many of them personally present at the Siege of *Buda*. This I am certain of, that they appeared to be Men resolute, well disciplined, and stout, and of an extraordinary Stature, and their Arms suitable, Muskets, Swords, and Pikes, being far larger than ever I yet saw; and notwithstanding the Streets were thronged, almost as thick as yours on a Lord's-Mayor Day, yet was it even a Rarity to see one of them shorter than six Foot; and some of them were, I am confident, six Foot and a Quarter, if not six Foot and an Half in Height: So that, were it lawful to trust in an Arm of Flesh, they might have some Cause to presume; but the Tenor of their Words was otherwise; their civil Deportment and their Honesty of paying for what they have (and the Strictness of their Discipline hinders them from being otherwise) winning not a little the Affections of the Country-men, who daily resort thither, forty or fifty in a Gang, to be enlisted. My Lord *Mordaunt's* Regiment was soon compleated, which, with two others, was raised and maintained at the Charge of the Gentry in this County, of which *Edward Seymour, Esq;* is by the Prince made Governor. During his Highness's Stay here, which was till last *Wednesday*, there appeared a Court most splendid, composed, not only of foreign,

but of many of the *English* Nobility and Gentry, which came hither to wait on his Highness since his Arrival, of both Ranks, upwards to the Number of Sixty, all mighty gallant in their Equipage, each striving thereby to add to the Glory of their Design. The Gentry of these Parts first seemed slow in their Advances to serve the Prince; but, as soon as the Ice was broke by Capt. *Burrington*, the Majority soon followed his Steps, and have entered into an Association. It is to Admiration to consider the vast Magazine of all warlike Utensils brought hither by the Prince's Army, their Baggage having for a Fortnight together been continually landing, and yet not fully ended: Were it not for the Badness of the Roads, as I was informed by a private Sentinel, they could draw into the Field an Artillery of above Two-hundred Pieces: But the greatest Curiosity I yet saw was a Bridge of Boats; such as I conceive the *Imperialists* use to pass over the *Danube* and *Saave* with, which was, for the speedy Conveyance of their Carriages, laid over the River in two or three Hours, and afterwards as soon removed; not to mention a Smith's Shop or Forge, curiously contrived in a Waggon; or another Contrivance the Foot carry with them to keep off the Horse, which, in their Manner, may well yield the Service of a Pike.

There hath been lately driven into *Dartmouth*, and since taken, a *French* Vessel laden altogether with Images, and Knives of a very large Proportion, in Length nineteen Inches, and in Breadth two Inches and an Half; what they were designed for, God only knows.

The Act of Parliament of the Twenty-seventh of Queen *Elisabeth*, to preserve the Queen's Person, the Protestant Religion and Government, from the Attempts of the Papists, then big with Hopes of a Popish Successor: With the Association the Protestants then entered into, to the Ends aforesaid, till the Parliament could meet, and provide for their necessary Preservations. Together, with some sober and seasonable Queries upon the same. By a sincere Protestant, and true Friend to his Country.

Eccles. iii. 15.

That which hath been, is now; and that which is to be, hath already been; and God requireth that which is past.

Rev. xviii. 24.

And in her was found the Blood of Prophets, and of Saints, and of all that were slain upon the Earth.

[From a *Folio*, containing six Pages, printed in the Year 1679.]

A N N O XXVII.

An Act for Provision to be made for the Surety of the Queen's Majesty's most Royal Person, and the Continuance of the Realm in Peace.

FOrasmuch as the good Felicity and Comfort of the whole Estate of this Realm consisteth (only next under God) in the Surety and Preservation of the *Queen's* most excellent Majesty: And for that it hath manifestly appeared, that sundry wicked Plots, and Means, have of late been devised, and laid as well in foreign Parts, beyond the Seas, as also within this Realm, to the great Indangering of her Highness's most Royal Person, and to the utter Ruin of the whole Commonweal, if, by God's merciful Providence, the same had not been revealed: There-

fore, for preventing of such great Perils as might hereafter otherwise grow, by the like detestable and devilish Practices, at the humble Suit and earnest Petition and Desire of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same Parliament, be it enacted and ordained, if, at any Time after the End of this present Session of Parliament, any open Invasion or Rebellion shall be had or made, into or within any of her Majesty's Realms or Dominions, or any Act attempted, tending to the Hurt of her Majesty's most Royal Person, *by, or*

for any Person, that shall, or may pretend any Title to the Crown of this Realm, after her Majesty's Decease; or if any Thing shall be compassed or imagined, tending to the Hurt of her Majesty's Royal Person, by any Person, or with the *Privy* of any Person, that shall, or may, pretend Title to the Crown of this Realm; that then by her Majesty's Commission, under her Great Seal, the Lords, and other of her Highness's *Privy-Council*, and such other Lords of Parliament, to be named by her Majesty, as, with the said *Privy-Council*, shall make up the Number of *Four and Twenty* at the least, having with them, for their Assistance in that Behalf, such of the *Judges of the Courts of Record at Westminster*, as her Highness shall for that Purpose assign and appoint, or the more Part of the same *Council, Lords, and Judges*, shall, by Virtue of this Act, have Authority to examine all and every the Offences aforesaid, and all Circumstances thereof, and thereupon to give Sentence, or Judgment, as upon good Proof, the Matter shall appear unto them; and that after such Sentence or Judgment given, and Declaration thereof made, and published by her Majesty's Proclamation, under the Great Seal of *England*, all Persons, against whom such Sentence or Judgment shall be so given and published, shall be *excluded and disabled for ever* to have or claim, or to pretend to have or claim the Crown of this Realm, or of any of her Majesty's Dominions, any former Law or Statute whatsoever, to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding: And that thereupon *all her Highness's Subjects* shall, and may lawfully, by Virtue of this Act, and her Majesty's Direction in that Behalf, by forceable and possible Means, pursue to Death every such wicked Person, by whom, or by whose Means, Assent or Privy, any such Invasion or Rebellion shall be, in Form aforesaid, denounced to have been made, or such wicked Act attempted, or other Thing compassed or imagined against her Majesty's Person, and all their Aiders, Comforters, and Abettors.

And if any such detestable Act shall be executed against her Highness's most Royal Person, whereby her Majesty's Life shall be taken away (which God of his great Mercy forbid) that then every such Person, by, or for whom any such Act shall be executed, and their Issues being any wise assenting, or privy to the same, shall, by Virtue of this Act, be excluded and disabled for ever to have, or claim, or to pre-

tend to have, or claim, the said Crown of this Realm, or of any other of her Highness's Dominions, any former Law or Statute whatsoever, to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding. And that all the Subjects of this Realm, and all other her Majesty's Dominions, shall and may lawfully, by Virtue of this Act, by all forcible and possible Means, pursue to Death every such wicked Person, by whom, or by whose Means, any such detestable Act shall be, in Form hereafter expressed, denounced to have been committed, and also their *Issues* being any Way assenting, or privy to the same, and all their *Aiders, Comforters and Abettors*, in that Behalf.

And to the End that the Intention of this Law may be effectually executed, if her Majesty's Life should be taken away, by any violent or unnatural Means (which God defend): Be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that the Lords and others, which shall be of her Majesty's *Privy-Council*, at the Time of such her Decease, or the more Part of the same *Council*, joining unto them, for their better Assistance, five other Earls, and seven other Lords of *Parliament* at least (foreseeing that none of the said Earls, Lords, or Council, be known to be Persons, that may make any Title to the Crown) those Persons which were Chief Justices of either Bench, Master of the Rolls, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, at the Time of her Majesty's Death, or, in Default of the said Justices, Master of the Rolls, and Chief Baron, some other of those which were Justices of some of the Courts of Records at *Westminster*, at the Time of her Highness's Decease, to supply their Places, or any four and twenty or more of them, whereof eight to be Lords of the Parliament, not being of the *Privy-Council*, shall to the uttermost of their Power and Skill, examine the Cause and Manner of such her Majesty's Death, and what Persons shall be any Way guilty thereof, and all Circumstances concerning the same, according to the true Meaning of this Act, and thereupon shall by open Proclamation publish the same, and without any Delay, by all forcible and possible Means, prosecute to Death, all such as shall be found to be Offenders therein, and all their Aiders and Abettors; and for the doing thereof, and for the withstanding and suppressing of all such Power and Force, as shall any Way be levied or stirred in Disturbance of the due Execution of this Law, shall, by Virtue of this Act, have Power and Authority not only to raise and

and use such Forces, as shall in that Behalf be needful and convenient, but also to use all other Means and Things possible and necessary for the Maintenance of the same Forces, and Prosecution of the said Offenders. And if any such Power and Force shall be levied or stirred, in Disturbance of the due Execution of this Law, by any Person, that shall, or may pretend any Title to the Crown of this Realm, whereby this Law may not in all Things be fully executed, according to the Effect and true Meaning of the same; that then every such Person shall, by Virtue of this Act, be therefore excluded and disabled, for ever, to have, or claim, or to pretend to have, or claim, the Crown of this Realm, or of any other her Highness's Dominions, any former Law or Statute whatsoever, to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, that all and every the Subjects of all her Majesty's Realms and Dominions shall, to the uttermost of their Power, aid and assist the said Council and all other the Lords, and other Persons, to be adjoined unto them for Assistance, as is aforesaid, in all Things, to be done and executed according to the Effect and Intention of this Law; and that no Subject of this Realm shall in any wise be impeached in Body, Lands, or Goods, at any Time hereafter, for any Thing to be done or executed according to the Tenor of this Law, any Law or Statute, heretofore made to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

And whereas, of late, many of her Majesty's good and faithful Subjects have, in the Name of God, and with the Testimonies of good Consciences, by one uniform Manner of Writing under their Hands and Seals, and by their several Oaths voluntarily taken, joined themselves together in one Bond and Association, to withstand and revenge to the uttermost all such malicious Actions and Attempts, against her Majesty's most Royal Person; now for the full explaining of all such Ambiguities and Questions as otherwise might happen to grow, by Reason of any sinister or wrong Construction or Interpretation, to be made or inferred of, or upon the Words, or Meaning thereof, be it declared and enacted by the Authority of this present Parliament, that the same Association and every Article and Sentence therein contained, as well concerning the disallowing, excluding, or disabling any Person, that may or shall pretend any Title to come to the Crown of this Realm,

as also for the pursuing and taking Revenge of any Person, for any such wicked Act or Attempt, as is mentioned in the same Association, shall, and ought to be in all Things expounded and adjudged, according to the true Intent and Meaning of this Act, and not otherwise, nor against any other Person or Persons.

In Consideration of the said Act, may it not be queried.

First, Respecting the imminent Danger, that England was in at that Time, by the *Papists*, who in Expectation of a *Popish Successor* (*Mary Queen of Scots*) designed to murder the Queen, and subvert the Government, and *Protestant* Religion, by their hellish Plots, both at Home and Abroad.

Query I. Whether it is not a direct parallel Case to our own, at this very Time, wherein the *Papists*, in Hopes of a *Popish Successor* (the Duke of York) have so long, and by so many Ways, designed to murder the King, and subvert the Government, and *Protestant* Religion, by their hellish Plots, both at Home and Abroad; as the manifold and still renewed Discoveries of the Plot, the reiterated Proclamations, publick Fasts, legal Proceedings, and repeated Parliament Votes upon it, doth so fully appear? Some of which Votes are these, *viz.*

Die Martis, 25 March, 1679.

Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, that they do declare, that they are fully satisfied by the Proofs they have heard, there now is, and for divers Years last past hath been, a horrid and treasonable Plot and Conspiracy, contrived and carried on by those of the *Popish* Religion, for the murdering of his Majesty's sacred Person, and for the subverting the *Protestant* Religion, and the antient and established Government of this Kingdom.

Sunday, April 27, 1679.

Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, That the Duke of York being a *Papist*, and the Hopes of his coming such to the Crown, hath given the greatest Encouragement and Countenance to the present Conspiracies and Designs of the *Papists*, against the King and *Protestant* Religion.

444 *The Act of Parliament of the Twenty-seventh of Q. Elisabeth, &c.*

And again in the intended Act: *Do declare, that the Duke of York having openly departed from the Church of England, and publicly professed and owned the Popish Religion, hath notoriously given Birth and Life to the most damnable and hellish Plot (by the most gracious Providence of God brought to Light) &c.*

Secondly, As to the Remedies then applied, and so effectually (by God's Blessing) for the Preservation of her Majesty's Person, Protestant Religion, and Government; As,

1. By that famous Association, entered into by the People, in the Interval of Parliament.
2. The wholesome Laws made by the Parliament at their Meeting.

First, *As to the Association of the People in that extraordinary Case.*

Query II. Whether the good People of England (now in a like Case) in Sense of their most imminent Danger, are not loudly called upon, in this Interval of Parliament, to be in a Preparedness to enter into such a solemn Association, to preserve the King's Person, Protestant Religion, and Government, with their Lives and Fortunes; and to be ready to revenge upon the Papists any Violence by them offered in the mean Time to his Majesty's Person; and to prevent any Popish Successor, till the Parliament may meet and provide for the necessary Preservation of King and Kingdom. And whether from the Circumstances of Danger that appears to King and Kingdom now, there is not the same Reason to suppose, it may be as acceptable to his Majesty now, as to the Queen then, and to be as well approved by the approaching Parliament now, as by that Parliament then? Especially since the late Parliament's Votes are so leading and obliging thereto, viz.

Sunday, May 11, 1679.

Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, That in Defence of the King's Person, and the Protestant Religion, this House doth declare, That they will stand by his Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes; and that if his Majesty should come by any violent Death (which God forbid) they will revenge it to the utmost on the Papists.

And in their Address to the King upon it, May 11, 1679, do further say, viz.

And further to obviate, by the best Means we can, all wicked Practices against your Majesty's Person

and Protestant Religion, whilst any such Laws are in Preparation and bringing to Perfection, we will stand by your Majesty with our Lives and Fortunes, and shall be ready to revenge upon the Papists any Violence offered by them to your sacred Person; In which we hope your Majesty will graciously please to be more assured, as we ourselves are the more encouraged, in that the Hearts of all your Majesty's Protestant Subjects, with the most sincere Affection and Zeal, join with us herein.

And for which the King gave them his Thanks, assuring them he would do what in him lay, to preserve the Protestant Religion, and to do all such Things as may tend to the Good and Benefit of the Subject.

Secondly, *As to the good Laws made the Twenty-seventh of Queen Elisabeth, to the Preservation of the Queen, Protestant Religion, and Government.*

Query III. Whether we may not hopefully expect that the Parliament, at their Meeting (as the Parliament then did) will make such good Laws as may tend to preserve the King's Person, the Government, and Protestant Religion, and may secure us against a Popish Successor, and punish the Popish Traytors and Delinquents; as this Parliament and other Parliaments of this Queen did, and as was in the Hearts and Endeavours of the last worthy Parliament to effect, not only by the good Acts they had prepared against the Papists, and Resolutions to try the Delinquents, but in that famous Act to exclude the Duke of York from the Succession, in Pursuance of their Vote, viz.

Sunday, May 11, 1679.

Ordered,

That a Bill be brought in to disable the Duke of York to inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm.

Which Bill was brought in accordingly, being read, and passed, and ordered to be ingrossed, and was as followeth:

A Copy of the Bill, concerning the Duke of York.

FORasmuch as these Kingdoms of England and Ireland, by the wonderful Providence of Almighty God, many Years since, have been de-

delivered from the Slavery and Superstition of *Poper*y, which had despoiled the King of his Sovereign Power, for that it did and doth advance the *Pope* of *Rome* to a Power over Sovereign Princes, and makes him Monarch of the Universe, and doth withdraw the Subjects from their Allegiance, by pretended Absolutions from all former Oaths and Obligations to their lawful Sovereign, and by many Superstitions and Immoralities, hath quite subverted the Ends of the *Christian* Religion; but notwithstanding that *Poper*y hath been long since condemned, by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, for the detestable Doctrines and trayterous Attempts of its Adherents, against the Lives of their lawful Sovereigns, Kings, and Queens of these Realms, yet the Emissaries, Priests, and Agents for the *Pope* of *Rome*, resorting into this Kingdom of *England* in great Numbers, contrary to the known Laws thereof, have, for several Years last past, as well by their own devilish Acts and Policies, as by Counsels and Assistances of foreign Princes and Prelates, known Enemies to these Nations, contrived and carried on a most horrid and execrable Conspiracy to destroy and murder the Person of his sacred Majesty, and to subvert the antient Government of these Realms, and to extirpate the Protestant Religion, and massacre the true Professors thereof; and for the better effecting their wicked Designs, and encouraging their villainous Accomplices, they have trayterously seduced *James*, Duke of *York*, presumptive Heir to these Crowns, to the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and have induced him to enter into several Negotiations with the *Pope*, his *Cardinals*, and *Nuncio's*, for promoting the *Romish* Church and Interest, and by his Means and Procurement, have advanced the Power and Greatness of the *French* King, to the manifest Hazard of these Kingdoms, that, by the Descent of these Crowns upon a *Papist*, and by foreign Alliances and Assistance, they may be able to succeed in their wicked and villainous Designs. And forasmuch as the Parliament of *England*, according to the Laws and Statutes thereof, have heretofore, for great and weighty Reasons of State, and for the publick Good and common Interest of this Kingdom, directed and limited the Succession of the Crown in other Manner than of Course it would otherwise have gone; but never had such important and urgent Reasons, as at this Time press and require their using of their said extraordinary Power in that Behalf. Be it therefore enacted

by the King's most excellent Majesty, by, and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same. And it is hereby enacted accordingly, that *James*, Duke of *York*, *Albany*, and *Ulster*, (having departed openly from the Church of *England*, and having publicly professed and owned the *Papist* Religion, which hath notoriously given Birth and Life to the most damnable and hellish Plot, by the most gracious Providence of God lately brought to Light) shall be excluded and disabled, and is hereby excluded and disabled for ever, from possessing, having, holding, inheriting, or enjoying the Imperial Crowns and Governments of this Realm and these Kingdoms; and of all Territories, Countries, and Dominions now, or which shall hereafter be under his Majesty's Subjection, and of and from all Titles, Rights, Prerogatives, and Revenues, with the said Crowns, now, or hereafter to be enjoyed; and that upon the Demise or Death of his Majesty, without Heirs of his Body (whom God long preserve) the Crowns and Governments of these Kingdoms, and all Territories, Countries, and Dominions now, or which shall hereafter be under his Majesty's Subjection, with all the Rights, Prerogatives, and Revenues therewith, of Right enjoyed, and to be enjoyed, shall devolve and come upon such Person who shall be next lawful Heir of the same, and who shall have always been truly and professedly of the Protestant Religion now established by Law within this Kingdom, as if the said Duke of *York* were actually dead; and that whatever Acts of Sovereign Power the said Duke of *York* shall at any Time exert or exercise, shall be taken, deemed, and adjudged, and are hereby declared and enacted High Treason, and to be punished accordingly.

And forasmuch as the Peace, Safety, and Well-being of these Kingdoms do so intirely depend upon the due Execution of, and Obedience to this Law, be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Person shall in any wise, at any Time, during the King's Life (which God preserve) or after his Demise or Decease, aid, assist, counsel, or hold Correspondence with the said Duke of *York*, who is and ought to be esteemed a perpetual Enemy to these Kingdoms and Governments) either within these Kingdoms or out of them; or shall endeavour or contrive his Return into either of them, or into any of the Territories or Domini-

nions of the same; or shall, during the King's Life, publish or declare him to be the lawful, or rightful Successor apparent, presumptive, or other Heir to the Crown of England; or shall, after the Demise or Decease of the King that now is, proclaim, publish, or declare the said Duke of York to be King, or to have Right or Title to the Crown or Government of England or Ireland; or shall, by Word, Writing, or Printing, maintain or assert that he hath any Manner of Right or Title to the Crown or Government of these Kingdoms, and shall be therefore convicted upon the Evidence of two or more lawful and credible Witnesses, shall be adjudged guilty of High Treason, and shall suffer and forfeit as in Cases of High Treason.

And forasmuch as the said Duke's Return, or Coming into any of the aforesaid Kingdoms, Countries, Territories, or Dominions, will naturally conduce to bring vast Mischiefs, and all the Evil hereby provided against upon them, in War and Slaughter, and unspeakable Calamities, which therefore the said Duke must be presumed to design by such his Return, or Coming into any of the aforesaid Kingdoms, Countries, Territories, or Dominions; be it therefore likewise enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That, if the Duke do at any Time hereafter return or come into any of the aforesaid Kingdoms, Countries, Territories, or Dominions, he shall be and is hereby, thereupon and for so doing, attainted of High-Treason; and all Manner of Persons whatsoever are hereby authorised and require, to apprehend, secure, and imprison his Person; and, in Case of Resistance made by him, or any of his Accomplices, to subdue, or imprison him, or them, by Force of Arms.

Query IV. Whether the Protestants of England have not Cause, by sad Experience, to be made sensible what a horrid detestable Thing the Popish Religion is, or rather, what a Faction and Confederacy it is against all Mankind, that submit not their Bodies and Souls to that tyrannous Romish Yoke; who by Principle (to accomplish their cursed Ends and Designs) can violate Faith, say, swear, forswear any Thing, yea at the very Point of Death, [witness their own Books, and late Tryals and Executions] kill and murder Kings, [as their own Writings and Practices in all Ages, and particularly their Designs and Attempts upon Queen Elisabeth, King James, and his Majesty that now is, so fully evidence] massacre their

Neighbours, Friends, and nearest Relations, [witness Paris, Piedmont, the 300000 in Ireland, and the late never to be forgotten hellish Butchery of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey] fry and burn our Persons, [as Smithfield, &c. witnesseth] fire and lay waste our Cities, [which London in chief can never forget, and who had their Hands in chief therein] buy and sell (at the Devotion of Foreigners) the Prorogations and Dissolutions of our Parliaments [as Coleman's and the Treasurer's Letters can at large tell you.] How brutishly cruel and barbarous to their native Country [by their late designing not only to raise an Army within us to enslave us, but to bring upon us that Army of Foreigners, the Spanish Crusado or Pilgrims, under the Pope's Banner, those Devils incarnate as they appeared to the Waldenses of old.] How restless and unwearied in their Conspiracies and Attempts, notwithstanding their many Frustrations [just as it was in Queen Elisabeth's Time, when though sixty-seven Priests and Jesuits were then executed, and fifty-three banished, discovered and defeated in every Enterprize; yet no sooner was one Design made abortive, but they presently batched and attempted another, and so went on all her Days; and how good they have been at it since, through the three succeeding Kings Reigns to this very Day, the St. Omer's Records, Kalendar of Newgate, and Parliament Rolls can fully tell you.] And with what horrid Impudence [as in the Powder Treason, Paris and Irish Massacres] they can out-face the fullest and clearest Discoveries (though brought as now so undeniably out of their own Bowels, and so multiplied upon them, [witness their atheistical, astonishing, lying Deaths, and those Swarms of insolent and audacious Papers, daily, like their Fire-balls, flung amongst us, and which, like Wild-fire, take Place with some Persons, as in their Houses formerly] sometimes as though a Protestant Plot to destroy them. And again, so hellishly and jesuitically subtle in managing their Designs [that, when the bare-faced Papist cannot do it, the Protestant in Masquerade shall] the Stratagem of this very Day, and above all to be watched against.) As, Coleman's Declaration for the Church of England, at that very Time when they so designed its Extirpation; being, as you will also find, the very Devilism of Savage and other Priests in Queen Elisabeth's Time; who, the better to lull in Security, and to cover Babington's Treasons in killing the Queen, which they had engaged him and others at that Time to perpetrate, do at the same Time write a Book, exhorting the Papists in England to attempt nothing against their Prince,

Prince, and to use only the Christian Weapons of Tears, Prayers, Watching, and Fasting. And, at another Time, the better to divert the Stroke so unavoidably coming upon them, they fall upon their old Method to divide the Protestants among themselves; and therefore, putting on a Vizard of Conformity, cry loudly out against the Presbyterians, as being only a Plot of their devising, who, under Pretence of suppressing of Popery, have no other Design than to cast down the Mitre and the Crown (being poor Hearts so tender of Heretical Kings and Bishops); so villainous are these Miscreants, who, with their Father the Devil, can transform themselves into any Shape to accomplish their Ends, and accommodate their mischievous Purposes.

Therefore, whether all true-hearted English Protestants, though of different Forms and Persuasions, as they value their Bodies, Souls, Estates, Posterities, Religion, Peace and Prosperity of King and Country, are not thoroughly engaged by all Ways and Means to preserve and deliver themselves from such a hellish and intolerable Yoke and Bondage; and in order thereto, to preserve Peace and Union amongst themselves, so eminently struck at in this very Juncture; without which it is not to be attained, and which the common Enemy knows right well.

Query V. Whether for any pretending Protestantism (after such undeniable Demonstrations of their hellish and damnable Plottings and Actings, as before) having seen our Cities and Boroughs so often fired and refired, Sir Edmondbury Godfrey butchered, Coleman's and the Treasurer's Letters (so signally brought to Light) two Parliaments repeated Votes, the Kings reiterated Proclamations, the publick Fasts and Bishops Prayers; who can now at last be made so drunk with the Cup of their Fornications, and bewitched with their lying Inchantments and Forgeries; (so as giving the Lye to King and Parliament, and their own Senses) to defraud and invalidate the Witnesses, mince or

deny the Plot; and call it with them a Protestant or Presbyterian Project, pleading for a Papish Successor; ought to be esteemed others than Betrayers of their King and Country, Runagadoes from their Religion (if ever Protestants at all) and the worst of Papists; and that, whatever otherwise they might pretend, yet to be so marked and dealt with in City and Country.

Query VI. Whether the Protestant Interest in these Nations, in the feeling Sense of their most imminent Danger, would, as one Man, petition and beseech his Majesty, as he tenders his own Life and Safety, the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, the Lives and Liberties of his People, Security and Peace of his Kingdoms and Governments; and to be secured not only from the restless Attempts of such an inveterate, implacable Enemy within us, but from the present Threats, and great Preparations, of a successful potent Enemy without us: That he be not prevailed with by any, either to retard the Parliament's Sitting, or when sat, to hinder the Passing of such good Laws as may naturally tend to the common Safety of these Nations, and therein of his own Person and Protestant Religion.

Query VII. Whether it may not well become the Wisdom of the Parliament, at their next Meeting (the better to secure the Protestant Cause and Interest, so eminently struck at in this Juncture both at Home and Abroad) to petition his Majesty not only for a right Ordering of a Protestant League and Association within ourselves in these three Kingdoms, but to further and promote the same amongst all the Protestant Princes and Countries, as well within themselves, as one with another; as the most hopeful Way to frustrate the usurping Attempts not only of the old Pretender, but the new rampant Designer to the universal Monarchy, the better to inflame the Bodies and Souls of the Nations.

A brief History of the Succession of the Crown of *England*, &c.
Collected out of the Records, and the most authentick
Historians. Written for the Satisfaction of the Nation.

[From a *Folio*, containing eighteen Pages, printed in the
Year 1688-9.]

MEN generally, at present, busy themselves in Discourfing about the Succession, and therefore cannot but be pleased to have a short History of it fet before them: For, by seeing how the Crown has descended, and in what Manner, and upon what Grounds the natural Course of the Descent hath been changed, they will be enabled to judge what has been the Opinion of all Ages, in this so controverted a Point, and thereby may safely direct their own.

Nothing certain has come down to us, of the Nature of the Government of this Island, before the *Romans* came thither; only this we learn from *Cæsar* *, and *Strabo* †, and *Tacitus* ‡, That the *Britons* were subject to many Princes and States, not confederate, nor consulting in common, but always suspecting, and frequently warring with one another.

During the *Heptarchy*, whilst every Kingdom was governed by different Laws, we cannot think they agreed in one Rule of Succession: But, if that does not, I am sure, the Reading the many Changes and Confusions of those Times must convince any Man, that their Rule was uncertain, or else that they had no Rule at all.

Those seven Kingdoms were at last united under *Egbert*: But yet our Historians, who lived nearest those Times, expressed themselves so oddly in this Matter, and do so constantly mention the Election of almost every King, before they tell us of his Coronation, that some learned Men have doubted, whether, before the Conquest, the Government of this Island was ever grown up into a settled hereditary Monarchy.

Surely, if it were so, yet all must agree, that then the Succession was not guided by the same Rules, as some Men believe, or pretend, it ought now to be. *Egbert* himself, the first *English* Monarch, came to the Crown, not by Succession, but Election, being no Way related to *Brifficus*, the last of the *West-Saxon* Kings; and, when he died, he gave the Kingdoms of *Kent* and *Essex* to his second Son. *Ethelwolf* divided the whole Island between his two Sons, *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert*. *Athelstan* (though a Bastard) succeeded his Father, and was preferred to his legitimate Brothers. *Edred*, the younger Brother of King *Edmund*, was advanced to the Throne, though the deceased Prince had two Sons, *Edwin* and *Edgar*, who did both of them reign afterward successively. *Edgar* left a Son at his Death; but yet there happened a mighty Contest about his Successor, some of the great Men contending for the Election of *Ethelred*, his Brother. But, at last, the Interest of *Edward*, the Son, prevailed, and he was, in full Assembly, elected, consecrated, and anointed King. That which *Ailredus*, Abbot of *Rievallis*, in his Life of *Edward the Confessor*, gives an Account of, seems very remarkable to our Purpose. King *Ethelred* (who was no tame and easy Prince) desirous to establish his Successor in his Life-time, summoned a great Council, expressly, for that Purpose, and proposes the Thing to them. The Council were divided, some of them appearing for *Edmund*, his eldest Son, and some for *Alfred*, his second Son, by Queen *Emma*. But, at last, upon some superstitious Fancy, they agreed to pass by both of them, and elected the Infant that was in the Queen's Womb. To which Election, the

* *Cæs. de Bell. Gall. Lib. 5.* † *Strab. Lib. 4.* ‡ *Tacitus in Vita Jul. Agricola.*

King gave his Royal Assent, and the whole Assembly swore Fealty to the Child, whilst yet unborn. Undoubtedly, this Story makes it plain, that it was not enough at that Time to intitle one to the Crown, that he was the King's eldest Son; for then *Ethelred* would never have suffered a Debate about the Election of a Successor, nor summoned a Parliament expressly for that Purpose, which you see he thought necessary to be done. And, notwithstanding all his Care, it seems, upon the Death of *Ethelred*, *Canutus* had so great an Interest, that by an unanimous Consent, in a full Council, he was elected King, and all the Issue of the last Prince rejected. It is true, the *Londoners* stood firm to *Edmund Ironside* (the Approbation of that renowned City had then no little Influence on the Succession) and there were divers Battles fought between them; but, at last, they came to an Agreement, and *Edmund* dying, the *Dane* ruled the whole Island peaceably whilst he lived.

Immediately, upon the Death of *Canutus*, there was assembled, at *Oxford*, a great Council, to determine who ought to succeed; where, notwithstanding all the Interest which *Godwin*, Earl of *Kent*, and the *West-Saxon* great Men, could make on the Behalf of *Hardicanute*, the legitimate Son of the dead King, they were over-voted, and *Harold Harefoot* (his Bastard, begotten on *Ailena*, or *Elgiva*) was elected. *Harold* died in the fifth Year of his Reign, and then the People were content to accept of *Hardicanute* for their King, and, to that End, sent for him out of *Flanders*; but he dying issueless, it was ordained in a general Council, that never any *Dane* should, for the Future, be admitted to reign in *England*. After which, they proceeded to elect *Alfred*, the Son of *Ethelred*; and, he being murdered by the Treachery of Earl *Godwin*, they chose his Brother *Edward*, commonly called *Edward the Confessor*. Nor were these Elections of theirs made with any Respect to Nearness of Blood, more than those whereof we have heard before; for *Edmund Ironside*, their elder Brother, had a Son then alive, whose Name was *Edward*, and who was Father to *Edgar Atheling*, living also at the same Time. And though this *Edward* had an undoubted Title to the Crown, if Proximity of Blood could have given it, yet the *Confessor* was so far from suspecting any Danger from such a Title, as that he invited his Nephew into

England, and welcomed him, when he came, with the greatest Expressions of Joy, and entertained him with the greatest Confidence. Nor had the People any Regard to this Royal Blood upon the Death of the *Confessor*, but elected *Harold*, the Son of Earl *Godwin*, who had no Pretence of Kindred to the *Saxon* Line.

These few, among many other Instances which may be given, will shew plainly enough, how Men intitled themselves to the Crown in those Days, and that it was then no strange Thing to hear of a Parliament's meddling with the Succession. Therefore, I suppose, the Men, who seem astonished at the Boldness of a Parliament, in presuming to speak of it at this Time*, will say, that they ought not to be troubled with Precedents before the *Norman* Conquest; and that though the *Saxons* might be guilty of preferring a brave and deserving Bastard, before a cruel, or a silly, legitimate Prince, and of many other Irregularities; yet no such Things are to be found in our Histories, since the Time of *William the First*, whose Reign is the great Epoch, from whence we do compute our Kings. Let us, therefore, go on more particularly to observe, what has been done since that Time, and we shall see, whether they, who wonder so much, have any Reason to do so.

William the Conqueror was himself illegitimate, and yet succeeded his Father in the Duchy of *Normandy*, and therefore had no Reason to set any great Value upon that Sort of Title, which is derived from a Right of Blood. And it seems he did not much regard it; for, passing by *Robert* his eldest Son, he gave the Crown, by his last Will, to *William Rufus*, his younger Son, disposing, only with Regard to his own Inclinations, the Crown which himself had gained.

But his Son was too wise to rely upon this Disposition, as a sufficient Title; and therefore had Recourse to a more sure one: For calling the Nobles and wise Men of the Kingdom, he acquainted them, in full Council, with his Father's Will, and desired their Consent to it; who, after a long Consultation, did at last unanimously agree to make him their King, and thereupon he was crowned by *Lanfranc*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. I cannot but observe one Thing farther, that though some Men make Use of the absolute Victory, which the *Conqueror* had made, and affirm, that thereby the *English* were wholly broken, and all the old Laws and

* Of the Revolution.

Customs of the Realm were destroyed; yet it is plain that, at this Time, the *English* Interest was so great, that it kept the Crown upon *William Rufus's* Head, in spite of all that the *Normans* could do in Behalf of *Robert*, though they universally joined with him. For, the King calling together the *English*, and opening to them the Treason of the *Normans*, and promising them a compleat Restitution of their ancient Laws, they stood firm to him, and soon put an End to all the Attempts of his Brother, and his *Norman* Accomplices.

Upon the Death of *William Rufus*, *Robert* had a fair Pretence to renew his Claim to the Crown; but that Prince had discovered too much of the Cruelty of his Disposition, of his Aversion to the *English* Nation, and of his Prone-ness to Revenge; so that, by the full Consent and Counsel of the whole Body of the Realm, assembled at *Winchester*, he was finally rejected, and they did concur to elect the *Conqueror's* third Son *Henry* for their King (as *Mat. of Westminster* expresses it.) Nor did they do this but upon Terms; for both the Clergy and Laity said, that, if he would restore them their ancient Liberties, and confirm them by this Charter, and abrogate some severe Laws which his Father had made, they would consent to make him King. And this prudent and learned King was not ashamed or unwilling to own this Title; for he does at large recite it in his Charter, whereby he confirms their Liberties, *Sciatis me Misericordia Dei, & communi Concilio Baronum Regni Angliæ, ejusdem Regni Regem coronatum esse, &c. i. e.* Know ye that I am crowned King of *England* by God's Mercy, and the general Council of the Barons of the said Kingdom.

Henry the First, you see, had Reason to believe and own the Power of the Kingdom, in setting the Crown upon what Head they pleased; and therefore he desired to secure it that Way to his Posterity. To that End, in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, he summoned a Council, and procured all the great and powerful Men of the Kingdom to swear, that his Son *William* should succeed him; but afterwards this Son of his was unfortunately drowned, and the King died, leaving no other Issue but *Maud* his Daughter, who had been married to the Emperor, and afterward to *Geoffrey Plantagenet*,

Earl of *Anjou*. No Dispute can be made, but that she had all the Right which Proximity of Blood could give; yet *Stephen*, Earl of *Boloign*, who was the Son of *Adela*, one of the *Conqueror's* Daughters, and whose elder Brother *Theobald*, Earl of *Blois*, was then living, stepped in before her; and, by representing to them the Inconvenience of a Feminine Government, and promising them to consent to such good and gentle Laws, as they should devise, prevailed with the Estates of the Realm to elect him King. And in this Charter, which he made soon after, he owns this Title, beginning it thus, *Ego Stephanus Dei gratia, assensu Cleri & Populi in Regem Angliæ electus, &c.* * And the Pope, in his Charter of Confirmation, sent to him in the first Year of his Reign, tells him, That he was, *Communi voto & unanimi assensu tam Procerum quam etiam Populi, in Regem electus* †. And then he adds, That, since so universal an Assent could not be directed but by the Divine Grace, he therefore allows his Title, and confirms him in the Kingdom.

It is true, that afterwards *Maud* the Empress, together with her Son *Henry*, having, after some Years, gained many to their Side, gave him great Disturbance; till at last *Stephen* having lost his eldest Son *Eustace* (in whom he placed his Hopes, and used all Means, whilst he lived, to have got him declared his Successor, but without Success) came to an Agreement with the Empress and her Son; and the Parliament (who alone could give a Sanction to such Agreement) was assembled at *Winchester* to confirm it; and then *Stephen* publicly adopts *Henry* for his Son, and with their full Consent declares him his Heir; and, with the same Consent, *Henry* gives *Stephen* the Name of Father, and agrees that he should continue to be King, during his Life, and they all swore, that, if *Henry* survived, he should, without Opposition, obtain the Crown; and *Stephen*, by his Charter, which is set down at large in *Brompton*, publishes this Agreement, *Brompt. 1037.*

In all this Transaction, certainly there was no Consideration had of any other Right, but that which *universal Consent* conferred; for, if *Stephen's* Heir had any Pretence, he had a Son then living, whose Name was *William*, and who, by the same Agreement, was to have all the Possessions, which his Father enjoyed before

* I *Stephen*, by the Grace of God, the Consent of the Clergy and People, chosen King of *England*, &c.

† Chosen King by the common Voice and unanimous Consent both of the Nobles and People.

he was made King. If the Heir of *Henry the First* had any Title, that was vested in *Maud* the Empress, who was then also living; so that neither of the Parties had any other Colour of Right to the Crown, than what the Consent of the People gave them.

According to this Parliamentary Agreement and Limitation, *Stephen* enjoyed the Crown peaceably during his Life, and, after his Death, *Henry the Second* came to it as peaceably; but he remembered by what Title, and therefore was desirous to secure it to his Son in the same Manner, tho' he took a very dangerous and unusual Way to do it. For, summoning a Parliament to meet at *London*, he procures his Son *Henry* to be declared King, together with himself, by their Consent; and thereupon he was crowned by the Archbishop of *York*, and Fealty sworn to him by all. This was the Occasion of Civil Wars between them, for the Father meant hereby only to have secured the Succession to him, and the Son was impatient of having only the bare Title of a King, all along pretending to an equal Authority; as doth sufficiently appear by what he writes to the Prior and Convent of *Canterbury*, where he takes Notice, that his Father did attempt some Invasions upon them, which he ought not to have done without his Assent: *Qui, ratione Regiæ unctionis, Regnum, & totius Regni curam suscepimus* *; and therefore he appealed to the People in that Behalf. Nay, the Father himself paid the Respect to his Son's Dignity, that, when he at last subdued him and his rebellious Brothers, he would not suffer him to do him Homage with his other Sons (though he offered it.) But, *Henry* the Son dying in the Life-time of his Father, *Richard* was then his eldest Son surviving, and consequently had all the Right which a next Heir could claim. But the wise and wary King had not Confidence enough to rely upon this (now so much talked of) sacred Right; but, though he had already suffered so much from disobedient Sons, was glad to get the Succession confirmed to him in his Life-time. And, the Truth is, there was Reason enough that he should do so; for he had all his Children by *Eleanor*, the Daughter of *William*, Duke of *Guienne*, who was before the Wife of *Lewis the Seventh*, King of *France*, who was still living, and she only divorced *causa Adulterii*, which being not a Divorce à vinculo Ma-

rimonii, she could not, either by the Canon Law universally received, or the Laws of *England*, lawfully marry with any other Husband.

After his Father's Death, *Richard* came to *London*, to which Place all the Clergy and Laity were summoned; and, after he had been solemnly and duly elected by the whole Clergy and Laity (they are the very Words of the Historian) and taken the usual Oaths, he was crowned. And, when he undertook the Holy War, he declared *Arthur*, Son of his next Brother *Geoffrey*, the Duke of *Bretagne*, next Heir to the Crown.

Richard dying without Issue, this *Arthur* ought to have succeeded, and his Sister *Eleanor* also had a Title before her Uncle; but *John* the younger Brother, without regarding this Divine Right of his Nephew, applies himself to the People for a more sure, though but a human Title, who, being summoned together, elected him King. And *Hubert*, the then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, did at his Coronation preach a Doctrine, which would have founded very strangely to the Convocation in 1640, (*viz.*) No one could make any Title to the Crown, *Nisi ab universitate Regni unanimiter Electus* †. And that he, who was most worthy, ought to be preferred. But (as he goes on) if any one of the Race of the deceased King was more deserving than others, as *John* the Brother of the deceased King was, the People ought the more readily to elect him than a Stranger to the Royal Blood. This was all the Title King *John* pretended, and this was then sufficient to put by his Nephew. And, in his Charters, he does more than once own, that he owed his Crown to the Election and Favour of his Subjects.

But when King *John* gave over to dissemble his Nature, and went about to change his Religion (for he made Offers of that Sort to the King of *Morocco*) when he had discovered himself not to be that worthy Man which the People supposed him to have been; they remembered from whence he derived his Title, and proceeded, upon the same Reason that they had chosen him, to make a new Election, choosing *Lewis*, Son of *Philip*, King of *France*, who was next Heir to the Crown, in the Right of *Blanch* his Wife, Niece to King *John*, and Daughter to his Sister *Eleanor*, both the Chil-

* Who have received the Kingdom, and the Care of the whole Kingdom, by Reason of the Royal unction.
† Unless he be chosen unanimously by the Representatives of the whole Nation.

dren of *Geoffrey Duke of Bretagne*, being dead before that Time.

When King *Philip* heard of their Choice, he consented to send his Son, being the rather induced thereto by this Reason: That, *John's* Blood being corrupted by an Attainder of Treason in the Life-time of his Brother *Richard*, he was incapable of taking the Crown by Descent, and unworthy of taking it any other Way.

Lewis, coming to *London*, was there elected and constituted King, swearing to preserve the People's Laws, and they swearing Allegiance to him: But he soon forgot his Coronation-Oath, and attempted several Ways to introduce an Arbitrary Government, before he was well established in his Throne; which the *English* as soon resented: And, King *John* happening to die very opportunely, the Earl Marshal calling together the great Men of the Kingdom, and placing *Henry the Third*, then an Infant, in the Midst of them, persuaded them to make him King, who was altogether innocent of his Father's Faults. The Earl of *Gloucester* said this was contrary to their Oath to *Lewis*: To which the Marshal replied, that *Lewis*, by breaking his Oath, had absolved them from theirs; and that he despised the *English*, to let up the *French*; and that he would be the Destruction of the Realm. With whose Reasons the whole Assembly, being convinced, cried out unanimously, *Fiat Rex**; and, accordingly, they crowned King *Henry the Third*, and soon after compelled *Lewis* to renounce all Pretences to the Crown.

Henry the Third dying, after a long and troublesome Reign, his Son *Edward the First*, a Prince of great Hopes, and whose Life answered the highest Expectations, succeeded†; but, whether he was the eldest Son of his Father, remains a Doubt in History: The House of *Lancaster*, who derived themselves from his Brother *Edmund*, pretending always that *Edmund* was the elder, and *Edward* the younger Brother, and that *Edmund* was put by the Crown by common Consent, for his Deformity.

After the Death of *Edward the First*, his Son *Edward the Second* succeeded‡; but, he degenerating from so great a Father, the People grew weary of his irregular and arbitrary Go-

vernment. And a Parliament being by him summoned at *Westminster*, as all our Writers say, or as *Polydore Virgil*** words it, *Principes convocati Concilio pervenerunt Londini* (which I observe, only that we may know what *Polydore* means when he makes Use of the Expression of *Principes in Concilio congregati*;) they presently entered into a Consideration of the miserable State of the Nation; and a Paper being publickly read, containing many Instances of the King's Misgovernment, all which he had confessed; they concluded he was unworthy to reign any longer, and that he ought to be deposed; and sent to him to let him know their Resolution, and to require him to renounce his Crown and Royal Dignity, otherwise they would proceed as they thought good. And they appointed Commissioners to go to him in their Names: The Bishop of *Ely* for the Bishops, the Earl of *Warren* for the Earls, Sir *Henry Piercy* for the Barons, and Sir *William Frussel* for the Commons, to resign their Homage up to him; which *Frussel* pronounced in all their Names, and formally deprived him of all Royal Power; the Form of which is particularly set down by *Knyghton*††. The King read this sad Sentence with extraordinary Grief, and many Complaints of those evil Counsellors, who had seduced him; but, in the Midst of his Sorrow, he gave them Thanks that they elected his Son to reign after him. Thus was that glorious Prince *Edward the Third* elected King in his Father's Life-time: *Et huic Electioni universus Populus consensit*‡‡. *Walter* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who preached the Coronation-Sermon, took this for his Text, *Vox Populi Vox Dei*. By this we may see, that all his Predecessors were not of Archbishop *Laud's* Mind, but thought there was a Divine Right somewhere else than where he placed it. Upon the Death of *Edward the Black Prince*, there was some Dispute whether *John of Gaunt*, the eldest surviving Son of *Edward the Third*, should succeed *Jure Propinquitatis*, or *Richard* the Son of the *Black Prince*||; whereupon *Edward the Third* procured the Parliament to confirm the Succession to *Richard the Second*. And afterwards, when *Edward the Third* died, *Polydore Virgil* says |||, *Principis Regni habito Concilio apud Westm.* (you know

* Let him be made King.
Vit. Ed. 2 f. 126.

† Hen. de Knyght. f. 2472. c. 16. l. 2.

‡ Tho. Walsing. in

** Pol. Virg. l. 18. f. 352.

†† Froissart 1. vol. c. 14. Fructus Tem-

porum, Par. 7. f. 107. Hen. de Knyght. l. 3. c. 15. f. 2549.

‡‡ And all the People consented to

this Election.

|| Jure Hereditario ac etiam voto communis singulorum, H. Knyght. l. 5. f. 2630. Rot.

Parl. 1. H. 4.

||| Pol. Virg. l. 5.

what *Polydore* means by *Principes*) *Richardum, Edwardi principis Filium, Regem dicunt, by their common Suffrages.*

In the twenty-first Year of *Richard's* Reign, a Parliament being assembled at *Westminster*, they drew up, by their common Consent, a Form, whereby he did resign the Crown, and the Name and Power of King, discharging all his Subjects from all Oaths, which they had taken, of Allegiance to him, confessing himself thereby insufficient for the Government, and swearing never to make any Pretences to the same for the Future. All which he pronounced and subscribed, wishing (if it were in his Power) to have *Henry Duke of Lancaster* for his Successor; but since it was not, he desired the Commissioners to signify his Desires to the States of the Realm. The next Day all the States of the Realm accepted his *Resignation*, and, when that was done, they proceeded to read publickly his *Coronation-Oath*, and all the *Breaches* of it, that so it might appear how justly he had deserved to be *deposed*. All which are contained in thirty-three Articles, entered at large in the Rolls of Parliament (and well deserve to be read) whereupon the States adjudged, that he shall be *deposed*, and appoint Commissioners, *ad Deponendum eundem Richardum Regem ab omni Dignitate, Majestate, & Honore Regis, vice, nomine, & autoritate omnium statuum prædictorum, prout in consimilibus casibus de antiqua consuetudine dicti Regni fuit observatum**; which the Bishop of *St. Asaph* did, in full Parliament, in their Names, and by their Directions. The same Commissioners were also to resign up to him their Homage and Fealty, and intimate the Sentence of Deposition; which they did accordingly, by the Mouth of *Sir William Thirning*, whose Words are at large entered upon Record. Then did the Parliament proceed to choose *Henry the Fourth* King; and upon this Title only did he rely, though he mentioned some other trifling ones, as that he challenged it, being then void, by Force, as descended to him from King *Henry the Third*.

But this could give him no Title, for it is plain that, whilst any of the Issue of *Lionel Duke of Clarence*, the third Son of *Edward the Third*, were in being, no Right of Blood could descend to him, who derived his Pedigree only from *John of Gaunt*, who was but his fourth Son. And he plainly shewed what a good Opinion he had of a Parliamentary Title to the Crown, when, in the seventh Year of his Reign, he procured an Act of Parliament to pass †, whereby the Inheritance of the Crown and Realms of *England* and *France* were settled upon himself, for Life, and the Remainder, entailed upon his four Sons by Name, and the Issue of their Bodies begotten. He was contented that it should be limited no farther, but that, after Failure of his own Issue, it should go according to the general Direction of the Law. And he made a Charter soon after, whereby he settled the Crown pursuant to this Act of Parliament: *Post ipsum successivè hæredibus suis de ipsius Corpore legitime procreandis ‡*; which Charter was again confirmed in Parliament, the Twenty-second of *December*, 8 H. 4, and the original Charter is still to be seen in the *Cotton Library*.

Immediately upon the Death of *Henry the Fourth*, a Parliament met at *Westminster*, and there, according to the Custom of the Realm, it was debated, who should be King: But all Men had entertained so good Thoughts of Prince *Henry*, that, without staying till the whole Assembly had declared him King, divers of them began to swear Allegiance to him ||. A Thing strange, and without Precedent, as only occasioned by the extraordinary Opinion, which was generally conceived of him before.

And the certain Title vested in him by an Act of Parliament.

Henry the Fifth dying, and leaving but one Son, who was an Infant of eight Months old, *Titus Livius* § says there was some Doubt, whether he should be accepted as King; but as soon as his Father's Funerals were solemnised, the Estates of the Realm of *England*, assembled

* To depose the said King *Richard* from all Royal Dignity, Majesty, and Honour by the Deputation, in the Name, and by the Authority of all the foresaid States, as it has been observed in the like Cases according to the ancient Custom of the said Kingdom of *England*.

† 7 H. 4. cap. 2. ‡ *Buck's Hist. R. 3. L. 2 F. 50.*

|| *Princeps Henricus, facto Patris sui funere, Concilium Principum apud Westmonasterium convocandum curat, in quo de Rege creando, more Majorum, agitabatur. Continuo aliquot Principes ultro in ejus Verba jurare ceperunt; quod Benevolentiae Officium Nulli, priusquam Rex renunciatus esset, præstitum constat. Adco Henricus ab ineunte ætate spem omnibus optime Indolis fecit, Pol. Virg. L. 22. Hist. Angl. in Vit. H. 5.*

§ *Titus Liv. MS. in Bibl. Bod. Cott. Record. F. 666.*

bling and consulting together, they declared *Henry the Sixth* to be their lawful Sovereign.

In the thirty-fifth Year of *Henry the Sixth*, a new Limitation of the Crown was made by Parliament; for, though the King had a Son then living, yet it was enacted, that during his own Life only, *Henry the Sixth* should hold and enjoy the Crown; and that, during his Life, *Richard Duke of York* should be reputed and stiled Heir Apparent to the Crown, and that it should be Treason to compass his Death; and after the Death, Resignation, &c. of *Henry*, the Crown was limited in Remainder to *Richard* and his Heirs, with a Proviso, that if *Henry*, or any in his Behalf, should endeavour to disannul or frustrate this Act, that then *Richard* should have the present Possession of the Crown *. And by Force of this Act of Parliament, the same Duke of York, taking Advantage of *Henry's* Violation of it, did lay Claim to, and attempt the Recovery of the Kingdom, as also did his Son *Edward* after him, with better Success; and *Edward* did openly insist upon this Title in the Speech, which he made at his Coronation †.

It was also declared by *Edward's* first Parliament, in the first Year of his Reign, that *Henry the Sixth*, having broken the aforesaid Concord in many Particulars, the Crown was duly devolved to *Edward the Fourth*, by Virtue thereof.

Afterwards *Edward the Fourth*, being driven out of the Kingdom, in the tenth Year of his Reign, the Parliament did again entail the Crown on *Henry the Sixth*, and the Heirs Male of his Body, with the Remainder to *George Duke of Clarence*, Brother to *Edward the Fourth*, who was thereby also declared Heir to *Richard Duke of York*.

It is worthy Observation, that both the Families of York and Lancaster claimed a Title by Act of Parliament, and as long as that Title continued, the Issue of *Henry the Fourth* had never any Disturbance from the Pretences of the House of York, who had undoubtedly the Right of Blood on their Side: But as soon as *Richard Duke of York* had a Title vested in him, by the Statute made in the thirty-ninth Year of *Henry the Sixth*, then he thought it was worth contending for; nor did he and his Son desist, till

they had driven out *Henry the Sixth* †.

Edward the Fourth did recover the Kingdom again as suddenly as he lost it, and prevailed with his Parliament to repeal that Law which was made during his Expulsion, and so left the Crown to that unfortunate young Prince, *Edward the Fifth*, who held it not long enough to have it put on him, with the usual Solemnity; for tho' he was proclaimed, he was never crowned King: For his Uncle, *Richard Duke of Gloucester*, having secured him and his Brother in the Tower, did cunningly insinuate the Bastardy of his Nephew, and that *Edward the Fourth* had another Wife living at the Time of his Marriage to their Mother, and also at the Time of their Birth.

The Report found Credit universally, inso-much that, the Duke of *Buckingham* coming to him at *Baynard's Castle*, with most of the great Lords and wise Men of the Kingdom, and the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, the Duke did, in their Names, acquaint him, that they had unanimously thought fit to elect him King, as being Heir to the Royal Blood of *Richard Duke of York*, upon whom the Crown was entailed by the high Authority of Parliament.

It is very remarkable, that, in the Midst of their highest Flatteries, and Courtship to him, they tell him only of this great and sure Title by Act of Parliament; although, if he had been indeed (what was pretended) the Heir of the House of York, his Right, by Descent, from *Edward the Third*, was unquestionable.

Richard (after some feigned Excuses) did at last accept of their Offer and Election ||; and the Parliament being soon after assembled, they presented a Bill to this Effect: *Please it your Grace to understand the Consideration, Election, and Petition under-written, of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons, &c.* And thereby they declare the Children of *Edward the Fourth* illegitimate, and that his Brother *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, was attainted of High-Treason by Parliament, in the seventeenth Year of *Edward the Fourth's* Reign, by Reason whereof, all the Issue of the said *George* were, and are, disabled and barred of all Right and Claim, that in any Case they might have or challenge by Inheritance to the Crown and Dignity Royal of this Realm, by the ancient Laws and Customs of the same §. After which, considering that none of

* *Hubington's Hist. Ed. 4. F. 10. Cott. Rec. 670. Fructus Temp. Part. 7. F. 162.*
 Ed. 4. F. 73. † *Buck's Hist. Rich. 3. Lib. 1. F. 20.* || *Cott. Rec. F. 709.*
 Lib. 1. F. 22.

† *Hubingt.*
 § *Buck's Rich. 3.*

the uncorrupted lineal Blood of *Richard Duke of York* could be found, but in his Person (they say) we have chosen, and do choose, you our King and Sovereign Lord. Then the Bill proceeds, in reciting, that all the Learned in the Laws do approve his Title, and declaring him King as well by Right of Consanguinity and Inheritance, as by lawful Election, and entails the Crown on him and the Heirs of his Body, and declares his Son Heir Apparent. To which the King gave his Royal Assent in these Words: *Et idem Dominus Rex, de Assensu dictorum trium Statuum Regni & Autoritate prædicta, omnia & singula præmissa, in Billa prædicta contenta concedit, & ea pro vero & indubio pronunciat, decernit, & declarat* *.

But the barbarous Murder of his Nephews did soon beget such an universal Detestation of *Richard*, in the Minds of the People, that they resolved he should no longer reign over them; and so, taking hold of a Pretence, which *Henry Duke of Richmond* set up, they joined with him against *Richard*. Though *Henry's* Title was indeed no more than a meer Pretence; for not only the Right of the *House of York* (as far as Blood could give Right) was before that of the *House of Lancaster*, but also he had no Manner of Interest in that Title, which the *Lancastrian Line* had, since his Claim was under a Bastard, begotten in Adultery; and besides, his Mother, *Margaret Countess of Richmond*, as Heir, to whom he pretended he claimed, was then living. Therefore *Comines*, the most judicious Writer of that Age, and who knew well what was the Sense of *Europe*, concerning his Title, says plainly (though he wrote in the Time of *Henry the Seventh*) *Qu'il n'a voit Croix, ne Pile, ne nul Droit (comme Jeo Croy) a la Couronne d' Angleterre*.

Nevertheless, *Henry* having slain *Richard* in *Bosworth-field*, the Crown was there put on his Head by the Lord *Stanley*, with the general Acclamations of the People. But he was wise enough to think his Title to it was not very good, till it was made so, by an Act of Parliament, and therefore, in the first Year of his Reign, he procured one to pass in these Words:

For the Wealth, Prosperity, and Surety of this Realm of England, and for avoiding of all Ambiguities and Questions (The wisest of our Princes, you see, had no little Opinion of the Authority of a Parliament in this Point) Be it ordained, &c. That the Inheritance of the Crown of the Realms of England and France, with all the Pre-eminences and Dignities Royal to the same appertaining, and the Ligeances to the King belonging, beyond the Seas, &c. shall be, rest, remain and abide in the most Royal Person of our Sovereign Lord, Henry the Seventh, and in the Heirs of his Body lawfully coming perpetually, with the Grace of God, and so to endure, and no other †.

Thus did the wisest of our Kings establish himself, and the best of our Historians † mentions it as one of the greatest Instances of his Wisdom, that he did not press to have this as a Declaration or Recognition of ancient Right, but only as an Establishment of the Possession, which he then had; nor to have the Remainder limited to any Person after the Determination of his Estate, but was content with the Settlement upon himself, and the Issue of his own Body, leaving it to the Law, to decide what was to follow upon the Failure of such Heirs.

Nor can any Thing be more clear, than that *Henry the Seventh* depended entirely on this Parliamentary Title, without extending any Pretences of his Wife's (who was Heir of the *House of York*) beyond this Establishment, inasmuch as the Oaths of Allegiance, and other publick Tests and Securities, which were required at that Time of the Subjects, were not in general Terms, to the King, his Heirs, and Successors, but only to the King, and the Heirs Male of his Body lawfully begotten. An Instance of this (without going any further) may be seen amongst the Records, printed at the End of the late History of the Reformation ‖, where Cardinal *Adrian*, when he was promoted by *Henry the Seventh* to the Bishoprick of *Bath and Wells*, renounces all Clauses in the Pope's Bull, which

* And the same Lord, the King, by, and with the Consent of the said three Estates of the Kingdom, and by the Authority aforesaid, doth grant all and singular the Premises, contained in the foresaid Bill, and pronounced, decreeth, and declareth the same for true and undoubted.

† *Bucks Rich. 3. Lib. 5. F. 145.*

‡ *Lord Bacon H. 7. F. 11, 12.*

‖ *Burnet's Hist. of the Re-*

formation, Collect. ad Lib. 2. F. 3, 4.

may be prejudicial *Domino meo supremo, & Hæredibus juis corpore suo legitime procreatis, Angliæ Regibus*; and he does afterwards swear Allegiance to him, in the very same Words, without taking any Notice of remoter Heirs.

Henry the Eighth, the Heir to this Entail, succeeded his Father; and though he attempted as much for Arbitrary Power, and used Parliaments, with as little Respect as any of his Predecessors; yet even he never doubted of their Power in settling the Succession, but valued it much and resorted to it frequently.

In the twenty-fifth Year of his Reign an Act * passed, wherein the Parliament say, they were bounden to provide for the perfect Surety of the Succession (they did not certainly reckon themselves bound to do a Thing that was not in their Power.) And then they take Notice of the great Mischiefs and Effusions of Blood which had happened by Reason of the Doubtfulness of the true Title; and for the avoiding of all future Questions, do enact, That the Imperial Crown of this Realm shall be to King Henry the Eighth, and the Heirs of his Body lawfully begotten on Queen Anne, and the Heirs of the Bodies of such several Sons respectively, according to the Course of Inheritance; and for Default of such Issue, then to the Sons of his Body in like Manner; and upon Failure of such Issue, then to the Lady Elisabeth, and after her to any other Issue in Tail, and then the Remainder is limited to the right Heirs of Henry the Eighth. By the same Statute every Subject at his full Age is obliged to take an Oath to defend the Contents of it, and the Refusal is made Misprision of Treason. And the next Parliament †, which was held in the Year following, does particularly enact an Oath for that Purpose.

Some few Years after, these Acts were repealed, and the Parliament ‡ entailed the Crown upon the King, and the Heirs of his Body by Queen Jane; and Power is given the King, for Want of Issue of his Body, to dispose of the Succession by his Letters Patents, or his last Will.

It is also made Treason, if any usurp upon those, to whom it is so appointed. Here the Parliament do not only use their Power of chan-

ging the Succession, but they delegate it to another.

And, in the thirty-fifth Year of this King's Reign, the Parliament §, by another Act, take Notice of the great and high Trust which the Subjects had in him, in putting into his Hands wholly the Order and Declaration of the Succession; yet the King being then ready to go into France, they do enact, that after his Death and the Death of Prince Edward, without Issue, the Crown should be to the Lady Mary, and the Heirs of her Body; but both subject to such Conditions as the King should limit by his Letters Patents; or by his last Will, signed with his Hand: And if the Lady Mary performed not those Conditions, that then the Crown should go to the Lady Elisabeth, as if the Lady Mary had been dead without Issue; and if the Lady Elisabeth neglected to perform such Conditions, then it should go to such other Person as the King should appoint, in the same Manner as before, as if the Lady Elisabeth had been dead without Issue §. And Authority is given to him, by his Letters Patents, or his last Will signed with his own Hand, to appoint the Crown to remain to such Person or Persons and for such Estate, and under such Conditions as he should please.

An Oath also for Observing this Statute is appointed, and it is made Treason to refuse it; or to disturb or interrupt any Person, to whom it is limited by this Act, or should be by the King, pursuant to the Power given him thereby.

This is abundantly sufficient to prove, that it was the universal Opinion of that Age, that the Succession was wholly under the Controul of Parliament, who not only limited it as they pleased themselves, but subjected it to Conditions, and to the Appointment of others. But the Thing was in its own Nature so evident, that they who had the greatest Reason, and were most concerned to do it, did never presume to question the Power of a Parliament in this Point.

Lethington, Secretary of Scotland, in a Letter of his, written to Sir William Cecil **, then Secretary of State here, wherein he argues in Behalf of the Title of his Mistress, Mary Queen of Scots, to succeed Queen Elisabeth, against a

* St. 25 H. 8. Cap. 22. † 26 H. 8. Cap. 2. ‡ 28 H. 8. *Rast.* Crown 4.

§ 35 H. 8. Cap. 1.

§ See the Instrument of Queen Jane's Proclamation, &c. before, on Page 394.

** Burn. Hist. Reform. Collect. 268.

pretended Disposition made by the last Will of *Henry the Eighth*, to his Niece the Lady *Frances*, Daughter to the *French* Queen, if his own Issue failed, says, of those Statutes that gave the King Power to dispose of the Crown, that they were against Equity to disinherit a Race of foreign Princes, and that they were made in an abrupt Time (as he terms it) but yet he confesses, that since the Thing was done, it was now *valid* and *unavoidable*, unless some Circumstances did annihilate the Limitation and Disposition made by King *Henry's* Will.

And so he proceeds to prove that the Power, which was given to the King by these Statutes, was not pursued (which it ought to have been most strictly, and in a precise Form) for that the King never signed the Will, but that his Name, set to it, was forged: Nay, I will venture to say that in all the Books, which were written to support the Claim of the *Scottish* Queen against King *Henry's* Will (though the whole Power and Wealth of the *Guises* were employed to set every Wit at Work on that Design *) there was never any Stress laid upon it, or so much as a Pretence that these Acts of Parliament were void or ineffectual in themselves. In that Discourse which was published by *Philips*, and composed by Sir *Anthony Brown*, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, who was (in Judge *Dodderidge's* Opinion) a Person of an incomparable Sharpness of Wit, there was all the Help that Learning either in Divinity, Civil or Common Laws, could give; yet there the Authority of the Parliament in the Case, and the Validity of these Statutes, is all along admitted. Indeed, they endeavour to put some other Construction upon the Statutes; but their great Argument is, that King *Henry*, as King, had no Power to dispose of the Crown, and therefore these Laws only gave him an Authority, and made him only as it were a Commissioner, and therefore, as all other Authorities (especially being in Derogation of the Course of the common Line) was to be strictly followed. They allow that he had sufficient Power to devise, and that he might honourably have used that Power; but that he ever did exercise that Authority, is the Thing denied. But it is Time for us to go on.

Edward the Sixth succeeded his Father, and took upon him a Power, which surely no King ever had, to dispose of his Crown, by Will. But that Disposition serving to no other Purpose, but to the Ruin of the Lady *Jane Grey* †, his Sister Queen *Mary* first, and after Queen *Elisabeth*, enjoyed the Crown according to the Limitation of the Statute, 35 *H. VIII. c. 1.* and, that one of them had no other Title, must be agreed by all: For Queen *Catharine* was alive, at the Time when *Elisabeth* was born; so that, if the first Marriage was unlawful, Queen *Mary*; and if the second was unlawful, Queen *Elisabeth* must necessarily have been illegitimate.

I cannot but observe one Passage to our present Purpose, which I meet with in the Time of Queen *Mary*. Sir *Edward Mountague*, first Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and afterwards of the King's Bench (one who had the Reputation of the ablest and wisest Lawyer of his Age ‡) being accused to have drawn the Will of *Edward the Sixth*, whereby that Queen was to have been disinherited, and being in great Danger upon that Account, drew up a State of his own Case, and therein sets forth, that the great Reason which prevailed with him to obey the King in that particular, and upon which he did still rely for his Indemnity, was, that, if Queen *Mary* came to the Crown, she took it by Force of the Act of Parliament, which did limit it to her in Remainder; so that she came in as a Purchaser, and not in Privy of Estate to her Brother, and consequently could not punish Treasons or Offences committed in his Time ||.

I must needs also observe, that in the Articles made upon the Marriage of Queen *Mary* with *Philip of Spain*, which were confirmed by Act of Parliament, the several Crowns and Territories of *Philip* are distributed, Part to *Charles* the Infant of *Spain*, Part to the Issue of the intended Marriage §. Whereby it does appear not only what Opinion all *Europe* had of the Power of an *English* Parliament, but also that by the Consent of the Estates of other Realms, Crowns might be limited and disposed out of the ordinary Course of Descent.

* See a Treatise of the Title of Queen *Mary* to the Succession, Pages 38, 39, &c. Lib. 2. *Dodd. Engl. Lawyer*, Page 8.

† See the Introduction to her Proclamation, on Page 391.

‡ *More's Reports*, 827, and 828.

|| *Fuller's Ch. History*, Lib. 8. Fol. 5.

§ 1 *Mar. Parl.* 2. cap. 2.

In the first Year of Queen *Elisabeth*, the Parliament recognise her Title to the Crown *, with express Relation to the Statute 35 *H. VIII.* which invests it in her and the Heirs of her Body, and do enact that the Limitation, made by that Statute, shall stand and remain as a Law for ever, and all Sentences, Judgments and Decrees to the contrary, are declared to be void, and appointed to be cancelled. And the several Offences, which are made Treason by another Statute in the same Year, are all restrained to the Queen and the Heirs of her Body only: The Parliament intending to extend that new Security no farther than her Estate in the Crown (which she took by that Parliamentary Limitation) did extend.

In her thirteenth Year it was enacted †, That if any Person claim Title to the Crown, for himself or any other, during her Life, or shall not upon Demand acknowledge her Right, *he shall be disabled, during his Life, to have the Crown in Succession as if he was naturally dead.* And to affirm Right of Succession in such Claimer or Usurper, (after Proclamation made of such Claim or Usurpation) is made Treason. Nor does the Statute stop there, but makes it Treason, during the Life of the Queen, and Forfeiture of all Goods and Chattels after her Decease, to affirm that the Queen, with and by the Authority of Parliament, is not able to make Laws and Statutes of sufficient Force and Validity, to limit and bind the Crown of this Realm, and the Descent, Limitation, Inheritance and Government thereof; or that this or any other Statute made by Parliament, with the Queen's Assent, is not or ought not to be for ever of sufficient Force to bind and govern all Persons, their Rights and Titles, that may claim any Interest or Possibility in or to the Crown in Possession, Remainder, Inheritance, Succession or otherwise. It were well if some rash Men, who presume in their Discourses to restrain the Power of the Parliament (that is, the King, Lords, and Commons) in the great Business of the Succession, would be so wise as to remember this Act (which is still in Force) and the Penalty to which they subject themselves by such sawcy Talk. That incomparable Statesman the Lord *Burleigh* had another Kind of Opinion of the Security which an Act of Parliament could give his Royal Mistress, by making the *Scotish* Queen (the *Popish* Successor of

that Time) unable and unworthy of the Succession; as appears in a Letter which he wrote about this Time, to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, then Ambassador in *France* †.

In the twenty-seventh Year of Queen *Elisabeth*, it was enacted ‡, that if any Invasion was made, or Rebellion, or other Thing tending to the Hurt of her Person, by, or for, or with the Privy of any one who should or might pretend Title to the Crown, and the same should be adjudged in such Manner as that Law appoints, then every Person, against whom such Judgment should be given, should be excluded and disabled for ever to have or claim the Crown; and that the Subjects of this Realm lawfully might by all forcible and possible Means, pursue all such Offenders: And their Issues, assenting or privy thereto, are in like Manner disabled, and to be pursued. And this Act was made in Pursuance of an Association entered into by the People, in the Vacancy of Parliament, out of their great Zeal for the Preservation of the Life of that excellent Princess.

By Virtue of this Statute, *Mary*, Queen of *Scotland*, was afterwards executed, as appears by the Commission for her Tryal §.

King *James*, her Son, who was a wiser Prince, and not wholly governed by Priests as his Mother was, though he had the same Pretences that she had, yet never disputed his Right, or set on Foot any Title, during the Life of the ever renowned Queen; though she would never suffer him to be declared her Successor. He was too wise to incur the like Disability as his Mother had done, and to contest a Title established by Parliament.

After Queen *Elisabeth's* Death, the Act of Recognition, made upon King *James's* Coming to the Crown, doth particularly insist upon that Title, which was raised by Act of Parliament to *Henry the Seventh*, and the Heirs of his Body, and that immediately upon the Queen's Decease, the Crown descended and came to King *James*; so that you see the Title of Queen *Elisabeth* is again acknowledged by Parliament: And the Entail made by the Statute of 35 *Hen.* 8. being spent upon her Death without Issue, King *James* comes in, as next Heir to the old Entail made the first Year of *Henry the Seventh*.

Thus, I have set down before you the whole Course of the *English* Succession, as plainly, as truly, and as briefly as is possible. I shall leave

* 1 *Eliz.* c. 3, and 5.

† 13 *Eliz.* c. 1. *Rast.* Treason. 27.

‡ Compleat Ambassad. fol. 289.

§ 27 *Eliz.* c. 1.

§ *Strangway's Hist. of Mary Queen of Scotland*, fol. 179.

every Man to make his own Observations on this Historical Deduction: But this one Observation, I believe, all Men must make from it, That it hath been the constant Opinion of all Ages, that the Parliament of *England* had an unquestionable Power to limit, restrain, and qualify the Succession as they pleased, and that in all Ages they have put their Power in Practice; and that the Historian had Reason for saying, that seldom, or never, the third Heir, in a right Descent, enjoyed the Crown of *England*.

It were as easy to shew, that in all other Kingdoms, the next of Blood hath been frequently excluded from the Succession*; but the History of our own Country is our Business; yet I cannot forbear reciting the Speech which Ambassadors, sent from the States of *France*, made to *Charles* of *Lorrain*, when they had solemnly rejected him (though he was Brother to *Loys d'Outremes*, and next Heir to the Crown) and had elected *Hugh Capet* for their King. They told him, that every one knew that the Succession of the Crown of *France* belonged to him, and not *Hugh Capet*†. But yet (say they) the very same Laws, which give you this Right of Succession, do now judge you also unworthy of the same; for that you have not hitherto endeavoured to frame your Manners according to the Prescript of those Laws, nor according to the Usages and Customs of your Country, but rather have allied yourself with the *German* Nation, our old Enemies, and have loved their vile and base Manners. Wherefore, seeing you have forsaken the ancient Virtue and Sweetness of your Country, we have also forsaken and abandoned you, and have chosen *Hugh Capet* for our King, and put you back; and this, without any Scruple of Conscience at all, esteeming it better, and more just, to live under him, enjoying our ancient Laws, Customs, Privileges, and Liberties, than under you, the Heir by Blood, in Oppressions, strange Customs, and Cruelty. For, as those, who are to make a Voyage at Sea, do not much consider whether the Pilot be Owner of the Ship, but whether he be skilful and wary: So our Care is, to have a Prince to govern us gently and happily (which is the End for which Princes were appointed) and for these Ends we judge this Man fitter to be our King.

Certainly, it were a most dangerous Thing to have an Opinion prevail, that the King, in Concurrence with his Parliament, should not have Power to change the direct Order of Succession, though the Preservation both of him and his People did depend upon it. For it does directly tend to Anarchy, and makes the Government to want Power to defend itself, by making such Alterations, as the Variety of Accidents in several Ages may make absolutely necessary. There must be a supreme uncontrollable Power lodged somewhere. And the Men who talk at this Rate, can hardly find where it is lodged in *England*, if not in the King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament.

But when a Man begins to ask a Reason of this Doctrine of theirs, that Proximity of Blood does give a Title unchangeable by any human Laws, the Teachers of it differ exceedingly; some of them tell us of a divine Patriarchal Right, which Kings, as natural Fathers of their People, have derived down to them from *Adam*. And this Notion, though it be no older than the present Age, has been very frequent in Men's Mouths and Books, and has much pleased of late (as new Things use to do.) But they consider not, that if this be true, there never can be but one rightful Monarch in the Universe; that is, he only who is the direct and lineal Heir of *Adam* then living. And thus these great Patrons of absolute Power, instead of supporting, do shake the Thrones of all the Princes in the World, since none of them, at this Day, can make out any such Title.

There are others, who being desirous to bestow upon the Crown a Compliment of the like Nature, which they were at the same Time obtaining from it, have declared in general, That Monarchy is of divine Right, That Princes succeed by the Laws of God, That their Title is not subject to any earthly Cognisance, nor owing to any Consent of the People. But the Consequences of this Opinion are not once considered by these Men, that thereby the Property of all Subjects, and the Laws of all Countries are destroyed together. For no human Laws or Contracts can bind or restrain a Power divinely instituted. (Or, if you like it better, in the Words of a great Cardinal‡) a Jurisdiction which is of divine Right, is not alterable by the Will or Power of Man.

* *Daniel*, fol. 5. in *Vita H.* 1.
Trid. lib. 18. c. 15.

† *Gerr. du Hail.* lib. 6. An. 988.

‡ *Card. Palaw.* Hist. Conc.

Besides, all Communities, which live under another Form of Government, must be guilty of violating this divine Institution. And, perhaps, there are few others, besides the Great Turk's Dominions, which are governed as they ought to be.

In what a damnable Condition are the *Venetians* and the *Netherlands*, who admit no Monarch at all? *Poland*, and the *Empire*, who elect their Princes, and will not hear Talk of this divine Right of Succession?

Arragon, where they do not only elect their King, but tell him plainly at his Coronation, that they will depose him, if he observes not the Conditions which they require from him, and have a settled Officer, called *El Justitia*, for that Purpose. Nay, even *France* itself, which, it is notoriously known, does exclude Women from this divine Right.

That Government is of Nature, and derived from God, is manifest. Nothing is more natural in Man, than the Desire of Society, and without Government, Society would be intolerable. But can it be proved from hence, that the Government cannot be moulded into several Forms, agreeable to the Interest and Dispositions of several Nations, and may not be varied from Time to Time, as Occasion requires, by the mutual Consent of the Governors, and of those who are governed?

And after all Pretences of this Kind, let any Place of Scripture be produced, wherein God obliges a People to this, or that Form, till they have first obliged themselves to it, by some Act of their own?

I do agree that, if God by any extraordinary Revelation has ordained any Sort of Government, or, by any immediate Denomination, has conferred a Kingdom on any Family, and has directed in what Order the Crown shall descend, that all Men are bound to submit to it, and acquiesce in the divine Will, as soon as it is clearly and evidently made out to them; but they must not be angry if Men expect such an Evidence.

There is a third Sort of Men, who tell us, this Realm being intirely subdued by the Conqueror, and by him left to descend to his Heirs, none of these Heirs, who derive a Title under him, can deprive those who are to succeed of any Right, which they ought to have, but must leave the Crown as free to them, as they themselves received it from their Ancestors.

I will not here insist upon the Danger that any Prince runs into, who founds his Title in Force, because it will be hard to prove that such an one does not leave as good a Title open for every Man, who can make himself strong enough. Nor need I trouble myself to shew, that all Conquest does not put the Conqueror into an absolute Right. Though it be most evident in the Case of *William the First*, who did by his Sword prosecute a Claim of another Nature, and meant only to acquire that Right, and after Conquest rested in it. He pretended to the Crown as the Gift of King *Edward*, and to vindicate that Title, he entered with Arms. And though his Relation to the Crown was more remote than that of *Edgar Atheling* (then a Child) yet this Title was better than *Harold's* the present Usurper, who could pretend no Kindred at all, and who had himself sworn to support the Grant to *William*. Nor did he claim a Power by Conquest, (though the Name of *Conqueror* was given him by after Times, says *Daniel*) but submitted to the Orders of the Kingdom, desirous rather to have his Testamentary Title, than his Sword, to make good his Succession. But I will admit that he made an absolute Conquest, and then these Men will grant that he might himself dispose of this conquered Kingdom. Therefore, if he did not leave it to descend in such a Manner as they would have it go, nor did institute any such Sort of Succession, surely this Argument of theirs will fall to the Ground. Now it is plain, that he never designed that the Crown should descend, but gave it to his second Son, and thereby gave an early Example of *excluding and pretermittting the Unworthy*.

Lastly, others object, that the fundamental Laws of the Land, against which no Act of Parliament can be of Force, have so established the Succession, that the Course of it cannot be altered. This is surely a new Discovery unknown to our Fore-fathers, as the foregoing History does abundantly prove. But let these Objectors be asked, By what Authority these imaginary Laws were made? For if an Authority, equal to that which made them, be still in being, that Authority may certainly repeal them, whenever it pleases to exert itself. If the King alone made them, no doubt but that he may change them too. If they will say they were made by the diffusive Body of the People; they run before they are aware, into the Guilt of worship-
ing

ing that Idol the Multitude, and make a great Step towards placing the Foundation of the Government upon Contract and Consent. But then let them produce those Laws, or some authentic Memorial of them, before it be exacted from us to believe, there were ever any such.

Yes, they will say, there is such an ancient Law, acknowledged by all the Judges, and known to every Man, that the Descent of the Crown purges all Defects whatsoever. This Maxim, as it is usually repeated, is in these Words; and this might be admitted, and yet could not be pertinently applied to a Case, where the Descent itself is prevented by a Law. But I will not take Advantage of their Words, but will consider the Objection, as it stands in that Book, where the first Mention of it was made; and that is in the *Year Book* of *Henry the Seventh*, it being said there by the Judges, That the King was a Person able, and discharged of any Attainder, *eo facto*, that he took upon him the Government, and to be King*.

First, This was not only an *extrajudicial* Opinion, but was not pertinent to the Question referred to their Consideration, Whether those who were chosen into the House of Commons, and were at that Time attainted of Treason, might sit in Parliament till their Attainders were reversed; and they all agree that their Attainders should first be annulled. But then they proceed to say, That there was no Necessity that the King's Attainder should be reversed; for that he might enable himself, and needed not any Act of Reversal. But surely they said very wisely in what they said, for he, who had won a Crown in the Field, had gone a great Way towards enabling himself to wear it. Most sure it is, that if an Act of Reversal were necessary before he could sit, that then it was impossible he ever should sit there, because no such Act could be made without the Royal Assent. *Henry the Seventh* was then King *de facto*, and in Possession of the Throne, and it was somewhat of the latest to consider, whether he was qualified or not. Certainly it had been strange Self-denial in the Judges, and a Neglect of themselves (which is not usual with them) to have alledged an incurable Disability in the King, from whence they had their Patents and Authority.

In the next Place let us consider, what Precedent the Judges cite to justify this Opinion of

theirs, and how opposite it is. *Henry the Sixth*, being driven out of the Kingdom by *Edward the Fourth*, the Conqueror called a Parliament, and got an Act to pass, whereby *Henry* was disabled to hold the Crown. About ten Years after, *Henry* regains the Kingdom, and upon this Reaccession to the Crown (as it is usually called) this Act is never repealed. But does not every Child see the Reason of it? For if *Henry* was lawful King (and before he was not to doubt that) the Act itself was void, inasmuch as it wanted the Royal Assent. So that for him to have procured an Act of Repeal, had been to affirm a Title to the Crown in *Edward*. But without doubt, this Opinion of the Judges, as it is applied by the Objectors, was new and unheard of before. We see the King of *France* was otherwise informed by the learned Men in the Time of King *John* †, for they thought his Blood corrupted, and him incapable of taking the Crown by Descent, because he was attainted of Treason; which prevailed with that King to send over his Son *Lewis*, to put in his Claim, in Right of his Wife, who was the next Heir. It also ought to be observed, that the true Reason, why the Generality of the Nation did so long approve the Title of the House of *Lancaster*, was, because all the Princes of the House of *York* were attainted of Treason, and their Blood corrupted. But as soon as ever this Corruption was purged, and *Richard* Duke of *York* was declared Heir apparent by Parliament, the People soon forsook the *Lancastrians*, and set the House of *York* on the Throne.

Nay the very learned Men of the same Age with these Judges thought quite otherwise, as will appear beyond Contradiction, in this famous Case which follows: *Richard the Third* had two elder Brothers, *Edward* and *George* Duke of *Clarence*. *Richard*, designing to secure the Crown to himself, had procured the Children of *Edward* to be declared illegitimate, yet still the Duke of *Clarence* had Issue living, which might pretend. But observe what the Parliament say (as to this) in the first Year of *Richard the Third* ‡: 'That, in the seventeenth Year of ' *Edward the Fourth*, *George* Duke of *Clarence* ' was attainted of Treason, by Reason whereof ' all the Issue of the said *George* was, and is disabled and barred of all Right and Claim, that ' in any Case, he, or his Issue, might have, or

* 1 H. 7. fol. 4 b. *Que le Roy fuest Person able & discharge d' aucun attainder eo facto qu'il prist sur lui le Reign & estre Roy.* † *Matt. Westm.* 275. v. *supra*. ‡ *V. sup.* & *Corr. Rec.* 709.

challenge by Inheritance to the Crown, and Dignity Royal of these Realms. After that we consider, that you be the undoubted Heir, &c. And so they proceed, affirming that all learned Men in the Laws do approve his Title. You see, within less than three Years before this Opinion of the Judges, the whole Parliament do not only give their Opinion, but assure you that all learned Men of that Time held clearly, that an Attainder did hinder the Descent of the Crown, and incapacitate the Person to take it. Nay, what goes yet further in this Matter, *Richard* himself, though he was as jealous to secure his Title as ever Tyrant was, and had as good Advice to discern the most distant Danger; though he was always restless in endeavouring to get the *Earl of Richmond* into his Hands, who was a very remote Pretender, and only descended from a Bastard of the House of *Lancaster*, yet he feared nothing on this Side. He knew how he had wronged the Children of his Brother *Edward*, and could not be at Ease till he had sent them out of the World, but he let the Children of his Brother *Clarence* live, without apprehending any Danger from them, because their Blood was corrupted, and all Possibility of Descent taken from them, by the Attainder of their Father. It was this only preserved them alive, and not any Remorse of Conscience, or any Niceness in sending another Nephew out of the World, after those whom he had dispatched before. This notable Case, attended with these Circumstances, will convince every Man either that the Judges intended no such Thing by their Opinion as some Men fancy, or else at least that *extra judicial* Opinions were then as Apocryphal as they have been since.

Consider, *lastly*, the Unreasonableness of this Doctrine which tends directly to subvert the Government, and to put the Life of the King Regnant into the Hands of his Successor. The next Heir may commit Rapes, and Murders, and Treasons; burn Cities, or betray Fleets; may conspire against the Life of his Prince, and yet after all, if by *Flight* or *Force* he can save himself, till some of his Accomplices can get the King dispatched, in Spight of all Laws and Justice he must come to the Crown, and be innocent.

But when I reflect what Sort of Men I am arguing with, and how willingly they use to submit to Authority, I think I shall convince

them best by citing the Opinions of two great Men, the one a Cardinal, the other a Lord-Chancellor, both of them Martyrs for the Papal Supremacy; I mean, Bishop *Fisher* and Sir *Tho. Moor*. And, if their Judgments approve the Power of Parliaments in the Business of the Succession, it cannot but weigh very much on such Occasions as this. It is well known, how * with Resolution, even to Death, they refused the Oath of Succession which the Parliament had framed, because therein the King's Supremacy was avowed, and therefore they cannot be suspected to dissemble, when at the very same Time they declared, that, if that of Supremacy was left out, they would willingly swear an Oath to maintain the Succession of the Crown to the Issue of the King's present Marriage, as it was then established by Parliament, and gave this Reason for it, that this was in the Power of a Parliament to determine; but not who was supreme Head of the Church. Sir *Tho. Moor* went further, and owned a very strange Opinion of their Power in this Point. But he says expressly at the same Time, that the Parliament had unquestionable Authority in the ordering the Succession, and that the People were bound to obey them therein.

After the Testimonies of these two great Papists, it will be little to add the Testimony of a Protestant. But yet I will mention what Sir *Walter Raleigh* (who was no inconsiderable Man, though a Protestant) says in his incomparable Preface to the History of the World: 'Without doubt, says he, human Reason would have judged no otherwise but that *Henry the Fourth* had rendered the Succession as unquestionable by the Act of Parliament which he had procured to entail it on his Issues, as by his own Act he had left his Enemies powerless.'

But sinking Men catch hold of every Thing, and, when they cannot object to the Validity, they will tell us, That such an Act of Parliament, to disinherit the next Heir, is unjust and without a sufficient Ground.

I will not, at present, enter into a Dispute how far the Difference of Religion, which will also necessarily draw on a Change in the Government, does justify Men in seeking to preserve the two dearest Things on Earth in an orderly and lawful Way. I will not (though I safely might) challenge these Men to tell me, where-

* Burn. Hist. Reform. lib. 2. fol. 156.

ever any settled Nation which had Laws of their own, and were not under the immediate Force of a Conqueror, did ever admit of a King of another Religion than their own. I will not insist on it that the Crown is not a bare Inheritance, but an Inheritance accompanying an Office of Trust; and that, if a Man's Defects render him incapable of the Trust, he has also forfeited the Inheritance. I need not say how far a Nation is to be excused for executing Justice summarily, and without the tedious Formalities of Law, when the Necessity of Things requires Haste, and the Party flies from Justice, and his Confederates are numerous and daring; and the Prince's Life in Danger.

But this I will say, that, if the Parliament have Power in this Thing, which I need not

prove, by shewing, that the ordinary Course of Law allows Heirs to be disinherited of Fines and Recoveries, and that the Parliament, in all Ages, has frequently done it by making Acts to alter the strongest Settlements, where Equity has dictated it, though the Heirs were never, in any wise, criminal: *There*, according to Sir Thomas More's Opinion, *the People are bound, in Conscience, to obey their Laws, and must not pretend to enquire whether they were made upon just Grounds.* For, by the same Reason, they may pretend, that all other Laws were made without just Cause, and refuse Obedience to any of them. And surely those, that should do so, would be an excellent *Loyal Party*. God defend this Nation from such Loyalty, as opposes itself to the Laws.

Advice to a Soldier: In two Letters, written to an Officer in the *English Army*; proper to be exposed at the present Time, while the Peace of *Christendom* (if not the Liberty of it) seems to be very short-lived.

[From a *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages, printed at *London* by *John Shadd*, 1680.]

The First of these Letters endeavours to convince every Candidate for a Field-Commission, That he is petitioning, not for a small and trivial Matter, but for a Preferment, on the due Execution of which depends his own and his King's and Nation's Welfare; and that therefore the Author adviseth every one first to engage a Voluntier in some Action in the Wars, before that he accepts of the Post of the meanest Officer; because the Military Arts of Battles and Sieges are as little to be learned by Reading and Theory, as any other worldly Employment; and they that have the Commission, and must be beholden to the Instruction and Direction of a Subaltern in the Execution of their Duty, lie subject to this Dilemma, To lose the Credit of their Success when Fortune favours, or to bear the Blame when it happens otherwise.

The Second Letter contains the Moral Part of Military Discipline; and that not only in Regard to the Soldiers in general, but to the Officers in particular. And they are both not only now, but at all Times, worthy the Perusal of the Gentlemen, who serve their King and Country with their Hearts and Swords.

The

The first Letter to a young Gentleman, who, by the Mediation of great Friends, had obtained the Grant of a considerable Command in the English Army, against the prevailing Power of France, in the Year 1678.

My dear Friend,

I Do highly approve the Resolution you have taken to serve his Majesty in the Wars, if any happen, it being a Duty which every good Subject owes him, especially the Gentry, who derive all their Streams of Honour from that Original Fountain: But it may possibly seem strange, that, while all the rest of your Friends are congratulating your good Fortune, in the Preferment proffered you, I only shew myself dissatisfied; I will assure you I am so far from envying your Promotion, that no Man living does more heartily desire it than myself; it is the Reality of my Friendship makes me jealous, that Preferment is arrived at your Port, before you are ready, before you are fit for it: It is no small or trivial Matter which he undertakes who receives a Commission from the King, how light soever you and other young Gentlemen think of it; and I should not be worthy any Place in your Esteem, if I did not deal very candidly and plainly with you. And in the first Place I will tell you, *He cannot be a fit Man to command, who knows not the Duty of those that are to obey him.*

I doubt not but you have read Books relating to War, and may understand something of the Theory of it, but all the Reading in the Universe will not enable a Man to perform well the meanest of the Mechanick Arts; we usually allow seven Years Experience for attaining the Skill to make Shoes, &c. and do you believe that the Military Science (upon the Success whereof depends the Safety or the Ruin, the Standing or Falling of Towns and Citadels, Kingdoms and Empires) is to be learned amidst the Softnesses and Ease of Courts, and rich Cities, and Reposing on the Laps of Ladies? or by the imperfect Ideas of a Battle, and a Siege represented in a Play? or at best by a little superficial Reading of Commentaries? No, the Art of War is to be attained by other Methods and Means more studious, more laborious, more manly; and, if you accept of a Command at this Time, it is odds that you neither efficaciously serve the King, nor yourself; not the King, for the Obtaining Pre-

ferments by Favour, without Merit, is the greatest Discouragement in the World, to Men of low Fortunes and high Spirits, and such, in Times of Dangers, are the usefulest Men to a Common-wealth; who, having served many Years in the Wars, and made themselves capable of the greatest Offices, shall on the sudden find themselves defeated, by such young Gentlemen as you; although, if you come to speedy Action, you must necessarily be baffled, and disappoint his Majesty's Service, or else owe your Success wholly to Chance, for which none but Fools will commend you. You cannot serve yourself, because the main Thing you aim at is Honour: Now you must know, *they lie under a vulgar Error, who think that to have a great Office, or great Title, is sufficient not to make a Man Honourable. True Honour does not so much consist in possessing great Offices, or great Titles, as in the using those great Titles, and in discharging those great Offices so, as the Prince may be well and faithfully served, and the publick Good advanced and promoted.*

Which can never be done by one who wants Experience, unless, as I said before, it be by Chance, or by the discreeter Menage of the Under-Officers. I will add further, that what Miscarriage soever happens under you, will be imputed, right or wrong, to your Want of Conduct, and the Credit of all good Service you do, shall be carried away by those of your Officers who have more Skill, even then when they do not deserve it. Wherefore my Advice is, if you would serve your Prince and your Country, as becomes a good Subject and a Gentleman; if you would bring an Addition of Honour to yourself and Family; *let your Advancement be the Reward, rather than the Obligation of your Merit.* Content yourself, for a Time, to serve as a private Gentleman, a Voluntier, and you will find, that one Year's Experience, in Time of Action, will instruct you better than twenty Year's Reading without it. It has been always my Manner to express my Mind freely, and so I do now, when I assure you, I am,

London, Aug. 20,

1678.

Your faithful Friend.

A Second Letter to the same young Gentleman, after he had received his Commission; wherein is chiefly discoursed the Moral Part of Military Discipline.

My dear Friend,

IT seems, before my Letter came to your Hands, you had received the Commission, from which I was too late endeavouring to dissuade you; the wisest Men do many Things in their Lives, which they are sorry for when done, but cannot undo without greater Disadvantage: This Act of yours I look on to be one of those; it was the Desire of Honour made you take a Commission, and though now you wish it had been deferred till another Time; yet, since you have put your Hand to the Plough, you must not look back, you cannot lay it down without Shame, without Disparagement. Therefore, I will give you such general Advice as I can; for particular or practical, you know, I do not pretend to.

It will be impossible for you, at first, to conceal your Unskilfulness in Arms, from your Men, and therefore all Attempts of that Nature will be fruitless and ridiculous; wherefore it will be your best Way to own it, to such of your Officers as are ingenious, and do not think it any Disparagement to learn of your Inferiors. *It is no Shame not to know that which one has not had the Opportunity of Learning; but it is scandalous to profess Knowledge, and remain ignorant.*

In regard your Experience in Martial Matters is green, as well as your Years, it will be needful that you use all the Helps you can, to make some Amends for that Defect.

And, first, I would have you get intimately acquainted with some of the best of our *English* Officers, especially some of those who have been either on the Side of *France* or *Holland*, or both, engaged in the present War of *Christendom*; and by a frequent Converse with them, and by your own heedful Observation, you may the sooner make a good Improvement of your Time; and you would do well to get yourself provided with some of the best Books, describing the modern Way of Military Discipline, for Books are great Assistances to those who every Day compare their Reading and Practice.

When you have made a Choice of Persons with whom you intend to be intimate, be careful you are not by any of them drawn into

private or particular Quarrels; and if any such Accident happens in your Presence, between others, endeavour what you can to compose, not widen the Breach: If the Difference grow so high, that nothing less than a Duel can reconcile the Feud in Point of Honour, make them sensible what a Shame it is for Men of true Merit, to receive the Laws of Honour from faint Effeminate, the Hectors and Huffs of the Town, who possess none themselves but what they are indebted for to their Schools of Honour and Morality, the Play-houses; ask with what Justice they can expect the King's Pay, or hope for his Favour, or his Pardon, while they shew such Contempt of him and his Laws, and hazard their Lives in a Quarrel, destructive to his Service. Remind them that the *French*, the great Promoters of Duelling in a more pusillanimous Age, having now shaken off former Fooleries, and put on the Bravery of a warlike People, look on that Man who offers to send a Challenge, as a Fellow fit to be kicked by their Foot-boys, and that is the usual Way the Gentry of *France* think themselves obliged in Honour to answer him. He who charges most briskly at the Head of his Troops; he who first mounts the Enemy's Wall, and he who is forwardest in Attacking their Fortifications, are the only Men among them, who now obtain the Title and the Esteem of Honourable.

But if you meet with any so fond of false Honour, so false to the Principles of Loyalty and true Glory, that no Reason can divert them, even in a foreign Country, from Assisting the Enemy, by diminishing our Strength, and making Factions in our own Party; let them alone by themselves to destroy one another, for it is Pity they should live, and it is Pity they should die by any worthier Hands than those of the Hang-man or their own.

If you would ever arrive at greater Preferment than you have, or deserve that which his Majesty has already bestowed, you must be beholden for it chiefly to the Valour and Affection of your Soldiers; therefore endeavour, what you can, to get them their Pay in due Season, and, if that cannot be done, at least let them see that it is not your Fault; observe and ab-

hor the Example of some others, who detain the Soldiers Wages, the Price of their Blood, and throw it away on the Turn of a Dye, or spend it profusely on their Pride and their Lusts.

Despise all base Ways of enriching yourself, either by cheating the King with false Musters, or defrauding or abridging your Men any Part of their Due; such Practices have been the Undoing of many a good Cause, and are so far more worthy a Gallows, than common Robberies, by how much the Loss of a Battle is more considerable than the Loss of a Bag of Money, and the Ruin of the Publick, than that of a private single Person. Consider, your Men are equal Sharers in the Danger, though not in the Profit or Honour of the War; and that as you are the Head, they are the Body, containing, beside the Trunk, the usefulest Members, Hands, Arms, Legs, and Feet, without whose executive Power, all your contriving Faculties will prove insignificant; so that you must not think you discharge the Duty of a good or prudent Commander, when you only shew yourself bold, and bring them on bravely to Battle; your Care must be, both before and afterwards, to see that they have as wholesome Food (and Physick when it needs) and as good Quarters as the Place will afford; and since *English* Constitutions cannot so easily endure Famine, as the People born and bred up in less plentiful Countries; you must make it a principal Part of your Endeavours, to have them sufficiently provided; and when upon any Action, your Under-Officers or others have deserved well, you ought to use your Interest to get them encouraged and promoted.

A good Commander will use his Soldiers just as a good Father uses his Children; and he who governs otherwise, through Covetousness, Negligence, Pride, or Ill-nature, shall never get any great Honour himself, nor ever do any Service considerable, for his King or Country.

But though I would have you love your Men well, because you can do nothing without them, I would not have you spoil them with over-much Kindness. *It is the wise Dispensing of Rewards and Punishments, which keeps the World in good Order. They never had their Business well done, who through an Excess of Goodness reward mean Services too highly, or punish great Miscarriages too lightly.* Therefore, as you must take Care of the Back and the Belly, the Pay and Provision of your Soldiers, so you ought to be

very severe in your Discipline; the two former will gain you the Love of your Men, the latter their Fear, and all mixed together produce compleat Obedience. Or, to express it better in the Martial Phrase, *Pay well, and bang well, makes a good Soldier.*

The frequent Company of Women, and the tippling strong Liquors, debilitate both the Mind and Body of a Soldier, rendering him soft and effeminate, lazy and sickly, unapt and unfit for heroick Exploits. Restrain, therefore, as much as may be, the Debaucheries of your Men, and be careful to refrain your own, and take this along with you as a general Rule; that, *when you teach your Men to live innocent, you do at the same Time make them valiant.*

To the End you may with greater Facility effect so good a Design, you ought to be always attended with a good Chaplain; and if I were worthy to advise your General, I would beg him to be as careful in the Choice of his Chaplains as his Captains. Nay, I would adventure to say, they are as necessary, and many Times have done, and may again, as largely contribute towards the obtaining happy Successes. And now there is as great an Occasion for able Divines in our Army and Navy, as ever there was, since *England* professed Christianity. *For the Fops of this Age, under the Notion of Wits, endeavour to buffoon Religion out of Countenance; talk Blasphemy and Atheism in common Discourse, speak Treason against the Majesty of Heaven, a Crime which no Prince upon Earth will endure, at an easier Rate than mortal Punishment.* And so while nothing is allowed for fashionable Wit, which is not atheistical, or prophane, or impudently immodest; the young Gentry, fond of that foolish Humour, called witty, are in a fair Way to be debauched. *For what shall restrain their Exorbitancies, who have learned to despise the supernal Power?* And by their ill Example, a Door is set wide open, to let in, among the Vulgar, all the Lewdnesses and Immoralities in the World.

Therefore you should chuse for a Chaplain a Man reserved in his Life, grave in his Deportment, fixed in his Principles, and faithful to his Prince; one that will not be abashed, when Fools deride him; one that will not be afraid to exhort and reprove, as Occasion requires; one that is patient enough to endure Scorn and Reproach, and bold enough to oppose himself against the greatest Torrent of Impiety. And then you ought to shew him Respect, as unto the

the Messenger of God, and to see that the Martial Laws relating to Religion, and good Order, be put in Execution; which truly of late have been just so observed, as if they had been purposely made to be broken. If you begin the good Example, you shall hardly need to compel your Men to follow; they will be ashamed to be vicious, if their Commander be virtuous; *And Shame is a more effectual Way to reform Vice, than pecuniary Penalties, or corporal Pains.*

By this Means the Lives of many Men will be saved, who otherwise, to support their Vices, neglect their Duty, commit Thefts, and Robberies, and Rapes, and the like; and bring themselves under the Lash of Martial Law, great Punishments, and ignominious Deaths.

You should be as frequent and regular, at your publick Prayers, as Time and your Affairs will permit; especially neglect it not before a Battle, or other great Undertaking. *For Prayer, by a strange and secret Influence, (which none can tell but they who use it) brings from Heaven new Life, and Vigour, and Courage to the most weak and timorous.*

And now I have happened to speak of Courage, that necessary Qualification in a Soldier, I will give you my Opinion what it is, and whence it usually arises.

Courage is either Active, or Passive, and both are as useful for a Soldier, as a Sword and a Target. Active is that which does prompt and excite a Man, to the Undertaking and Attempting great and hazardous Enterprises. And Passive is a certain even Temper and Frame of Mind, which dangerous Accidents cannot discompose, or divert from his intended Purpose. On the contrary, Fear amazes and distracts, and disappoints the wisest Counsels, and most deliberate Designs; hurrying Men into the Danger they think to avoid, or into greater; as the *Hart* in the Fable, to escape the Dogs, sought Shelter in the Lion's Den; so it commonly happens in Battles, that those Men are killed in Flight, who, by keeping the Field, might have won the Victory; and it is frequent for a Coward, who runs away from a Sword, to stumble upon a Halter.

Inconsiderate Rashness is by some Men called Courage, when it produces the like Effect, but is in Truth no better than Madness, and I intend only to speak of that Courage, which is the Product of Reason.

True Courage springs from a Contempt of Death, or an Opinion that one shall not die. Contempt

of Death arises from a Confidence in God's Mercy, or a Consideration of Honour, or both. Confidence in God's Mercy will naturally grow as the Fruit and Effect of a good and virtuous Life, and *those Men will be afraid of nothing, who are and who believe themselves to be under the sacred Protection of Almighty God.* And when Honour (or the Thirst after publick Fame for Well-doing) is added, I think there is all, which is necessary to make a Man truly courageous. Honour by itself (I mean a great Title or publick Applause) is but an empty Name, (not valued by wise Men, save only when it comes as the just Reward of Virtue, the Fruit of worthy Performances) and the Apprehensions of Death and Damnation are two weighty Things, when nothing but that empty Name is put in the Balance against them; now *there are but a few Atheists in the World so thoroughly paced, as to have totally extinguished the Fears of a future Being;* however they may boast of it, when no Danger seems to be near them. I have seen some of those Gallants, who talk nothing but Honour, in the Middle of a Sea-fight, look as silly as Sheep, and sneak themselves behind the Main-mast.

But the far greater Number of those who go to the Wars, are persuaded they shall not be killed, and that Opinion is the Cause of their Courage, which, having a Foundation so liable to Uncertainty, is easily overturned by a little adverse Fortune: For when the Battle grows hot, when Death presents itself in Diversity of Shapes; when one loses a Leg, and another both his Arms, and a third is shot off in the Middle: When Men and Horses confusedly come tumbling down together, and a Man's best Friends lie bleeding by his Side, then that Confidence, which was groundless, vanishes of its own Accord, and quickly follows Disorder and Rout, and down-right running away.

No Man can promise himself before a Battle, that he shall be alive afterwards, and *every prudent Man should be provided, not only for that which must, but as near as one can, for that which may happen.* I mean every prudent Man should think it may be his Turn to be killed as soon as another, and therefore should endeavour beforehand to keep himself from all horrid, flagitious, enormous Crimes, such as hinder one in Times of greatest Danger, from asking or hoping for God's Mercy, and make a valiant Man turn Coward.

I have insisted the more on this Particular, because we have lived to see the best King, having the best Cause in the World, ruined by his own rebellious Subjects, towards which Ruin, I have been told, the Irregularities of some of the Loyal Party did in a great Measure contribute.

And because it is reported, by some and believed by many, that Piety and Devotion, Virtue and Religion, are only to be found amongst those who are Dissenters from, or Enemies to the Church of *England*: I would persuade you, my dear Friend, by your own Practice, to endeavour the contradicting that wicked Assertion: I would fain have you as eminent for your Piety, as your Native Bravery, and let one add Reputation to the other. King *David* among the *Jews*, *Scipio Africanus* among the *Romans*, and King *Henry the Fifth* among the *English*, were, in their Times, the most pious and most prosperous Generals in the World.

It is very convenient, I think I may say necessary, that your Men be possessed with the Justice of the Cause they fight for: Let them be told by your Chaplain this Truth, that they are doing God's Work, by endeavouring to restore those to right who suffer wrong; to bring an universal Peace to *Christendom*, and preserve it from falling into the Slavery, wherewith, at this Time, it seems to be threatened; to put an End to that Blood and Slaughter, Ruin and Devastation, which it has, for several Years past, suffered under.

You may also do well, at convenient Times, to relate to your Officers and Men, the great Things their Ancestors formerly performed in *France*, and be stirring them up to a like Emulation: But I cannot by any Means, approve of their Policy, who persuade their Men to despise their Enemies; instead of that, I would have you let them know, that they are not now to fight against *France*, lulled a-sleep by a long Peace, and drowned in the Pleasures of Ease and Idleness; but against *France* awakened, grown watchful and wise; against Men, whom a long War has made Martial, and taught to be as good Soldiers, perhaps, as are in the World; and against Men, who have taken the strongest Towns in *Christendom*, with greater Facility, and defended them, with greater Obstinacy, than any of their Enemies, with whom they have hitherto been contending.

In my Opinion, the Contempt of a crafty Enemy is one of the greatest Advantages you can give him, and he who commands valiant Men, as the *English* are, need not be afraid to make them sensible of Danger; it will rather serve to inflame, than abate their natural Courage; whereas, if they be taught to flight their Enemy, they will be apt to think of a Victory without Labour, without Dangers; such an Imagination will teach them to be careless, and Carelessness will lay them open to inevitable Ruin and Destruction. But you must not dwell too long on this Subject, you must put them in Mind, that, although the *French* are politick and powerful, they are yet very far from invincible; their Courage will give Way when attacked by Men of Resolution, who are not afraid of dying (the Truth whereof appears by the Shock and Disappointment they lately received before *Mons.*) And Achievements against them will be so much more glorious, by how much they seem more difficult and dangerous.

Remember your Soldiers how unkindly the *French* used some of their Fellows, who had faithfully served them many Years, and to whom they owed a good Part of their Success; use any Arguments which may heighten their Courage, or whet Revenge, to a sharp and vigorous Prosecution; and always let them know, they are in a Place, where they must owe their Safety and Success, and the very Bread they eat, only to the Effects of their own Valour and Vigilance.

The Season for Action, this Year, is now almost over; however you should not be absent from your Men oftener, or longer than you need, although you have nothing for them to do; for vulgar Minds are generally busy, and depraved, and will rather be contriving to do nothing. It will therefore be an Act worthy your Prudence, to exercise them at convenient Times (above what is usual) in Matches at Leaping, Running, Wrestling, shooting at Marks, or any other manly and innocent Sports, which may render them healthy, and hardy, and give them no Leisure to study Mutinies, or other Mischiefs.

If thus by your Example, by the Strictness of your Discipline, by the Veneration you shew Religion, by the Encouragement you afford the Dispenser of it, you can persuade or compel your Men to live well and temperate, you will find when you come to fight, that Soldiers
so

A Letter from a Minister to his Friend concerning the Game of Chess. 469

so well paid and provided for, so kindly used, and so strictly disciplined, and prudently managed, will enter Trenches, mount Walls and Fortifications, endure steadily the Shock of Enemies, run upon the Mouths of Cannons, and perform Actions becoming gallant Men, even such as seem to others impossible.

For your own Part.

As long as you have a superior Commander, you must be a punctual Observer of Orders, and, when you are employed in any particular Design, endeavour to get your Orders in Writing; so may you best avoid committing Mistakes, and best secure yourself from fathering the Mistakes of other Men. In any Thing, especially if the Hazard be imminent, never attempt less than you are commanded; and, without a very good Reason, do not attempt more; for, in such Case, if it succeed well, you shall only share the Honour; but, if ill, you shall bear all the Blame by yourself.

In a Word, when it depends on your Choice be wary in Undertaking, speedy in prosecuting

your Design: *Caution in Resolution, and Quickness in Execution, being the two greatest Characters of a wise Man.*

Thus, my dear Friend, I have touched upon several Particulars, which I did not think of, when I first set Pen to Paper, and doubt I have too much exceeded the Limits of a modest Letter; and perhaps a great Part, if not all of it, will be rendered useless to you, by a General Peace, which is the End of his Majesty's Arming; and if it can be had on safe and reasonable Terms, without more contending, is that which all good Men ought to wish and pray for. If it happen otherwise, I shall then venture to write you something else, in another Strain, which for the present is not convenient. I hope you will accept kindly, what is kindly intended from

Your faithful Friend and

Aug. 20th.

1678

Servant.

A Letter from a Minister to his Friend concerning the Game of Chess.

[From a broad Side, printed at London, in the Year 1680.]

I Here send you my *Reasons* for my refusing and declining the *Game of Chess*. This I premise, that I think *Recreation* to be in itself lawful, yea, that like *Physick* it is to some Persons, and in some Cases very needful. Also that this *Game of Chess* is not only lawful, but it may be the most ingenious and delightful that ever was invented. Others seem to be calculated for Children, this for Men; in most others there is much of *Contingency*, in this there is nothing but *Art*. But, though it be never so lawful and eligible in itself, yet to me it is *inexpedient*. And there are some particular *Reasons* why I am fallen out with this Exercise, and, I believe, shall never be

reconciled to it again; and they are such as follow

I. It is a great *Time-waster*: How many precious Hours (which can never be recalled) have I profusely spent in this Game? O Chess, I will be avenged of thee for the Loss of my Time! It is a true Saying, That it is more necessary Thriftiness to be sparing and saving of Time than of Money. One offered on his Death-bed a World of Wealth, for an Inch of Time; and another, with great Earnestness, cried out, when she lay a dying, *Call Time again! Call Time again!* This I heard, says a worthy Minister, and I think the Sound of it will be in my Ears so long as I live.

II. It

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I. It hath had with me a *fascinating* Property; I have been bewitched by it; when I have begun, I have not had the Power to give over. Though a Thing be never so *lawful*, yet I ought not to suffer myself to be brought under the Power of it; I will not use it, till I find I can refuse it. Reason and Religion shall order my Recreation.

II. It hath not done with me, when I have done with it. It hath followed me into my Study, into my Pulpit; when I have been praying or preaching, I have (in my Thoughts) been playing at Chess; then I have had, as it were, a Chess-board before my Eyes; then I have been thinking how I might have obtained the Stratagems of my Antagonist, or make such and such Motions to his Disadvantage; nay, I have heard of one who was playing at Chess in his Thoughts (as appeared by his Words) when he lay a dying.

III. It hath caused me to break many solemn Resolutions, nay, Vows and Promises. Sometimes I have obliged myself, in the most solemn Manner, to play but so many Mates at a Time, or with any one Person, and anon I have broken these Obligations and Promises, and after Vows of that Kind I have made Enquiry how I might evade them; and have sinfully prevaricated in that Matter; and that not once only but often.

IV. It hath wounded my Conscience, and broken my Peace. I have had sad Reflexions upon it, when I have been most serious. I find, if I were now to die, the Remembrance of this Game would greatly trouble me, and stare me in the Face. I have read in the Life of the famous John Huss, how he was greatly troubled, for his using of this Game, a little before his Death.

V. My using * of it hath been scandalous and offensive to others. Some godly Friends (as I have understood) have been grieved by it; and others (as I have Reason to fear) have been hardened by it. Great Inconveniencies have arisen from the Places where, and the Persons with whom I have used this Game.

VI. My using of it hath occasioned much Sin, as Passion, Strife, idle (if not lying) Words, in myself or my Antagonist, or both. It hath caused the Neglect of many Duties both to God and Man.

VII. My using of it doth evince, I have little Self-denial in me. If I cannot deny myself in a foolish Game, how can I think I either do or shall deny myself in greater Matters? How shall I forsake all for Christ, when I cannot forsake a Recreation for him?

VIII. My using it is altogether needless and unnecessary to me. As it hinders my Soul's Health, so it doth not further my Bodily Health. Such is my Constitution (being corpulent and phlegmatick) that, if I need any Exercise, it is that, which is stirring and labouring. I cannot propound any End to myself in the Use of it, but the pleasing of my Flesh.

IX. My using of it hath occasioned (at Times) some little Expence of Money. This is the least, and therefore I mention it last. I should think much to give that to relieve others Wants, that I have wasted this Way at several Times upon my own Wantonness.

X. I conclude with the Passage of Mr. Baxter, in his *Christian Direction*, p. 464. Thus he writes: 'I know not one Person of an Hundred, or of many Hundreds, that needeth any Game at all, there are such Variety of better Exercises at Hand to recreate them. And it is a Sin to idle away any Time, which we can better improve. I confess, my own Nature was as much addicted to Playfulness as most, and my Judgment alloweth so much Recreation as is needful to my Health and Labour, and no more; but for all that, I find no Need of any Game to recreate me. When my Mind wants Recreation, I have Variety of recreating Books, and Friends, and Business to do; that, when my Body needeth not it, the hardest Labour, that I can bear, is my best Recreation; Walking is instead of Games and Sports, as profitable to my Body, and more to my Mind. If I am alone, I may improve that Time in Meditation; if with others, I may improve it in profitable cheerful Conference. I condemn not all Sports and Games in others, but I find none of them all to be best for myself. And when I observe how far the Temper and Life of Christ, and his best Servants, was from such Recreations, I avoid them with the more Suspicion. And I see but few but distaste it in Ministers (even Shooting, Bowling, and such more healthful Games, to say nothing of these and such others as fit not the End of Recrea-

* Being a Minister of the Gospel, and charged with the Care of Souls.

tion) therefore, there is somewhat in it that
Nature itself hath some Suspicion of. That
Student, that needeth Chess or Cards to please
his Mind, I doubt hath a carnal empty Mind;
if God, and all his Books, and all his
Friends, &c. cannot suffice for this, there
is some Disease in it that should rather be
cured and pleased. And for the Body, it is
another Kind of Exercise that profits it.

A Dialogue between the Cities of *London* and *Paris*, in Relation to the present Posture of Affairs; rendered into Verse, and made applicable to the Disturbances which now seem to threaten the Peace of *Europe*. Written by a Person who has no Money to pay Taxes in Case of a War.

[From a *Folio* Edition, containing thirteen Pages, printed at London, 1701.]

THE PREFACE.

Prefaces have formerly been made Use of to clear up some Obscurities which have crept into the Body of the Books they belonged to, and let the Reader into the Author's Design. But as there is no Occasion for such a Plea, either to vindicate my present Intentions, or illustrate what is so obvious to every Man's Understanding, that has any Knowledge from the News-Papers of the publick Transactions, I shall forbear making Comments in Prose, upon that which is no otherwise clouded with Verse, than the common Performances that run about the Town so merrily, as Pieces of Scandal have of late. I ought, indeed, to account for my making Cities speak, when their Inhabitants have Tongues loud and capable enough of expressing their Dissatisfactions at some Proceedings, which are like to embroil them in a new War, and be very burthensome to their Pockets, which they, probably, might wish to have loaden with more agreeable Things than Taxes, which are the likeliest Methods imaginable to make them too light for those whom they belong to: But since Chaucer's Birds and Beasts have lately been talkative, and spoke their Minds with a Sort of Assurance and Freedom, I presume I may take the Liberty to give Stones the same Privilege, which is altogether as Poetical. But as some Expressions, probably, may give Occasion to some People who are Subjects for Satyre, and make them very ready to run down and decry them, so I must let them know something of my Sentiments, and acquaint them, that its two Combatants Business is to try which can cut deepest, and it has been the Custom of every Roman Gladiator, to take Care, Ne Parma caderet, that he should not drop his Guard, and lay himself open to his Enemy's Attacks. This, I hope, will excuse the Freedom one City takes with another, and since he, who has set them together by the Ears, has taken Care, like a true-born Englishman, to state the Case so, as to make his own Countryman's Side the strongest, it is hoped the English Reader will give

give the Design his favourable Interpretation, especially since the Author has as little to get by a War (being no Military Man) as he has hitherto got by the Peace.

L O N D O N.

THOU City, whose aspiring Turrets rise,
And next to mine are nearest to the Skies,
Tell me from whence our mutual Discord flows,
And two so near ally'd * must act like Foes?

P A R I S.

Ah! Sister, while we two divided stand,
And diff'rently support a diff'rent Land,
While Holland's Quarrels England's Treasures drain,
And France remits her Louis d'Ors to Spain,
What Hopes are left of seeing Peace restor'd,
Or that our Rival Kings will sheathe the Sword?

L O N D O N.

Our Kings will surely do as Sov'reigns shou'd,
That earnestly advance their Subjects Good;
Not seek for Measures to perplex the Throne,
And for another's Quiet lose their own.
Suppose two distant Countries can't agree,
What are their private Feuds to you or me?
E'en let 'em by themselves maintain the Fight,
And each with Arms in Hand assert its Right;
We, that are Neighbours, should like Neighbours prove,
And study Commerce, as we practise Love.

P A R I S.

But Ties of Blood, and Friendship's Laws, enjoin
Those that are Philip's † En'mies should be mine;
Here the young Prince first suck'd the vital Air,
Ordain'd from hence to fill the Regal Chair,
And ought, from hence, to be with Aid supply'd,
Since Justice, Birth, and Merit take his Side.
Yonder's a Land ‡, from whence your Monarch drew
His Infant-Breath, and is that Land untrue?
What e'er he speaks or acts has their Applause,
And Life and Fortune wait upon his Cause;
While he for Arbiter of Fate is own'd,
And reigns a Sov'reign || where he's not inthron'd.
Why should not my Affection be the same,
Since there is no Distinction in their Claim,

* In Situation and Greatness.

† Philip, Duke of Anjou, now King of Spain.

‡ Holland.

|| Stadtholder.

As I a Native's Right with Zeal pursue,
And practise what should be perform'd by you?

L O N D O N.

'Tis own'd that Natives should for Natives stand,
Where Nature pleads, and Justice binds a Land;
But when a Prince, by mean clandestine Ways,
Ascends a Royal Throne, and Scepter sways;
When Vows and Oaths are reckon'd Things of Course,
And a *forg'd Will** is valid and of Force,
Your Bonds and Obligations are as void,
As if a Foreigner the Throne enjoy'd;
Since what's unjust deserves an equal Scorn,
From those in *France*, as those without it born;
If Perjury's the same in different Climes,
And *Paris* should abhor *Parisian's* † Crimes.
Such is thy *Philip* — when my *William's* Name
Fills ev'ry Tongue, and swells the Voice of Fame.
Bold is his Soul, yet peaceful is his Mind,
Forgetful of himself for human Kind;
Ready for War, when Honour sounds Alarms,
But for his Subjects Ease, averse to Arms,
Unless their Safety wings him to the Field,
And Kingdoms screen themselves behind his Shield.
As *Lewis* grasps at the terrestrial Ball ‡,
And's not content to rise, unless we fall.

P A R I S.

Presumptuous Wretch, thy base Reflexions spare,
Monarchs, like mine, are Heav'n's peculiar Care,
As Heav'n's Vicegerents they its Image bear.
Born to be Kings, by *God's own Act* || they reign,
And from their *high Descent* their Scepters gain:
Not call'd to govern by the *People's Choice*,
Or holding Crowns *precarious* from their Voice:
Survey my Prince, if thou can'st bear the Sight
Of Lineaments, so awful and so bright,
And stand amaz'd at Features that surprise,
The most audacious Looks and daring Eyes,
And vindicate their Kindred to the Skies.
Is there a Line ignoble in his Face,
Or what's degenerate from *Bourbon's Race*?
Is there a Thought admitted to his Soul,
That prompts him to commit a Deed that's foul?

* See this well explained in the Rights of the House of *Austria* to the *Spanish Succession*, beginning on Page 198, in this Collection.

† Alluding to the bloody *Bartholomew Massacre* of the Protestants at *Paris*, at a Time, when all seemed to live in Peace.

‡ Universal Monarchy. || This is the Doctrine of absolute Monarchs, who pretend to an hereditary Right, not only to the Crown, but to the Liberties and Properties of their Subjects, by *Divine Right*, or that they are commissioned by God to *enslave* their Subjects.

Or can a Mind so prodigally good,
 That has for other's Rights so bravely stood;
 That Kings exil'd maintains within his Court,
 And gives thy *abdicated Prince* * Support;
 Submit to Methods of so vile a Fame,
 When Armies might make good his *Grandson's* † Claim,
 And Troops innumerable seize a Crown,
 Which must have been *without a Will* ‡ his own?
 He swore, indeed, exclusive of his Right,
 And promis'd *France* and *Spain* should ne'er unite;
 And still he keeps religious to his Oath,
 Since there are different Kings that govern both,
 And in their separate Thrones distinctly shine,
 Tho' both proceed from one illustrious Line.

L O N D O N.

Not that I'd wrongfully crown'd Heads abuse,
 Or due Respect to regal Titles lose,
 But, when *fictitious Births*, as *true*, are feign'd,
 And *Bourbon's* Blood with *Mazarine's* is stain'd.
 When a Queen's Fame a just Suspicion brings,
 And lustful Priests beget lascivious Kings,
 I stand excus'd, and guiltless are my Thoughts,
 If I affirm a certain King has Faults,
 And fall off from the Deference he might claim,
 Did not the Father's Birth the Mother's shame;
 As the lewd Statesman || took his Master's Place,
 And dash'd with Infamy the Regal Race.

All must allow, as it by all is known,
 That *Lewis* was begotten to a Throne;
 And from his very Being was ordain'd,
 To wield the Scepter where he long has reign'd:

Yet all must likewise hold this Maxim good,
 That Merit is superlative to Blood;
 And it's much nobler to deserve, and gain
 Crowns, the Rewards of Hero's Toils and Pain,
 Than idly be beholden to his Birth,
 And owe to Nature what is due to Worth.
 We grant that our *Nassovian* Hero § came,
 And trod unbeaten Ways to purchase Fame;
 Thro' devious Paths in Quest of Crowns appear'd:
 But he deserv'd the more, the more he dar'd,
 As he through joyful Crowds to Empire rode,
 And shew'd the *People's* Voice the Voice of *God*;
 Whilst thy inglorious Monarch sat at Home,
 And meditated over Ills to come,
 Unweary'd with the Mischiefs he had done.

* *James.* † *Philip's* Claim to *Spain.* ‡ See the first Note in the foregoing Page. || Cardinal *Mazarine* was the supposed Father. § King *William the Third*, Prince of *Orange* and *Nassau*.

With his insatiate Strumpet* by his Side,
To feed his Lust, and gratify his Pride.
What if thy Master looks austere and great,
And he seems pointed out to reign by Fate?
What if his Eyes majestically roul,
If no kind Beams of Goodness grace his Soul?
If his base Mind, possess'd by Thoughts unclean,
Darkens the Brightness of his shining Mien,
And 'tis but just, that Monarchs should provide
For those their wicked Arts have led aside.
Two Kings, it's granted, in two Kingdoms reign,
And one's inthron'd in *France*, and one in *Spain*;
Different in Person, but the same in Mind,
As the same Principles run thro' the Kind,
And spread their Venom, and disperse their Stains,
To make one's boundless Pride swell t'other's Veins,
While *France* creeps sily into *Spain's* Esteem,
And *Lewis* is not *KING*, but *Lord Supreme* †.

P A R I S.

When threat'ning Foes her Provinces invade,
'Tis Time to look about, and seek for Aid;
And where should Kindred but on Kindred call,
'T' avert their Ruin, and prevent their Fall?
If then my Monarch, rous'd from Peace's Charms,
Has, for his Grandson's Sake, Recourse to Arms;
If he foregoes his Pleasures to maintain
The sinking Grandure of declining *Spain*,
Over their Councils he may well preside,
And, as he is their *Safeguard*, be their *Guide*.

L O N D O N.

Mistake him not; but take a nearer Sight,
And lay his Actions open to the Light;
Find, if thou canst, amidst his earliest Cares,
Ev'n but a Thought not *selfish* in Affairs;
Int'rest directs him, and *Ambition* shows
The Means by which his Predecessors rose,
And climb'd the Steps where Empire was the Prize,
Seemingly loth, but resolute to rise:
His Troops are *Spain's* Assistants in Pretence,
And cover *Usurpation* with *Defence*;
But Times will come, should *German* Armies fail,
And *Injuries* o'er what is *Right* prevail,
When her brave Sons, that have so long withstood
The vain Attempts of *France* and *Bourbon's* Blood,
Shall wish this Friend had been their open Foe,
And feel a sad Increase of Shame and Woe.

* Madam *Maintenon*, who lived openly with the King of *France*, in Defiance of God and his holy Religion.
† Sways the Councils of the Court of *Spain*.

As they, at last, this just Conclusion make,
Lewis turn'd Hypocrite for *Lewis's* Sake,
 And stood by the Succession to the Throne,
 Not for his *Grandson's* Interest, but his *Own*.

P A R I S.

The Souls of Princes are of Moulds divine,
 And from superior Orbs enlighten'd shine;
 No scanty Beings that Confinement bear,
 But are enlarg'd as elemental Air,
 That knows no Limit, but what Nature bounds,
 And fleets about the Globe in endless Rounds.
 Ambition fires 'em, and Dominion warms,
 And shoots them forth in Search of Glory's Charms,
 As Fame and Greatness claims their sole Regard,
 And Conquest offers Crowns as their Reward.
 Such Thoughts, as these, thy Monarch's Breast inspir'd,
 And made him nobly seek what he desir'd;
 Forc'd him rough Seas and Tempests to explore,
 And try the Dangers of thy faithless Shore,
 Else had he still, contented with his State,
 Forborne to do the glorious Work of Fate,
 And sat at Home, that Burghers might propose
 Business for him, that was to Scepters chose;
 And those illustrious Chiefs*, who swell his Veins
 With princely Blood, that Servitude disdains,
 Never had shaken off the *Spaniard's* Chains.
 This godlike Ardor made 'em grasp the Shield,
 And run to Vict'ry, as they took the Field,
 While they let these † that were their *Masters* see,
 They durst revolt, be Conquerors, and be free.
 If Acts, like these, are worthy of Applause,
 Why should not Praise attend my Sovereign's Cause,
 If Lust of Empire boils within his Soul,
 And he flights half the Universe for the whole?
 In them such daring Thoughts have gain'd Esteem,
 And ought likewise to be admir'd in him.

L O N D O N.

Such are the Thoughts that fill thy Prince's Breast,
 And turbulently keep him from his Rest:
Theft, Murder, Violence, Fraud, and Perj'ry join,
 To push him forward to some mean Design,
 And prompt him to perform what's scorn'd by mine.
 'Tis not Ambition wings him forth for Fame,
 But a base niggard Soul that covets Shame,
 That still subjects his Reason to his Will,
 And would be talk'd of, tho' for doing Ill;
 Desirous to be known in After-days,
 And to employ our Tongues, if not our Praise.

* The Prince of Orange's Ancestors who delivered Holland from the Tyranny of Spain.

† *Spaniards*.
 When,

When, if you search my *careful* Monarch's Mind,
You'll see the noble Passions all refin'd,
All of a Piece, *just, regular, and true,*
And fitting for a Prince to have in View;
Well temper'd Thoughts, not over hot, nor cool,
Ready to act, but acting still by Rule;
Wisdom his Pilot, and *Content* his Guide,
A known *Experience*, and a *Judgment* try'd;
Boundless in Wishes for his People's Good,
And prodigal of Industry and Blood;
For their Sakes, covetous of being known,
But wholly *unambitious* for his own.

P A R I S.

With Grief I speak it, and confess with Pain,
Could but my *Lewis* like thy *William* reign,
Contract his Wishes, and withdraw his Claim
To *universal Empire*, and to *Fame*,
No Prince more envied could adorn a Crown,
Or have more fair Pretensions to Renown.
How would my Sons within these Walls appear,
And Gladness be successive to their Fear;
If Trade could once return into the *Seine*,
Or *Thames* his Riches be exchange'd for mine?

L O N D O N.

Please not thyself with vain delusive Schemes,
Nor feed my willing Hopes with empty Dreams;
Who can expect such welcome Joys to share,
When Monarchs fatten on the Spoils of War?
When *in thy Courts no Treaties are of Force*,
And *solemn Leagues* are render'd void of Course;
When Trade's deny'd us that's to others free,
And we must lose th'Advantage of the Sea;
As Edicts break through the most sacred Ties,
And Oaths are trivial Things in Royal Eyes;
As Perjury's an Act of *special Grace*,
And *James the Third* has *James the Second's* Place*,
For *England's* King, within thy Borders own'd,
Though *England* has another Prince *enthron'd*,
Whose lawful Title *France* would ne'er oppose,
Did she regard the Peace, beyond my Foes.

P A R I S.

What has my Prince against his Treaties done?
He kept the *Father*, and maintains the *Son*.

* As soon as King *James the Second* died at *St. Germain's*, *Lewis*, the King of *France*, ordered *James's* pretended Son to be proclaimed King of *Great Britain*, by the Title of *James the Third*.

Nor Arms, nor Force, nor Treasure doth he lend,
 Just only to the Word he gave his Friend*,
 Whose dying Breath bequeath'd him to his Care,
 He seeks no Kingdoms, though he's own'd their Heir.
 Titles are empty Sounds, and cannot break
 Treaties, unless he arms for Titles Sake;
 Asserts his Right, and vindicates his Claim,
 Beyond a specious Compliment of Name.
 That's all he gives him, and that Gift's no more,
 Than what the *Father* was allow'd before;
 And since that Recognition broke no Vow,
 Why is it styl'd the Cause of Rupture now?
 As for your Commerce, and Decrease of Trade,
 Ev'n thank your *Senate* † for the Laws they've made;
 Their Votes occasion what my Prince enjoins;
 We tax your *Products*, 'cause you tax our *Wines*;
 Else had your Merchants traffick'd on my Coast,
 And both our Nations gain'd what both have lost:
 Yet may we still those mutual Joys restore,
 And Plenty spread its Wings on either Shore,
 Would but your Sons e'en now with mine agree,
 And what I'd suffer them they suffer me.

L O N D O N.

Think not of Peace, nor, with expecting Eyes,
 Hope for the Goddess that my Courtship flies,
 Long she can ne'er within thy Walls abide,
 While Men for *private Ends* the Publick guide;
 While *Modern Whigs* are in my Courts receiv'd,
 And those are trusted who the Nation griev'd;
 While O——d still enjoys his Master's Smiles,
 Like Beast of Prey escap'd from Hunter's Toils;
 While serious S——, sprung from a Saint-like Race,
 Advises War with a *religious* Grace,
 To hide the *Irreligion* of his Place;
 And H—— puff'd up with Pride and Praise,
 For making Use of *others* Means and Ways,
 Looks big and pow'rful at the Council-board,
 Rais'd from a *Party Poet* to a Lord.
 War is their *Theme*, though *Peace* is their *Delight*;
 Would Peace with-hold their Crimes from publick Sight,
 And suffer *Wrong* to take the Place of *Right*.
 Thus Pilf'ers pass with undistinguish'd Names,
 And fish for others Goods amidst the Flames,
 While the poor Sufferers their Engines turns
 To quench the Fire that in their Houses burn.
 All Hands are busied to direct its Course,
 And Houses are blown up to stop its Force,
 When, at the last, impoverish'd by their Stealth,
 They save their *Dwellings*, but they lose their *Wealth*.

* He promised this to *James the Second*, upon his Death-bed.

† Parliament.

P A R I S.

I see too plainly that your Thoughts are true,
 And our old Enmities break out a-new;
 Like Wounds skinn'd o'er, a-fresh they rage and bleed,
 And the most skilful Artists Councils need,
 Who timely can the Patients Lives insure,
 And by Incision make a perfect Cure.
 Since War's the gen'ral Cry, let War be chose,
 My Sons were never us'd to fly their Foes;
 Fearless in Fight, they cannot Fights refuse,
 And us'd to gain, they know not how to lose;
 Witness when *Europe* all contending strove,
 Like Giants in a League to conquer *Jove*.
 Troops join with Troops, and States with States combin'd,
 To bring down *Lewis* his exalted Mind;
 When ev'ry Nation found it to its Cost,
 That in ten Years he ne'er one Battle lost.
 The same Success will still his Arms attend,
 And Fortune must of Course be now his Friend,
 Since Kingdoms, when divided, needs must fall,
 And he must conquer Part that conquer'd *All*.
 Go ——— let your Prince recal his Subjects hence,
 And *M——* shew *Manners* like his *Sense*,
 Let *Poussin* * be return'd us back again,
 With all the Marks of Hate, and cold Disdain;
 The Times may come, you may this Action rue,
 And wish for Peace with me, as I with you,
 Since *Wounds* and *Death* are still the *Gains of War*,
 And you can be at last but what you are.

L O N D O N.

To be but what he *is*, is all the Claim,
 My Prince does make from Empire and from Fame;
 Grief swells his Breast to think of Subjects Wounds,
 But *France* must be with-held within its Bounds,
 And her *false King*, who thinks no Crimes amiss,
 Be made what he *is not* from what he *is*.
 Look on thy Sons, so daring and so brave,
 And see th' † *Italians* climb once more their Grave:
 Thro' Rocks of Stone the *German* Passage makes,
 Levels the Mountains, and dries up the Lakes;
 From Hill to Hill the pond'rous Cannon flings,
 And climbs imperious Cliffs with Eagle's Wings.
 As *Eugene* acts the ‡ *Carthagin'an's* Part,
 Shewing much more of Industry and Art,

* The French Ambassador.

† As before at the Battle of *Pavia*, where *Francis the First* was taken Prisoner.

‡ *Hannibal*, that melted the *Alps* with Vinegar, according to *Livy's* Account.

And

And cuts out Roads, where Nature did intend
 Nothing, almost, like human should ascend;
 While adverse Troops, astonish'd at the Sight,
 Leave Floods unguarded to avoid the Fight.
 These are the Champions which thy Cause maintain,
 And vindicate a base inglor'ous Reign,
 That plead Prescription from their Father's Pride,
 To lord it over all the World beside.
 Nothing, like this, is by my Prince * design'd,
Just are his Thoughts, and right'ous is his Mind;
 He fears no Danger, and he seeks no War,
 Tho' it appears to gather from a-far:
 Fleets he provides, and Armies he prepares,
 To calm our Troubles, and remove our Fears,
Grant, that he ne'er increase his large Demains,
 And by his Conquest no new Kingdoms gains,
 That Mexico, tho' sav'd from Gallick Hands,
 Be none of his, nor rich Peruv'an Lands,
 Ease and Content would fill the Monarch's Breast,
 Were not his Rival † of their Wealth possess:
 So the fierce Bull that has in Battle strove
 For the Reward of Empire, and of Love,
 Weary'd with Fight, his Head declining lays,
 Joyful to see the Prize at Distance graze,
 While his tir'd Foe alike contented lies,
 And views, what he can't seize, with longing Eyes,
 Paid fully for the Dangers he has run,
 Since neither does possess what neither won.

* The King of Great Britain.

† France and Spain.

The Curates Conference: Or, a Discourse betwixt two Scholars;
 both of them relating their hard Condition, and consulting
 which Way to mend it.

Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis.

[From a Quarto, containing thirteen Pages, printed in the
 Year 1641.]

Master Poorest.
 W ELL met, good Master Needham.
 Master Needham.
 I am heartily glad to see you
 here, how have you canvass'd the
 Course of the World this many a Day, good
 Master Poorest.

Mr. P. Good Sir, take the Pains as to walk
 into St. Paul's Church, and we will confer a
 little before Sermon begins.

Mr. N. With all my Heart, for I must not
 so suddenly leave your Company, having not
 enjoyed your Society this long Time.

Mr.

Mr. P. Good Sir, tell me, are you resident in *Cambridge*, in the College still; I make no Question but the University, and your Merits, have preferred you to some good Fellowship, Parsonage, or the like good Fortune.

Mr. N. Alas! good Master *Poorest*, this is not an Age for to bestow Livings and Preferments freely; it is now, as it was said long ago: *Si nihil attuleris, ibis, Homere, foras*. I tell you, it is a Pity to see, how Juniors and Dunces take Possession of Colleges; and Scholarships and Fellowships are bought and sold, as Horses in *Smithfield*. But I hope you are grown fat in the Country, for there is not such Corruption there, as there is among the *Muses*.

Mr. P. I will deal plainly with you, I staid in the University of *Oxford*, till I was forced to leave it for Want of Subsistence. I stood for three or four several Scholarships, and, though I was found upon Examination sufficient, yet I do seriously protest, that one Time I was prevented by half a *Buck*, and some good *Wine*, that was sent up, to make the Fellows merry; and, another Time, a great *Lady's Letter* prevailed against all Ability of Parts, and Endowments whatsoever; a third Time, the Warden of the College had a poor *Kinsman*, and so he got the major Part of the Fellows on his Side, for Fear, and Flattery, that there were no Hopes to swim against so great a Stream; and so I was forced to retreat into the Country, and there turn first an *Usher*, and at last was made *Curate*, under a great *Prebend*, and a double-beneficed rich Man, where I found Promises beyond Performances; for my Salary was inferior by much to his *Cook*, or his *Coachman*, nay, his *Barber* had double my Stipend; for I was allowed but eight Pounds *per Annum*, and get my own Victuals, Cloaths, and Books as I could; and when I told him the Means were too little, he said that, if I would not, he could have his *Cure* supplied by another, rather for less than what I had; and so I was yoked to a small Pittance, for the Space of twelve Years.

Mr. N. Is it possible there should be such a Concurrence of hard Fortunes? It was no otherwise in our * University, when I stood for Preferment; for, at first, a Lawyer's Son had the Scholarship, because his Father had done some Business for the College at Common Law; and a Doctor of Physick's Son was preferred in my Place to a Fellowship, because his Father had

cured the Master's Wife of a Tympany; and so, finding all Hopes gone there, I went Home to my Friends, and, within a While after, I was made a Minister, and served a Cure.

Mr. P. Where, I pray you, is your Charge?

Mr. N. It is in a little poor Parish, hard by *Pinchback* in *Lincolnshire*, where the Churchwarden is scarce able to give the Minister more than a Barley Bag-pudding to his Sunday's Dinner. Where are you placed?

Mr. P. I serve a Cure hard by *Hungerford* in *Wiltshire*; where my Allowance is so short, that, was it not more for Conscience to be in this my Calling, I had rather be a Cobler, and fit and mend old Shoes.

Mr. N. I protest, I think we Curates are worse dealt withal by the rich double-beneficed Men, than the Children of *Israel* were by the *Ægyptians*; for, though they made them work hard, yet they allowed them *Straw*, and other Materials, and good *Viſtals*; for they longed after the *Flesh-pots* of *Ægypt*, which proves they had them a long Time; but we are forced to work, and yet can get nothing; and yet these should be either *Fathers* or *Brethren* to us, but they were Enemies to them; and yet they dealt better with them, than these do with us.

Mr. P. They deal as bad with us, as they do with their Flocks, I mean their *Parishioners*, for they starve their Souls, and pinch our Bodies.

Mr. N. I wonder how these *Lip-parsons* would do, should there be but once a general Consent of all the Curates to forbear to preach or read Prayers but for one three Weeks, or a Month only, how they would be forced to ride for it, and yet all in vain; for how can one Person supply two Places at one Time, twenty Miles Distance?

Mr. P. By my Consent they should have, for every Benefice, a *Wife*; they should have Variety of Pleasure, as well as of Profit; but, withal, I think that Course would quickly weary their Bodies and Purſes too.

Mr. N. Wives! oh strange! no I would not live to see that Day, for, if they be so fearfully covetous, having but one, I wonder what they would be, having so many.

Mr. P. Oh, Sir, I tell you, they might by this Course in Time stand in no Need of Curates, nor Clarks neither; for, if they could speak as much in the Church as at Home, they

* Cambridge.

might serve the Turn; and they are all Masters of Art, to gather up the *small Tithes* and *Easter-book*, as well as the Clark.

Mr. N. Nay, now since we are fallen upon it, I will tell you, our Parson hath a Living in *London*, as well as here, and his Wife is so *miserably proud*, that both Livings will scarce suffice to maintain her; infomuch that she takes out of the *Curates Wages*, as, *half* of every Funeral Sermon, and out of all Burials, Churchings, Weddings, Christenings, &c. she hath *half* Duties, to buy *Lace, Pins, Gloves, Fans, Black-bags, Sattin Petticoats*, &c. and towards the Maintenance of a *puny Servitor* to go before her; nay, she pays half towards the Maintenance of a Coach, which she either gets from her Husband, or else from the Curate, by subtracting his Allowance at the quarter-day; and, what is more, she made her Curate in *London* to enter into Bond privately to her Husband, to leave the Place at half a Year's Warning; or else her Husband, the Parson of the Place, would not have granted him a License for the Place.

Mr. P. Oh strange! is it possible, that this old remainder of Popery should be yet upheld by our Clergy, to have such Pope *Joans* to rule the Church. I have heard say, there are three Places in which a Woman never should bear any Sway; the Buttery, the Kitchen, and the Church; for Women are too covetous by Nature to keep a good House; and too foolish to rule a Church.

Mr. N. Alas! Master *Needham*, there is a Necessity in this, for I think our Parson hath scarce Wit enough to do it; and though he had, yet his Wife's Tongue would put him out of his Wits, if he should not let her have her Will.

Mr. P. What care I how she punished him, so that she did not intrench upon our Liberties; but, alas! she breaks her Husband's Back, and pinches our Bellies.

Mr. N. Such a Piece of Correction hath our Parson too; for I bought one new Cloke * in six Years, and that Money too was given me in *Legacy* by a good Parishioner; and she, oh how she envied my Felicity, and informed her Husband, that I waxed proud; and advised him to get another in my Place.

Mr. P. Is it possible! and yet our She-Regent is not unlike her; for she frets fearfully to

hear that a worthy Gentleman, who lives in the Parish, loves me so much; it gauls her to the Quick, if the Parishioners, out of their Loves, gives me any thing to mend my Salary; oh she thinks all is lost that goes beside her Hands!

Mr. N. Well, but what does your great Parson with all his Wealth? Does he keep good Hospitality? Or is he charitable to the Poor, what's his Name? Dr. *Proud*.

Mr. P. Alas nothing less; he weareth Cassocks of Damask, and Plush, good Beavers, and silk Stockings; can play well at Tables, or Gleeck, can hunt well, and bowl very skilfully; is deeply experienced in racy Canary, and can relish a Cup of right Claret; and so passeth the Time away: What is your great Overseer's † Name.

Mr. N. Dr. *Harding*. What Goodness lodgeth in his Corpse?

Mr. P. Little or none, he is worse than yours; for he never comes to visit his Parish, but, Horse-leech like, he sucks them; he loves Preying better than Praying, and forces his Parish to Humility, by oppressing them; he was a main Projector for two Shillings and nine Pence in the Pound, and looks like a Piece of reeved Bacon, ever since the Plot failed; he is tormented with the yellow Jaundice, and a wanton Wife, which, like two incarnate Devils, will force him to believe a Hell before he comes thither.

Mr. N. It is no great Matter; it is but just that he, that torments others, should taste the same Sauce himself.

Mr. P. I will tell you what his Custom is, when he comes amongst us; he neither prays, nor preaches; the one I think he will not, the other I fear he cannot perform.

Mr. N. Oh strange! how came he then by such Livings?

Mr. P. Easily enough, for it is Money that makes the Parson's Horse to go now a-days †, for they may say to Parsons, as it hath been of old said of Books, *Quanti emisti hunc?*

Mr. N. I will assure you, I am afraid he is discontented at our Church-government, as well as many other great Parsons; for they force and strictly enjoin their Curates to read *all* Divine Service, which they never do themselves.

Mr. P. It is a strange World, that they should flourish and flow in Wealth for doing nothing,

* Gown.
set to Sale.

† Rector.

‡ These certainly were sad Days, when the Word of God was

and the poor Curates, that do all, can get nothing; I will tell you truly, he has not given his Parish a Sermon these three Quarters of a Year.

Mr. N. I wonder how they can answer the Canon, which enjoins them to preach once a Month.

Mr. P. Pish, what do you talk to them of the Canons; they, who can make new ones, think they may slight the old ones; their Canons are like those Laws which caught Flies, but could not hold Hornets or great Bees; they are the Curates, who are set to be *Cannoni-ers*; these endure the Heat of the Day, of this once or twice a-day Preaching; alas! they say, as the Priests did once to Judas, *What is that to us? See you to that.*

Mr. N. You speak Truth, and I will maintain it, that our Doctor differs not much from the Weathercock on the Church Steeple; for as it is placed highest, says nothing, is sounding Brass, or some such Metal, and turns as the Wind; so he rules all the Parish, seldom preaches, is void of Charity, and turns in his Courses every Time; for sometimes he is all for Ceremony, sometimes indifferent, sometimes against them; he hath made a terrible Combustion, where and how to place the *Lord's Table*; it stood in the Church, anon it must be advanced into the Quire; then it must be East and West, and presently after North and South, covered, uncovered, railed, without Rails, of this Fashion, of that, of this Wood, of another; nay, he himself, who was the first that altered it, hath now, within this Month or two, altered his Opinion, and placed it again in the Body of the Church: Oh fine Weathercock!

Mr. P. Oh lamentable! that Curates should be Shadows to such empty Shells; but our great Doctor is of another Strain; he cares not much, I think, whether there was any *Table* or *Communion* at all, so that he may receive his *Tithes*; it is not so much to him whether it be an *Altar*, or a *Table*, so that he can get the Gold that comes from it; he is so taken with Covetousness, that, so he may get Money, what cares he for either Preaching or Praying? I tell you, he threatened a poor Widow, to put her into the Court; because (as he was told) she had thirteen Eggs in a Nest, and yet gave him but one for *Tithe*.

Mr. N. Well, our Master is as full of Law, as yours can be of Covetousness; he threatened one of his Parishioners for Sneezing in Prayer-time, because he hindered his Devotion; nay, he made one jaunt it up a Foot into the Arches * fourscore Miles, because he desired to receive the Communion in his Seat; nay, I protest, that the Parishioners, when they hear he is going away, do usually make him some Feast, but it is for Joy, that they shall be rid of him till next Summer.

Mr. P. What is yours a good able Scholar?

Mr. N. Yes, he is Scholar good enough, but *he preaches Christ out of Contention.*

Mr. P. That is something yet, but, alas! our Parson is as bad as one of *Saunderson's* Doctors; for he was made Doctor † in *Scotland*, when our King was there: I will warrant you, that he knows not whether *St. Ambrose* was a *Greek* or a *Latin* Rather.

Mr. N. Oh miserable!

Mr. P. Nay, he holds *Greek* for *Heathenish*, and *Hebrew* for *Jewish* Languages, and *Latin* he says is the Language of *Rome*, and so holds Ignorance best in these; he scarce knows the Difference betwixt *Annus* ‡ and *Annas* ||, or betwixt *Anus* ** or *Anas* ††: I have heard him read *Opa. tenabr.* for *Opera tenebrarum*, because they were cut a little short, and said the Printers deserved to be punished for Curtailing *Latin*: I heard him also decline *Senex* for an old Man, *Genetivo Senecis* |||, and was confident that he was right too.

Mr. N. Oh! such Doctors had need to pray, that Popery may come in again, for then it was well when the Priest could read *Latin*, whether it was right or wrong.

Mr. P. And yet he is laden with no less than a good *Parsonage*, a great *Vicarage*, two *Prebendships*, and another Place worth fourscore Pounds by the Year; it is impossible sure for him to preach, for telling his Money.

Mr. N. Any of those Places would suffice you, or myself, but, alas! *Wishes* and *Woulders*, you know how the Proverb runs; these *Optative* Moods are meerly poor and beggarly.

Mr. P. I deal plainly with you, I was offered a Place in the City of *London*, but the Name of it frightened me; it was at *St. Peter's-Poor* §, and, I thought, I had enough of Poverty already, and so I refused it.

* The Archbishop's Court.
† Without doing a proper and regular Exercise before the University, for his Degree.

** An old Woman.

‡ A Year.

†† A Duck or Drake.

|| The Father of *Caiaphas* the High Priest.

||| Instead of *Senis*.

§ In *Broadstreet*.

Mr. N.

Mr. N. Just so was I offered to serve a Cure more North by far than this is, but the Name of it startled me, and turned aside all Resolution towards it; for it was at a Place called *Sterveling* in *Cumberland*.

Mr. P. Nay, I will tell you more, Master *Needham*; I thought to have gone up to *London*, had not our Doctor's Curate there, one Master *Hand-little*, told me plainly, that most Curates in *London* lived upon Citizens Trenchers; and, were it not that they were pitiful and charitable to them, there was no Possibility of Subsistence; and that, of late, it went harder with them, than before; for, ever since the Parsons have so enhanced their Revenues, the Citizens have mainly withdrawn their Purse, so that now the Curate must live upon his set Pittance, or else starve.

Mr. N. Well, Master *Poorest*, I do not intend to stay longer in the Country, for I will wait here in Town upon Hopes a-While.

Mr. P. Do as you please, but you will find the old Proverb true, *London Lick-penny*.

Mr. N. I am resolved upon it, though I go to the Three-penny Ordinary; my Reason is, I do hear say, that there are great Store of Clarks Places about *London*, that are good Allowances for Scholars, some worth Two-hundred Pounds and upwards *per Annum*; I know some of the *Parish Clarks* are worth seven or eight thousand Pounds; oh their Fees come in sleeping or waking; what think you of the Plot?

Mr. P. I marry, such Places are worth the While, but how should one catch them?

Mr. N. I will assure you, it is a Shame, that such *Mechanicks* should live in such State as they do; many of them are as greedy of Funerals, as Vultures of dead Carcases; and they are most of them in an ill Name, for Exacting most grossly in their Fees; hence it is that some of them rule the whole Parish, and Parson, and all; you shall see them, upon Festival-Days, as well clothed as the chiefest Citizens; their fingers as full of Rings of Gold, as an old *Alewife*, that has buried four or five Husbands; and their Necks set as big with a curious Ruff, as any the proudest *Dons* in *Spain*; oh what pure rich *Night-caps* they wear, and good Beavers! besides all this, they can have their Meetings usually in *Taverns* of three or four Pounds a Sitting, when poor *Curates* must not look into a *Red Lettice*, under Fear of a general Censure.

Mr. P. Oh strange! I think it was well if *Curates* could turn *Parish Clarks*; if it be as you say, it is the better Course by far.

Mr. N. Come, come, I tell you, we are bound to look out for ourselves, and I know no more safer Course than this, for most of the *Clarks* have *Trades* to live upon beside; but I hope their Charter will fail, and then others may come into their Places.

Mr. P. What say you, Master *Needham*, how strong are you, will you go and shew me that pretty *Banqueting-house* for Curates, I mean the *Three-penny Ordinary*, for I can go no higher?

Mr. N. I, I, with all my Heart, for I am almost at the same Ebb; but let us hope better; Things will not always ride in this Rack.

Mr. P. Sir, I conceive plainly, that we *Curates* are but as the *Stalking-horses* to the *Clarks*, for they get Wealth by our Labours.

Mr. N. Are you advised of that? You would say so indeed, should you but see some of their Bills, so much for *Burials*, so much for the *Knell*, so much for the *Grave*; for the Corpse more, if *coffined*; more yet, if in *such a Church-yard*; more than that, if in *the Church*; higher yet, if it be in the *Chancel*; beyond all these, if buried with *Torches*, and *Sermon*, and *Mourning* with *Attendance*; but it is put upon the *highest Strain*, if it be a *Stranger*. Besides, for Marriages by *Banes*, or by *License*, for making the *Certificate*; so for *Churchings*, and divers other Ways, and *nothing* to the *Curate* all this While.

Mr. P. Well, I conceive it more than ever I did; but now let us leave off Discourse, and fall to our Commons. What a pretty *Modicum* I have here? Sure this Ordinary-keeper has been some Cook or Scullion in a College: How dextrously the Fellow plays the *Logician*, in *dividing* the Meat? It is an excellent Place sure, to learn Abstinence by; I promise you, I will visit this House, as my Stock holds out. It is just one Degree above Dining with Duke *Humphry*, it is as good as a Preservative against Surfeits.

Mr. N. Oh, good Brother, it is as fine a Refreshment as may be; I hold it wonderful good, for here a Man shall be sure to rise from his Meat, as many others use to sit down to it, with a Stomach.

Mr. P. I will tell you one Thing, which I had almost forgotten, I was offered the other Day to go a Voyage to the *East-Indies*, to be Preacher in a Ship.

Mr. N.

Mr. N. Excellent well, oh refuse it not; it is far beyond living a-shore, for ten Pounds *per Annum*; I know you will find brave worthy Merchants, you cannot want, if you undertake it.

Mr. P. I promise you, I had determined to have gone in one of his Majesty's Ships, upon our narrow Seas; but, if the Voyage be so good, I will away (God willing) next Spring.

Mr. N. I will tell you what I intend, if I miss of Hopes this Way here, to solicit to be a Preacher to a Regiment of Soldiers, if there

be any Service this next Summer; for we cannot be lower than now we are; I would have given you, Master *Poorest*, one Pint of Wine, but *Ultra posse non est esse* *, as you know.

Mr. P. I am as willing to have done the like to yourself, not having seen you so long since, but my Purse denies Ability.

Mr. N. I must be gone at One of the Clock, to meet with a Gentleman of the Inns of Court; well, good Brother, God bless us both, and send us better Times, and a happy Meeting. *Farewel.*

* Or, No one can go beyond his Ability.

Proposals for the Reformation of Schools and Universities, in order to the better Education of Youth; humbly offered to the serious Consideration of the High Court of Parliament.

[From a *Quarto*, containing nine Pages, printed in 1704.]

*These Proposals were calculated for the Reformation of Learning in North-Britain, and though the Individuals, contained in them, are peculiar to Scotland, yet the Substance of the Whole, mutatis mutandis, may not be properly applied to that Part of the Realm, which lies South of the Tweed, where the same Objections are as forcible against Schools and Schoolmasters; the Aspiring of poor and mechanical Spirits to the Ministerial Office, and the Admission into holy Orders of those, who either have never been initiated with the advanced Studies of an University, or, perchance, on Account of their Poverty, have been permitted, after a very short Stay at those Fountains of Learning, to return Home, and seek after a Title to Orders, that they may get a Morfel of Bread *. Tho' it must be confessed, that no Nation has produced more learned and pious Divines, than the two famous Universities of England. But it is wished, that a Method could be found to prevent so many Extra-university Men, who, without due Education, creep into the Ministry for a Maintenance; and to reform the extraordinary Expences, that are squandered away in the Excesses of our young Gentlemen, in the great Schools and Universities of this Nation.*

THere has been a great Decay of Learning in this Kingdom for many Years: For Instance, where we have now one, who can write one single Sheet, an hundred Years ago we had twenty, who could have written Vo-

lumes in good Sense, and good *Latin*. And though the Causes of the low Ebb, Learning has sunk to among us, are very obvious, yet I must confess, it is no easy Matter to put a Stop to the growing Evil. It is hard to make a Scheme of Education which will generally

* See 1 Sam. ii. 36.

please, and harder still to put it in Execution; it is difficult to alter an old Constitution, though full of Errors; and more difficult, in our Circumstances, to establish a new one, though ever so just and reasonable. We have been too long pursuing the wrong Road, to be set easily right. We neither take just Measures, nor allow sufficient Time for the Education of our Youth. However, since the Encouragement and Improvement of Learning is certainly so much for the true Interest of the Nation, I shall adventure to tell my Opinion frankly, and shall be heartily glad, if it can be found of any Use or Service; at least, I hope it shall excite others of greater Ability, to make farther Inquiries into these Matters, such as may convince the Parliament of the *Necessity* of Reforming our *Schools and Universities*, for the Good and Benefit of Learning.

One main Cause of the low Estate of Learning is, That *it is too easily and cheaply purchased*; one can make his Son, what now with us passes for a *Scholar*, at a much cheaper Rate, than he can breed him a *Shoe-maker* or *Weaver*. For a short Time at the Schools, and three or four Years at the Universities, upon little or no Expence, in our Way, is enough to make a *Master of Arts*, who immediately gets into the most considerable Employments, which require the longest Study and best Qualifications, before he have Years, Sense, Prudence or Learning: Upon which Account, the Mechanicks, and poorer Sort of People, are encouraged to send their Sons to Schools and Universities, finding a very little Money, and as little Time, sufficient to make what we call a Scholar. But, in my Opinion, were these put to the Plough and other Trades, it would be better for themselves (who would be kept within their proper Spheres) and more for the Interest of the Nation, which is overstocked with Scholars, and in extreme Want of People, for *Mechanical* Employments: This is one great Cause of the low Condition of Learning. People, who are daily pinched for the Back and the Belly, cannot bestow much Time upon the Improvement of their Minds, their Spirits are depressed under their Poverty; they have not Money to afford them Books, or to bring them into the Conversation of the World: And how, without these, a Man can become a good Scholar, passes my Comprehension.

But it may be said, by debarring the poorer Sort from Learning, some good Spirits may be

excluded; which as it is the only Objection, so it is as easily removed.

We have as much Use for good Spirits, to be employed in Mechanical Trades and Merchandising, as for Learning; and by admitting one, upon the Pretence of good Spirit, we certainly must take in an Hundred of low and dull Capacities. And let their Genius be as good as you please, unless you give them Money too, they will never be able to make any tolerable Advance in Learning; and, by the following Scheme for rectifying our Bursaries, a Competency is provided for them, as far as the Funds will go.

Another great Cause of the Decay of Learning is, *the bad Methods, which are followed in our Schools and Universities, and the Insufficiency of the Masters, who are provided for the Government of them*. There are in the Kingdom near One-thousand Parishes, and in most of them, *Latin* is pretended to be taught, though not one of Fifty of the School-masters is capable of teaching it; and no Wonder, for not one of Fifty of them was tolerably taught it, and not one of an Hundred, however capable, has Books to enable him to acquire it by his after Industry. At the Universities, we bestow a *few Months*, upon the Study of the *Greek*; whereas that noble Language, and the learned and useful Books, which are written in it, may perhaps deserve our Care and Pains for as many Years. We allow too much Time upon old antiquated *Metaphysical* Jargon: And as for *Natural Philosophy*, which, in this and the last Age, has been so happily brought, from an idle Prattling about Words of no Signification, to a solid Science; it requires such a deep Insight into the most profound Parts of the *Mathematicks*, that I am afraid few of those, who profess it, are capable of teaching it. We get too hastily through our Divinity. History, Law, and Medicine we have none.

The Cheapness of Learning brings it into the Hands of the poorer and meaner People: Their Poverty, the wrong Methods which are taken in Teaching, and the Insufficiency of the Teachers, unavoidably subject them to the greatest Ignorance. And both together, the Ignorance and the Poverty of our Scholars, infallibly bring Learning itself under Disgrace and Contempt. Poverty deprives them, as of a great many other Advantages, so particularly of that due Assurance, that Address and that Freedom of Spirit, which are so natural to Quality and Gentry. Nay sometimes under difficult

cult Circumstances, to prevent Starving, it forces them upon Courses unworthy of their Professions, to the no small Scandal of others who should be led by their Examples. And in one Word, the natural Tendency of our present Methods is to unfit a Scholar for a Gentleman, and to render a Gentleman ashamed of being a Scholar. And, till we reconcile the Gentleman with the Scholar, it is impossible Learning should ever flourish. But was this once done, was Learning taken out of the Hands of the Vulgar, and brought to be as honourable and fashionable among the Gentry, as it is now contemptible, I think it would be indeed in a fair Way of prospering. For were the younger Sons of the Nobility and Gentry (who now are idle at home, or sent Abroad to be knocked on the Head) kept the due Time at Schools and Universities, they being encouraged with all Things proper for Studying, and having their Time in their own Hands for Reading, and not being forced, out of pure Necessity, to enter too soon on Business, would in all Probability make considerable Advances in Learning. And when possessed of Employments, Gentlemen would be as tender of their Character, as they are of their Honour; besides, that, being generally able to live without them, they would not lie under such Temptations as poorer People do. This, as it would considerably add to the Honour of Learning, and Interest of the Nation, in General, so it would be no dishonourable Way to dispose of the younger Sons of the Nobility and Gentry. For, besides what Encouragement they might expect from the Study of the Laws and of Medicine, there are in the Kingdom at least an hundred Places in the Church and Universities which yield Two-thousand Marks yearly, and few of the other Church Benefices are under One-thousand. Now in my humble Opinion, the younger Sons of even the best Families, especially when not sufficiently provided for, might be as wisely and honourably disposed of this Way, as by being kept idle at Home, or sent off to be Soldiers Abroad. It is plain to dispose of them so would put them in a Way of being more serviceable to God, their Country, and their Kindred, than commonly they are. And, were Matters ordered after this Manner, it is probable the Church Government would not be so ambulatory as it has hitherto been in this Kingdom, since the Nobility and Gentry, of whom the Parliaments are made up, would not readily make

Acts, which should oblige them to take back their Brothers and Sons to their Houses. And Nothing could contribute more to the Quiet and Peace of the Nation, than that the Government of the Church was at last effectually secured against so frequent Changes.

Now, that so good a Design may take Effect, it is necessary to raise the Price of Learning, so as to discourage the poorer Sort from Attempting it, that those only, whose Circumstances enable them to make successful Advances in Learning, may have Access to it. To make Learning dearer, the Number of the Schools, at least, must be diminished, and the Masters Salaries and Fees augmented. And the Time and Methods of Teaching in Schools and Universities should be regulated according to the following, or some such like Scheme.

I think there should be *only one* Grammar-School in a County or Shire, *two at most* in the largest, and where two lesser lie together, one may serve for both. These Schools ought to be well endowed, and some of the best Men of the Nation for Prudence and Learning, provided to be Masters and Ushers. A Master and four Doctors or Ushers, at least, will be necessary for every School. And besides those publick Schools, at all the Country Churches, I would have the Precentor of the Parish (who needs not to be a Master of Arts) to teach the Children to read and write *English*, and the common Rules of *Arithmetick*, which is all the Learning that is needful or useful to the *Mechanicks* and poorer People. But it may be enquired, Where shall Funds be had for maintaining those Schools? I answer, That is not my Business, let the Wisdom of the Nation consider it: But perhaps, it would be no difficult Task to find out Funds, if some People would apply themselves a little that Way. There are, for Example, in the Shire of *Fife*, about eighty Parishes, and every Parish has a Salary, one with another, above One-hundred Pounds *Scots* a Year for a School-master: Now, take the one Half of this Salary, and give to the Teacher of the *English* Language; this with the Advantage of his Scholars, and his Emolument as Precentor and Session-Clerk, may make him live pretty well; for he has no great Character to maintain. Apply the other Half for the publick Grammar-Schools; this will maintain two, being Six-thousand Marks a Year; to wit, the Master of each School should have One thousand Marks, and four Doctors, each of them, Five-hundred Marks Salary a Year;

Year; which, with the Benefit of their Scholars (for, because I would have Learning dear, I would have the Scholars pay *much more liberally* than they commonly do) would be a very comfortable and handsome Provision for both Masters and Ushers.

My designed Brevity will not allow me to be very particular in Naming all the Books that should be taught in Schools. I shall only say in General, they ought to teach some *plain* and *short* Grammar in *English* Prose; thus they will bestow less Time on Grammar, and have more to employ in Reading Authors; some of which they should read, not by Shreds, as is commonly done, but from Beginning to Ending, such as *Juſtin's* History, *Florus's* Epitome, *Cornelius's* *Nepos's* Lives, *Saluſt*, *Curtius*, *Terence*, *Ovid's* *Metamorphoſis*, as being the compleateſt System of the *Heatheniſh* Mythology, &c. Some Odes, Satyres, and Epiſtles of *Horace* may be taught, and ſome particular Places of *Virgil*, and other Poets, at the Maſter's Diſcretion. And perhaps it may be very convenient, if not neceſſary, that Boys, while at School, be taught the Rudiments of *Geography* and *Chronology*, ſo far as they are capable, that they may read their Authors to the beſt Advantage. The laſt Year they are at School (for I would have them, at leaſt fourteen Years of Age before they leave it) they ought to learn the *Greek* Grammar, and ſome eaſy *Greek* Authors, ſuch as *Æſop's* Fables, *Lucian's* ſelect Dialogues, *Herodian*, &c. and ſo we bring them to the Univerſity.

At the Univerſity, the Youth muſt be obliged to ſtay *ſix* Years, paſſing *regularly* through all the Clafſes, before they can be made *Maſters of Arts*. For Examinations and Trials, how rigorouſly ſoever deſigned, may be abuſed and ſhammed: But a long Time, and due Exerciſes performed, is the beſt and moſt probable Way to make good Scholars. In *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, which are famous Univerſities for Learning all the World over, none can be made *Maſter of Arts*, until he ſtay *ſeven* Years; none *Doctor of Medicine* or *Law*, till he ſtay *fourteen*; and none *Doctor of Divinity*, till he has been *eighteen* Years about the Univerſity: Yet after all, according to this Calculation, our young Men may commence Maſter of Arts in the twentieth, or twenty-fiſt Year of their Age, which I ſuppoſe every Body will think ſoon enough.

In my Opinion, two Univerſities are enough for this Nation *, for there are no more in *England*. But ſince we are to ingraft on an old Stock, we can only conveniently *reform*, not *abolish* any of our Univerſities. As I ſaid, the Students ought to ſtay *ſix* Years at the Univerſity, and *three* of theſe Years ſhould be employed in Reading *Greek* and *Latin* jointly: Such of the *Latin* and *Greek* Hiſtorians and Orators as they have not read at School, with the *Art of Rhetorick*, will be Employment enough for *two* Years. The *Poets*, with the *Art of Poetry*, may furniſh more than enough for the *Third*.

Though one cannot find any great Difficulty, in chuſing the fitteſt Authors that are to be taught; yet, for preventing all poſſible Miſtakes, and preſerving *Uniformity*, in all the Colleges within the Kingdom, it is highly convenient, that ſome Perſons of good Reputation for Learning, and who underſtand the Conſtitutions and Cuſtoms of foreign Univerſities, ſhould be appointed to meet, and particularly determine what Books, and in what Order, they are to be read.

Perhaps it might be proper to read together *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, who write on the ſame or the like Subject: For Example, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, and the three firſt Books of *Livy*, the third Book of *Polybius*, and the twenty-fiſt of *Livy*, *Appianus Alexandrinus*, and *Cæſar de Bello Civili*; the Orations of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, the Paſtorals of *Theocritus* and *Virgil*, *Hefiod* and *Virgil's* *Georgicks*, *Homer's* *Ilias* and *Virgil's* *Æneis*, *Pindar* and *Horace*, &c.

A great many of the beſt *modern* Books of all Sorts, and on all Subjects, being written in the Stile of the modern Schools; it would ſeem neceſſary, that ſhort Compendſ of *Logicks*, *Ethicks*, and *Metaphyſicks* ſhould be printed and taught in the *fourth* Year. The Profeſſor may likewise recommend as a private Taſk *Ariſtotle's* *Ethicks* and *Politicks*; ſome ſelect Dialogues of *Plato*, *Xenophon's* *Apomemoneumata*, ſome of *Plutarch's* Moral Treatiſes, *Hierocles in Aurea Carmina*, *Tully's* Philoſophick Works, ſome Books of *Seneca*, &c. and one Day of the Week may be appointed for Enquiring into the Diligence of the Students, and Reſolving their Doubts.

And ſeeing all the ancient Orators and Poets and even Hiſtorians; nay, and Fathers of the

* Scotland.

Church too, have been addicted to the Hypothesis and Principles of some one or other of the Philosophical Sects, and often reason from their Notions, and use their Terms and Phrases: It would seem proper (besides the Recommending of *Diogenes Laertius*, *Eunapius*, &c. to be diligently read and considered by the Students) that some learned Person or Persons should compile a clear and distinct, but compendious History of all the ancient Philosophies, distinguishing their Hypothesis judiciously, digesting their Principles methodically, explaining their Terms of Art and Phrases, and putting their Notions in as clear Light as possible: This would mightily facilitate the Understanding of the ancient Learning.

During these *four Years*, the Students should be also taught *Arithmetick*, *Geography* and *Chronology*, to greater Perfection, the first six, with the eleventh and twelfth Books of *Euclid*, the Elements of *Algebra*, the Plain and Spherical *Trigonometry*.

The *two last Years* are to be spent in Learning *mixt Mathematicks*, or *Natural Philosophy*, viz. the Laws of *Motion*, *Mechanicks*, *Hydrostaticks*; *Opticks*, *Astronomy*, &c. and *Experimental Philosophy*.

All along, from their first Going to School, till they leave the University, the Students ought carefully to be taught and instructed in the *Principles of Religion*; Nothing being more certain than that, where there is not a well directed Conscience, Men are rather the worse than the better, for being learned in any Science.

In every University, there must be, at least, three Professors of *Greek* and *Latin*, one of *Logic*, *Ethicks*, and *Metaphysicks*, two of *Mathematicks*, and *Natural Philosophy*, one of *Divinity*, one of *Civil History*, another of *Ecclesiastical*, and one of *Hebrew*, and other *Oriental Languages*. Where Scholars are numerous, the Number of Professors ought to be augmented in Proportion: For I would have many Masters, and few Scholars. One Master who pretends to teach eight or nine Score of Scholars (as we commonly see done) may as well undertake to teach eight or nine Thousand. One Master should not have above thirty Scholars: And according to our Scheme of making Learning dear, let each of them pay 5*l. Sterling* yearly to his Master, at which Rate Thirty will afford 150*l. Sterling*; which, with a small Sa-

lary, may maintain the Professor handsomely enough.

Besides this *private Teaching*, I would have every Professor to have, once a Week, one *publick Lecture* in the common School, that who pleases may come and hear him. Thus we may have one or more such Lectures every Day, and on different Subjects, according to the Number and Professions of the Lecturers: Nothing can contribute more, than this, to the Honour and Advancement of Learning.

There is nothing more deserves the Consideration of the Parliament, than that our Youth are obliged to *travel Abroad*, to study Physick and Law, and carry so much Money out of the Kingdom; ten or twelve thousand Pounds Sterling, by modest Calculation, is every Year spent Abroad this Way. Now, would the Parliament, but for once, give two Months Cess, which is but about what is spent in foreign Universities in one Year, the Interest of it might establish Professions of Law and Physick at Home, where our Youth might learn more in one Year, than they can do Abroad in three. For they are generally sent Abroad about the twentieth Year of their Age, which is the nicest Part of it: Then their Passions are strong, and they have little Sense to govern them, and they are just let loose from their Parents and Tutors; so that *they acquire neither Virtue nor Learning, but Habits of all Sorts of Debauchery*, as we are taught by every Day's Experience. I would have the Professions of Law and Physick established in the University of *Edinburgh*, where the Students of Law may have the Advantage of excellent Libraries for the Civil Law, and Opportunity to hear the Pleadings, and learn the Form of the House, which our young Men who study Abroad, for all the Money they have spent, are altogether ignorant of. And the Physicians can have no Subjects nor Rooms for Anatomy, nor Laboratories for Chymistry, nor Gardens for Botany, but at *Edinburgh*.

I would have none entered into the House of Advocates, but such as have Certificates, from the Professors of Law, that they had studied four Years with them, after they had passed the University; and none made Doctors of Medicine but such as have Certificates, from the Professors of Physick, that they had studied four Years, with them; and none allowed to practise, but such as are graduated in our own Universities. And their Paying liberally to their respective

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Masters every Year (and thereby Saving so much from being squandered away Abroad) with some Salary, might prove a very good Allowance to the Professors. This might also hold concerning the Students of Divinity, that they should not be admitted into the Church, without Testimonials from the Professors of Divinity, that they had been a competent Time (perhaps four Years may be too little) at their Lectures.

I do not design by this to discourage the publick or private *Donations* of Charity for Educating the Children of honest Parents, who shall be found to have good Spirits. I would only have them regulated: For Example, our Bursaries*, as we call them, are commonly but One hundred Marks or One-hundred Pounds†, which cannot maintain any Person. I would therefore advise to cast four or five of them together, which, besides that it would abridge the

Number of Pretenders to Learning, might furnish sufficient Funds for handsomely maintaining some few, and providing them with Necessaries for prosecuting their Studies; neither ought this to be thought contrary to the Intentions of those who made the *Donations*, since, perhaps, at the Time when they were first bestowed, an hundred Marks might have gone further than now Four-hundred can do. The genuine Design therefore being still pursued, it is to be presumed, that it was the Will of the *Donators* that such Alterations should be made, when they should be found necessary.

One Thing I forgot relating to *Funds*: Perhaps, were the Funds, belonging to some Universities, *carefully and narrowly enquired into*, some of them might be found not *so usefully applied*, as they might be, and others yet unbestowed, which might help to erect new Professions, where they are wanting.

* Scholarships, or Donations for providing for Scholars in a College.

† Scotch.

Παῖδεια Θριαμβός, the Triumph of Learning over Ignorance, and of Truth over Falsehood ; being an Answer to four Queries :

Whether there be any Need of Universities ?

Who is to be accounted an Heretick ?

Whether it be lawful to use Conventicles ?

Whether a Lay-man may preach ?

Which were lately proposed by a Zealot, in the Parish Church at Swacy near Cambridge, after the second Sermon, October 3, 1652: Since that enlarged by the Answerer, R. B. B. D. and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

T A L M U D.

מרבא ישיבה מרבא חכמה *Qui auget Academias, auget Sapientiam & Sapientes.*

I G N A T.

Τὰς τὰ σχίσματα ποιῶντας φεύγετε ὡς ἀρχὴν κακῶν.

R O M. xvi. 17.

Mark them which cause Divisions, and avoid them.

R O M. x. 15.

How shall they preach, except they be sent ?

[From a Quarto, containing thirty-eight Pages, printed at London, in 1653.]

The Author of this Pamphlet, Robert Boreman, Brother to Sir William Boreman, or Boureman, Clerk of the Green-Cloth to King Charles the Second, was Fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, afterwards Doctor of Divinity, and Rector of St. Giles's in the Fields, near London, and very probably of the Family of the Boremans in the Isle of Wight. He published several other small Pieces, and a Sermon on Phil. iii. 20. and died at Greenwich in Kent, about the latter End of the Year 1675.

It appears by this Piece, that he was a Man of both Learning and Piety ; for, I doubt not, but the Reader will presently see, that he had not only read much, but was blessed

with a happy, methodical, and impartial Talent, whereby he confutes, without depreciating his Adversary; and throughout the Whole, there runs a sensible Vein of Compassion, and sincere and hearty Prayer for the Conversion of those that are misled, and for the Subsiding of all Disputes in Matters of Faith.

The Subjects, here treated of, are not only well handled, but are such as, at that Time, were most necessary to be explained, when Ignorance was, under the Power of the Sword, triumphing over Learning; when Sectaries increased daily, and every opinionated Cocker, or Taylor, usurped the Ministerial Office, and gloried in his endless Capacity of dividing the Church of CHRIST; when private Assemblies in Rooms or Garrets, after the Manner of our Modern Schismatics, the Disciples of Wesley and Whitefield, &c. who, had they the same Power, are of no less turbulent and aspiring Spirits, were preferred to the Worship of God's House, the publick Prayers and Preaching in the Church, and Lay Teachers and Preachers were substituted in their private Meetings, in Opposition to their stated and lawful Ministers. But our Author's Reasons will best appear from his own Preface, as follows:

To all sincere and true-hearted Christians, Lovers of Learning, Truth, and Peace.

THE Jews have a Saying, not more short than ingenious, that Truth stands upon two Legs, and a Lye upon one*: Their Meaning is, that as Falshood and Heresy fall at the Length of themselves, without any Contradiction, so Truth is, and ever was, firm, stable, and lasting, getting Ground, Growth, and Strength, by Opposition. By this Means, many Questions, which lay hid, and, as it were, buried in the Grave of Silence, are raised, discussed, and evidenced even to vulgar Capacities.

St. Augustine, in his 18th Lib. de Civit. Dei, cap. 51. treating of Hereticks, and proving that the Catholick Faith is strengthened and confirmed by heretical Dissensions, says thus of false Teachers, Habentur in exercentibus inimicis, &c. i. e. They are to be put into the File or Number of those Enemies who exercise the Gifts and Graces of God's Servants; who, like the Stars that shine brightest in the cold Nights of Winter, are, in Times of Opposition, more active than ever in Zeal, more vigilant and circumspect in their Lives (as those † religious Men were, in the Days of Apollinaris, who laboured to outshine him in Strictness of Life, knowing that, by this, his Opinions thrived and prevailed.) Lastly, more earnest in their Devotion and Prayers to the Father of Lights, that the Seduced may be undeceived, and the Seducers convinced of their Errors. This (not to be seen in Print, which is a poor Piece of ambitious Pride) is the Scope of my Pen, and the Aim of my unworthy Endeavours. Especially now, that ‡ little Birds, scarce fledged, or hatched, flying with their Shells upon their Heads, and having only a Feather or two of Boldness in their Faces, shall dare, and that in the Bosom of their Nurse, or Mother, preach, or rather prate against Learning, which they never had, and inveigh against Universities, quæ tales, simply as Universities, of which they never deserved to be Members.

* Talmud. † Dabant operam per inculpatores mores ut illius dogmata non plus valerent. Sozom. Lib. 6. cap. 27. Jam. i. 17. ‡ Hujus furfuris (ne dicam farinae) est Burtonus iste, hesternæ diei homulus, cui doctrinam & pietatem audaciæ inauditiæ parem optamus.

It is an ill Bird, &c. Every Englishman knows what follows in the Proverb. There are no such Enemies to Learning, as the Malicious and Ignorant.

It was my Happiness, of late, to meet with some Adversaries, not, perhaps, so knowing, yet more candid than the former, Declaimers against Academies, and Men of more Christian Spirits, not (as St. Augustine * writes of the Donatists) pertinaciâ insuperabiles, invincible and pertinacious in their Opinions; but such, whose Minds were tuned to that Obedience and Meekness, that they, after a mild and long Debate, yielded, with thankful Acknowledgments, and Protestations of Love, to my Reasons. And hereby declared plainly, before the Congregation, that they were free from that whereof they were falsely suspected, i. e. Heresy: Agreeable to that of the learned and most profound Augustine †; Qui sententiam suam quamvis falsam atque perversam nullâ pertinaci animositate defendunt, sed veritatem cautâ sollicitudine quærunt, corrigi parati cùm invenerint, nequa quàm sunt inter hæreticos deputandi. *The Meaning of which Words, in brief, is this: that He only is to be counted an Heretick, who persists, with Obstinacy, in an Opinion, which is against the Word; not he, who errs, yet is ready to forsake his Error, and yield to the Truth, so soon as he is convinced of it.*

This pious and humble Temper was in those my Antagonists; for whose farther Confirmation, and Satisfaction to their modest Desires, together with the rest of that populous Parish of Swacy, I have published the Discourse, with some Enlargements, hoping that it will meet with as good Success (by God's Blessing on it) in the Conviction of those by whom it shall be perused, whose Judgments, perhaps, have been formerly perverted by false Teachers, who beguile unstable Souls, having Hearts exercised (or overcome) with Covetousness; cursed Children (they are Children for their Ignorance) who, forsaking the Way of all Righteousness, have gone astray, following the Way of Balaam, that made Israel to Sin ‡. Such blind Guides as these have been the Cause of many poor Souls falling into the Ditch of Heresy, which (if backed with Obstinacy) is a Bar that shuts Men out of all Hope of Glory. This, hereafter, shall be proved, in my Answer to the second Doubt.

May the infinite Goodness (to whose only Glory I humbly desire to devote myself, and all my weak Endeavours) make them as useful and beneficial in the confirming and reforming of weak deceived Souls, as they are well meant and intended to the Church's Good, by the unworthiest of his Servants: Who am, likewise, Christian Reader,

Thine in Christ Jesus,

R. BOREMAN.

* Ep. 167. † Ep. 162. ‡ 2 Pet. ii. 14, 15. Jude ver. 11. Numb. xxv. 2. xxxi. 16.

A short Vindication of the Use and Necessity of *Universities*, and other *Schools of Learning*; being an Answer to the first Query:

What Need is there of Universities?

IT is truly observed by a learned * Writer, that the *Pope of Rome*, and that *Church*, never flew higher in Power, never sunk deeper into Error, than when *Ignorance* prevailed, and *Learning* was suppressed. We may as safely, and with as much Truth, assert, That where the Purity of *God's Word* is corrupted, and not preserved in its Integrity, that *Kingdom*, *Church*, or *State* cannot but fall into Ruin, and moulder away into Divisions, caused by the Multiplicity of false Opinions, which, being joined with *Schism*, do often (as they have now done) engender and beget a Monster, the Subverter of all Government, and the Disturber of Peace, the Nurse of *Religion*. This and *Learning* we may fitly resemble to the great Luminaries of Heaven, the *Sun* and *Moon*, both for their Light and Influence. And, as for the Preserving the intire Lustre of the *Moon*, there is required a continual Emanation of Light from the *Sun*; so *Learning* borrows its true Light from *Religion*; without which a Man having a learned Head, and an unsanctified Heart, is the fittest Agent and best Instrument for the *Devil* to do Mischief with; but now, here is the Difference between that lesser Luminary and *Learning*, in that Resemblance: The *Moon* repays no Tribute, confers no Benefit to the *Sun*; but *Learning*, by way of Reflexion, conduces much (if not to the Being precisely taken, at least) to the happy and well Being of *Religion*. These two, like *Eros* and *Anteros* in the Fable of the Poets, are sick and well both at a Time. † *Julian* the Apostate understood this well, when he put down by a publick Edict the *Schools* where the Children of Christians were to be educated; so did Pope ‡ *Paul the Second*, when he absurdly pronounced those Hereticks, that did either in Jest or Earnest but use the Word *Academy* in their Tongues or Writings. The *Jesuits* and their Factors, Men subtle in their Generations,

and active in their mischievous Intentions, they know the same, and therefore endeavour now to effect (what of late one vauntingly said in the Ears of a good Protestant would be done) that is, To destroy the *Universities*, and with them the *Ministry* and *Religion*.

That the *Universities* so called, as || one explains the Term, because the Circle of all the Arts and Sciences is in them expounded or taught to young Students and others of all Sorts, Degrees, and Callings whatsoever; that these *Universities* and other *Schools of Learning* (Seed-plots and Nurseries subordinate to them) are not only profitable to the *Church*, but also necessary for the Maintenance of *Religion*; so necessary, that, without them, neither the Doctrine of the *Gospel* can be preserved pure and uncorrupted, nor the *Church*, wherein we live, stand sure upon its Foundation, but will certainly be destroyed; this I shall endeavour to prove by a familiar Climax or Gradation, proposed to vulgar Capacities: by way of Question:

First, By what Means can the *Church* be pure and free from *Heresies*, without the Guidance and Light of the pure *Word of God*, the holy *Scriptures*?

Secondly, How can that Word be preserved in its Purity without the *Ministry*?

Thirdly, How can there be a *Ministry* without able and fit *Ministers* to explain and publish that *Word* purely without Corruption? Whose Office it is to act the Part of *Truth's Champions*, to defend it against seducing *Hereticks*, who (as § *Tertullian* well notes, 'evermore alledge *Scripture* to back and bolster out their absurd Opinions, and by this their Boldness they move some, tire-out those that are strong by their restless Disputes, take the Weak in their Nets, and as for those of a middle Temper, these they send away full of Doubts and Scruples.' And whence do Here-

* *Gentilet. Exam. Concil. Trident. Lib. 1. Sect. 7, 8. Ignorantiam & Romanæ sedis auctoritatem simul auerit, &c. Vicissimque ut bonarum artium & literarum instauratione facessere cepit ignorantia, ita & Pontificis auctoritas paulatim imminui & labascere visa est.*

† *Greg. Naz. Orat. 3.*

‡ *Platin. in Vita ejus.*

|| *Fab. Soranus in Thesauro.*

§ *Tertul. Lib. de Præscript. Scripturas obtinent & hac sua audacia quosdam morvent, &c.*

sies arise, but from this (as St. Augustine * observes) *dum Scripturæ bonæ intelligentur non bene, & quod in eis non bene intelligitur etiam temere & audacter assertitur?* &c. i. e. 'Whilst the good Word of God is not well understood, and that which is not well understood is rashly and boldly asserted for Truth, &c.'

Now, in the Fourth Place, How can such stout Champions, learned and faithful Pastors, be had without Schools of Learning, the Universities?

It will follow then, by a necessary Illation or Consequence, that without Universities, out of which such learned, wise, orthodox, and pious Men may be called and produced how to govern particular Congregations, and to sit at the Helm of the Church, this cannot be preserved secure and intire from Heresies, but will be, like the † Ship wherein our Saviour was asleep, i. e. battered with Tempests, and beaten with the Waves of contrary Opinions.

For this Cause we find in antient Records, that not only among the People of God, the antient Jews and Christians, but also even among the Gentiles evermore in all Ages, great Care and Diligence was used to ordain and maintain Schools of Learning, and to place in them holy and knowing Men, whom they encouraged with large Stipends, by whose Pains and Parts the liberal Arts and Sciences, together with the Doctrine of their Religion, might be taught and fastened in the People's Memories.

To omit the Schools of the Gentiles, as of the Egyptian († to whom Learning and Arts were derived from the Jews) likewise those of the Chaldeans, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, all which (to the Shame of Christians in these Times) had learned and Men of Wisdom in high Estimation, especially Professors and Assertors of their Religion; such were their Magi, their Gymnosophists, their Philosophers, their Augurs or Soothsayers; omitting these, I shall make a plain Discovery of the Schools erected by the People of God, as well before as after Christ, and then leave it to the Judgment of discreet and moderate Judges, whether a Want of Love to Religion, and the Fear of God, does not discover itself in the profane Practices of those Men who labour to pull down the Mi-

nistry (which is now the Jesuits main Design) by doing as the ‖ Philistines did by the Wells of Abraham, i. e. by seeking to stop the Springs and Fountains of Learning, into which they have thrown Dirt and Stones, by undeserved Slanders, and reproachful Infamies.

If we traverse the Story of the Old Testament, we shall find that there were (and this not without the Prescript or Command of God) in the Kingdom of Israel, Schools constituted and opened to publick Use; in some whereof were placed Levites, in others Prophets, to teach and explicate the Law of God, to train up Disciples or Scholars, who afterwards should teach either in the Temples or Synagogues, and propagate the Doctrine of the Law to succeeding Generations. For, who were the Sons of the Prophets, of whom there is so often Mention made in the Books of the Kings §; but those that were Students, educated and brought up in those Schools, whereof the Prophets were Heads and Governors? This was the Intent or Meaning of the Prophet Amos, when he said, ** I am not a Prophet, nor the Son of a Prophet, i. e. never brought up in the Schools of the learned Prophets.

What was the Reason that the Lord †† commanded forty-eight Cities with their Suburbs to be assigned to the Levites, above their Brethren of the other Tribes? Was it not for this, that in the Land of Israel there might be Schools and Colleges, in the which the Levites might teach and instruct young Novices, their Pupils, in the Law of God, and thereby fit them for the Offices of the Sanctuary?

Over these Schools or Colleges there were ever placed Men renowned for their Piety, Learning, Prudence, and Gravity of Manners, and those chosen out of the Prophets and Levites. Thus †† Samuel was the Prefect or Governor of the School which was at Naioth in Mount Ramah; where were a School and Scholars in the Reign of Asa, if we may believe the Talmudists, who say, ‖ that he was therefore punished with Lameness in his Feet, 'because he compelled all the wise Men or Doctors of that Place, together with their Disciples or Scholars, to leave their Studies and to take up Arms for his Aid against Baasha, King of Israel.' This they collect

* Aug. Tract. 18. in Evang. Job.
Encycl. Scholast. Heurn. primord. Philosoph.
2 Kings ii. 3. 7. 15. ** Amos vii. 14.
‖ Vid. Buxtorf in אנדניא 2 Chron. xvi. 12.

† Luke viii. 23.
‖ Gen. xxvi. 18.
†† Numb. xxxv. 2.

‡ Alsted. Lib. 24. c. 13.
§ 1 Kings xx. 35.
†† 1 Sam. xix. 18.

(how truly I will not determine) out of 1 Kings xv. 22. where it is said, that *Asa made a Proclamation throughout all Judah (none was exempted) and they took away the Stones of Ramah, &c. i. e. when the Scholars were all warned out by the King's Edict.*

Elias * was the *Præpositus* or Master of the School at *Jericho*; in his Place succeeded his Disciple *Elisba*, and so others after him in succeeding Ages.

In 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22. we read of a College in † *Jerusalem*, wherein *Huldah* the *Prophetess* dwelt, when *Hilkiah* went unto her with a Message from *Josiah*. Doubtless, she dwelt by herself in one of the Courts remote from the Prophets and their Sons, who were taught in the other. For Colleges, indeed, ought to be (what a Name that is given them by *Eusebius* does import) τὰ σμύνα, Places of Gravity and Severity, which cannot well stand with a Mixture of both Sexes in one and the same Place. But to return from this short Digression:

To this End and Purpose it likewise was (I mean for the Maintenance of Schools) that the *Levites*, under the Law, had such large Incomes by God's Appointment; they had well nigh (as hath been proved by me in another ‡ Treatise) the fifth Part of the *Jews* Revenues, which large Allowance was given them, that, being free from all Cares (to which the Ministers of the Gospel are too sharply exposed) they might, with the less Distraction, and more Freedom of Spirit, devote themselves wholly to their Studies, and their Ministerial Functions.

Again, we find that the *Jews* themselves ever in after Ages endeavoured (even when they were dispersed amongst the *Gentiles*) to retain their Schools which are called, sometimes, *Synagogues*, although in a strict Sense a School and a *Synagogue* differ. *Philo* (as he is cited by *Grotius* on St. *Matth.*) uses || the Names promiscuously, and calls those *Synagogues* διδασκαλεῖα §, for that they did both pray and preach in them, and withal (as they do now where they are) train up their Youth, and exercise themselves by Disputes and polemical Discourses, concerning the Holy Scriptures; whereby they find out many hidden

Truths. This is the Practice of Colleges in the Universities, by which Means the Students learn to whet their Tongues in Disputes against the Truth's Adversaries, those of *Rome*, together with other Hereticks.

In the second Place, That there were Colleges, Places of publick Concourse even under the Gospel, in the Times of the Apostles at *Jerusalem*, we may collect or gather out of the *Acts*: And there were dwelling at *Jerusalem* *Jews, devout Men, out of every Nation under Heaven* **.

St. *Luke* records †† concerning our Lord Christ, that when he went into the Synagogue, that is, the †† School, there was given to him, as to a Doctor, the Book of the Scriptures, that he should explain a Portion or Piece of them, which he accordingly did to the Amazement and Conviction of those that heard him. The same Apostle likewise reports, that, when he was twelve Years of Age, he disputed ||| with the Doctors of the School with great Admiration. There were then Scholars, Colleges, and Doctors in our Saviour's Time; how then dare any disallow of those which Christ himself did approve of, so, as to go often into them, which he did surely to demonstrate and shew their Necessity and Use. They who speak and act, by a bold Opposition, the contrary, by Denying their Use, to such I may aptly retort, what St. *Augustine* did once in another Case to the *Donatists*, the true Pictures of our *Seperatists*, *Christianos vos esse dicitis, & Christo contradicitis, i. e. 'you say you are Christians, and contradict 'Christ in your Words and Actions §§'*; this cannot stand with Christianity, which admits of no such Contradictions.

In *Acts* vi. 9, there is Mention of the Synagogue or College of the *Libertines, Cyrenians, and Alexandrians*, and of them of *Cilicia and Asia*, who disputed with the Protomartyr St. *Stephen*.

The same Author *** tells us, how that St. *Paul* came from *Tarsus* of *Cilicia* unto *Jerusalem*, where he was instructed in the Law of the Lord at the Feet of *Gamaliel*. It was the Fashion or Custom then of the Scholars, to sit

* 2 Kings ii. 5.

† It is called there משנה, which is as much as a double House, so called by Reason of its two Courts.

‡ The Church's Plea, &c. Sect. 10. p. 23. printed at London, in 1651, 4to.

|| Grot. in Matt. iv. 23.

§ Places of Instruction.

** Acts ii. 5.

†† Luke iv. 15. 17.

‡‡ הוֹמָרֵשׁ בְּחֵרֶת

||| Luke ii. 42, 46.

§§ Aug. Ep. 171.

*** Acts xxii. 3.

at the Feet of the Doctors; whence those are called by the *Rabbins* * *Pulverisantes*, from the Dust which they received thus sitting below their Teachers. The forenamed *Gamaliel* was a Doctor or Teacher of the Law in the Academy of *Jerusalem*, and Disciple of that old *Simeon*, who took our Saviour, being then a Child, in his Arms, and then sung his *Nunc Dimittis*, &c. his Swan-like Song, † *Lord, now lettest thou, thy Servant, depart in Peace, for mine Eyes have seen thy Salvation*, i. e. The Lord Christ, who is Mercy and Salvation clothed in Flesh.

That School or College of *Jerusalem* had many famous Doctors, one after another successively in after Days, amongst whom, was *Rabbi Hillel*, who lived an hundred Years before the Destruction of the Temple by *Titus*; of which *Hillel* we find so many rare and pious Sayings in the *Pirk Avoth*, a Book famous amongst the *Jews*, for choice Proverbs, and grave Counsels.

We read likewise of *St. Paul*, that, after his Conversion, he went often into the Synagogues or Schools of the *Jews*, and mightily convinced them, that *Jesus was the Messias* (or the Christ) and persuading the Things concerning the Kingdom of God †.

There is Mention in the *Acts* || of the School of one *Tyrannus*; it was erected by one, who was so called, by his proper Name, as *Beza* proves by many Testimonies against *Erasmus*, and others, and with him, in this, the *Syriack* agrees; which, as *Salom Glassus* notes §, is the fittest to determine any Doubt or Controversy bordering upon a Word or Phrase in the New Testament, as the *Chaldee Paraphrase* in the Old.

To omit that famous School in *Asia*, at *Ephesus*, erected by *St. John the Apostle*, in which *Polycarp* and *Irenæus* were Scholars, with many other famous Bishops and Martyrs for the Truth of Christ.

Likewise that in *Palestine* of *Cæsarea*, in which *Gregory Bishop of Neocæsarea* was brought up.

Also that in *Alexandria*, the most famous in the whole World, where (as *St. Jerom* attests) from the Days of *St. Mark* the Evangelist, many and great Doctors flourished, as

Patænus, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Hierocles*, *Dionysius*, with many others.

To the forenamed we might add that of *Byzantium* * in *Greece*, where *St. Basil*, that †† *Demosthenes* amongst the Fathers (for his sublime Elegancy so called) was educated; he was Brother to that learned *Nazianzen*, who (being indeed a Magazine of all Kind of Learning) is worthily called θεολόγος, i. e. the Divine.

To this of *Byzantium* might be adjoined that of *Tiberias* in *Galilee*, by the Lake of *Genesareth* ††, so famous for the *Masorites*, those laborious Textuaries and Cabalists among the *Jews*.

But omitting the farther Discussing and Opening of these Schools or Colleges (whereby I might farther evince by demonstrative Arguments the Necessity of Learning, and learned Men; as so many Pillars, to sustain the vast Fabrick of a Church, Kingdom, or State, from crumbling into Dust, and mouldering into Ruin) I shall only subjoin what now follows, by way of a concluding Parenesis, or Exhortation to Men of vulgar Conceits, and misled Fancies.

Let them run back in their Thoughts, and look upon the Story of our Church in former Ages. Who were they that gave *Pope*, and his Factors, their deadly Wounds, stabbing them at the Heart with the sharp Weapons of their acute Arguments? Who did this glorious Work, but first a *Jewel* |||, a Bishop? Who was the first, that, in a Sermon at *Paul's Cross*, made a publick Challenge to all the *Papists* in the World, to produce but one clear and evident Testimony out of *Scripture*, or any *Father*, or other famous Writer, within six-hundred Years after Christ, for any one of the many Articles which the *Romanists*, at this Day, maintain against us; and upon good Proof, of any one such good Allegation, he promised to yield them the Bucklers, and reconcile himself to *Rome*. And although *Harding* §§, and some others, undertook him and entered into the Lifts with him, about the Twenty-seven controverted Articles, yet they came off poorly, and *Jewel* on the contrary, with triumphant Victory, having so amazed and confounded them with a Cloud of Witnesses in every Point, that (as Bishop *Godwin* *** reports of him, ‘*Dici non po-*

* מתאבקין.
fiol. Sac.
†† Vid. *Buxtorf*. in *Tiberiad*.
Priest.

† *Luke* ii. 28, 29.
** Or *Constantinople*, anciently called *Byzantium*.

† *Acts* xviii. 28.

|| *Acts* xvii. 8.

†† Vid. *Possévin*. in *Vita Basil*.

||| Bishop *Jewel*. *Godwin*. in *Vita ejus*, p. 409.

§§ A *Romish*

*** Page 410.

‘*test quantum hæc res Pontificiorum apud nos vires frigerit, existimationem minuerit, ac præsertim postquam Hardingi frigida response errorum ab illis recensitorum novitas patuerit.*’ i. e. It cannot be said how this Thing broke the Hearts, and weakened the Force of the *Pontificians* *, with the Loss of their Esteem and Credit in these Parts, especially, when, after the frigid or cold Answer of *Harding*, the Novelty of their Opinions was plainly discovered.

This glorious *Champion of Truth*, for his rare and admirable Parts and Gifts, both natural and supernatural, did every Way correspond to his gracious and precious Name; he was a rich *Jewel* consisting of many Gems, shining as well in his Life, as his incomparable Writings: *Lord*, adorn and enrich thy *Church* continually with such *Jewels*, deck her Cheeks with Rows of such Rubies, her Neck with such glorious Chains, &c. He was born in *Devonshire*, bred up at *Oxford* †, and if it lay at my Mercy, to save or destroy it ‡, I should spare it, because it bred such a *Pillar of Truth*, and the Scourge of *Rome*; as the Conqueror spared *Syracusa*, because he found in it an *Archimedes*.

With him we may parallel our famous *Whitgift*, who was contemporary with him; for the former died *Anno 1571*; this latter was installed Bishop of *Worcester*, *Anno 1577*, and afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury 1583*. He was born in *Lincolnshire*, bred here at *Cambridge*, first in *Pembroke-Hall*, afterwards Fellow of *Peter-house*, and not long after, he being of rare and eminent Parts, was made President of *Pembroke Hall*, next Master of *Trinity College*, in which Time he was first the *Margaret*, then the *King’s Professor* of Divinity. This matchless Pattern of Prudence and Patience did stand as stoutly, as the former, in the Defence of the Truth, against our Home-bred *Innovators*, who (as our learned *Cambden* says in his *Annals*) trampled on all Government, and making *Fancy* the Mistress of their Judgment, Pride and a zealous Ignorance being their Guides, they inveighed against the || *Queen’s Authority*, and herein spake the Language of *Ashdod*; acted highly for the *Jesuits*, denied Uniformity in

Divine Worship, although established by the Authority of *Parliament*, severed the Administration of the Sacraments from the Preaching of the Word §: *Novos ritus pro arbitrio in privatis ædibus usurpabant, &c.* ** They neglected and despised the Sacraments (forgetting that God will not save us without the Use of Means.) They refused to go to *Church*, thus making a dangerous *Schism*, and rending the seamless Coat of Christ, *Pontificiis plaudentibus, multosque in suas parte trahentibus quasi, nulla esset in Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ unitas; i. e.* Hereby they made our Adversaries to rejoice and triumph over us, and were the Cause of many weak ones turning *Papists*, upon this Ground, that there was no Unity in our *Church*. (I fear our *Separatists* †† have now caused the like, if not worse, Mischief, in the Revolt of many Thousands from us.) Those *Chams*, Men of hot and fiery Spirits, who inveighed against their *Fathers*, and uncovered their *Mothers* Nakedness; those *Seindentes* (as †† *Irenæus* well calls them) to which he joins *elati & superbi*; those proud, high-minded, daring *Schismaticks*, that reverend, learned, and most patient *Whitgift* quelled, and suppressed in a short Time by his discreet Meekness, and gentle Exhortations to Peace; first stopping, by Arguments, the Mouths of their *Antesignani*, their Leaders (as *Cartwright* and others); this he did by Disputes and mild Persuasions to Peace, and at last having, by a patient Conrage, overcome many strong Oppositions from the *Nobles* and their Adherents, Abettors in that *Schism*, by God’s Blessing he restored the Church to Unity and Concord both in *Doctrine* and *Discipline*. Who, but a Man of great Learning and Grace, could have done this, and been the Instrument of settling in a distracted Kingdom an universal Peace.

Let me add to these one, though of a lower Rank in the Church, yet not much inferior in Gifts of Nature and Grace, the renowned *Whitaker*, first Scholar, and after Fellow of *Trinity College*, famous for his admirable Skill in the Arts and Tongues; as for his Excellency in the Knowledge of Divinity, his famous Works now extant, his Confutation of *Campion*, *Sanders*, *Duraus*, *Reynolds*, *Stapleton*, nay

* Or *Papists*.

† First in *Merton*, afterwards in *Corpus Christi College*.

‡ Danger in which *Oxford* was then, for refusing to submit to the Rump Visitors.

§ *Sacramentorum administrationem à verbi divini prædicatione sejungebant.* Camd.

new Rites in private Houses, &c.

Time of the Civil Wars.

†† The confused Number of Sectaries, which sprang up in the

‡‡ Aug. 1. de Civit. Dei, 16, c. 2. comparat. Chamo hæreticos, l. 4. c. 43.

† Alluding to the

|| *Elisabeth.*

** They used

of *Bellarmino* himself, with whom, then living, this our *Champion* encountered; he confounded the former, proving the *Pope* to be *Antichrist*, and maintaining the Authority of the *Scriptures* above the Church; and at last singling out the * *Cardinal* himself, the *Goliath* of *Rome*, he stunned him so, with the Strength of prevailing Truth and Reason, in his Controversies concerning the Church, *Scriptures* and *Councils*, &c. that the *Cardinal* (it seems, first convinced by his Argumentations) having him in high Estimation, procured his Picture, and hung it in his Study among the Portraits of other noted Men, and was heard to say, *That, though he was an Heretick, yet he was a learned one.* Never any Saying had more of *Falsity* and *Truth* in it. When he confessed him to be *learned*, it was all one, as if he had acknowledged that he was by him confuted. What firmer Testimony than that, which falls from the Lips of a professed Enemy?

To these forenamed Worthies, I might add the late Right Reverend *Davenant*, Bp. of *Salisbury*; the now living and most knowing Prelates *Armagh* † and *Morton*; true nursing Fathers of the Church, fed with their *Doctrine*, and defended by their Pens, which they have with great Success, dipped in the Ink of Confutation, against *Jesuits* and *Hereticks*. *The Lord hath done great Things by these Benaiabs* ‡; and wrought great Victories by Means of their painful Works against our Adversaries.

Could these famous, useful, and Church-preserving Acts, with many Hundred more which have been effected by Men of Parts, could these mighty Things have been done without Learning; could this have been attained without the Help and Furtherance of publick Schools and Universities? I suppose no Man is so wanting to Truth and Modesty as to say it. This made *Alphonfus*, King of *Arragon*, bear an open Book in his Escutcheon ||, to testify thereby to the World his high Esteem of Learning, as being the Prop of *Religion*, and the Pillar of a State and Kingdom. And therefore *Charles the Great*, wheresoever he erected a Church, there he ever annexed a School of Learning to it. Oh then let not the undermining and crafty *Jesuits* (who now swarm amongst us) blow any longer this

Poison into your Ears; believe not the Voice of these ** *Hyæna's*, who may speak like Men, nay, like *Angels*, but within are ravening *Wolves* and savage Beasts. Their common Trade and Work now is to cry down Learning, and the Fountains of it, the *Universities*: They know that their Cause cannot thrive so long as Learning does flourish: These †† *Solifugæ* hate that confounding Light: These Frogs love to croak in the black Night of Ignorance, they ever dig their Mines in Darknes. The Traitor *Vaux*, †† and his dark Lanthorn, was the true Emblem of a *Jesuit*, who has some Light within which makes him sin against his Conscience; yet that Light wrapped up and obscured by Malice, which forces him to act in Defence of the Catholick Cause, and contrive any bloody Wick- edness.

And now is his Harvest, who loves to fish in troubled Waters; he hath put forth the Sickle of his undermining Policy to cut down the *Clergy* and the *Universities*, witness the late Petitions against *Tithes*, and that other from some mistaken ones in the County of *Bedford*, who little dream that they are now plowing with the *Jesuits* || *Heifer*, who have closely contrived those Petitions, and incensed the *Countrymen* against *Churchmen* and *Scholars*. For Shame, work not any longer in this bloody Field; be not *Daysmen* to these Men of *Darkness*, what they have covertly contrived, do not thou attempt openly and in publick. Believe it, if the *Pipes* be cut from the two Fountains, if the Revenues and Means which flow from the Springs of Benefactors for Learning's Maintenance, if they be taken away (which God I hope will prevent by his merciful and over-ruling Providence) then (I trust this then will never be) then we shall see (I hope we shall never see it) these *** *wild Boars* coming out of *Rome's* Wood and Wilderness; these *Foxes* †††, *deceitful Workers*, *Ministers of Satan* ††† *Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing* ||||; they will, when they meet with no Opposition, when the Walls and Watchmen are gone, break with Violence into the Vineyard, destroy its pleasant Branches, devour its Grapes, and (like those *Wolves* in the Fable, when the Dogs at their Persuasion were sent away) they will prey upon the poor *Sheep*, tear their Fleece from their

* *Bellarmino*.
dem. i. p. 104.

† *Archbishop Usher*.

‡ 2 *Sam.* xxviii. 12. 20.

|| *Middeldorp* l. de Aca-

** De his vid. *Franzii* Histor. S. p. 1. c. 20.

†† De his vid. *Solinum*.

††† *Guy Faux*, who was found with a dark Lanthorn ready in the Cellar under the Parliament House, to set Fire to the Gun-Powder, intended to blow up the King, Lords, and Commons, &c. |||| *Judg.* xiv. 18.

*** *Psal.* viii. 14.

††† *Cant.* ii. 15.

††† 2 *Cor.* xiii. 15.

|||| *Mat.* vii. 15.

Backs, devour their Flesh: In a Word, when they want their *Guard* and *Watch*, i. e. Orthodox *Pastors* and sound *Doctors* or *Teachers*, the one to instruct the Churches, the other to train up Students in the *Schools*: Then will the People be left as a Prey to *Hereticks*, whose *Doctrine* will eat like a *Gangrene**, i. e. speedily, incurably, mortally. They will infect their Souls with poisonous Opinions, and (as they have begun) with *damnable Heresies*† (to speak in St. Peter's Language) which St. Paul reckons amongst the *Fruits of the Flesh*‡, and exclude Men from the heavenly Inheritance. Of this Opinion was *Ignatius*, a Scholar of the *Apostles*, who || assures us that both *seducing* and *seduced* Hereticks shall perish for ever, and that with as good Reason as Thieves among Men are put to Death. *Hereticks* rob Men's Souls of *God* and the *Truth*, they shut Men out of *Heaven*, and drive them into *Hell*. To prevent all these fatal Mischiefs, drain not (but rather increase with *Augmentations*) the *Fountains of Learning* and *Religion*; if these be once dried up, a Drowth of *Truth* will follow, and a Deluge of Miseries, when *Barbarism* and *Atheism*, with other horrid Impieties, shall abound in this Land, and overthrow the *Church*,** whose Welfare is contained (together with the *Common-wealths*) in the Preservation of *Learning*, *Arts*, and *Sciences*, which I could prove more at large, did I not fear to load the Press, and tire the Reader's Patience.

I shall conclude this first *Query* with an open Confession, that, in these tumultuous, *disordered Times*, some Dirt has gotten into our *Fountains*††, and mingled itself with our pure Streams; but what was ever in all Ages, we hope, will not with Aggravations be charged upon us, as the only Fault of ours. And I trust that those *Bedfordians* (who clamour against the *Universities*) will be laid asleep, and silenced by *higher Powers*; neither doubt we, but that those, who have made such loud Cries and Protestations for *Truth*, will not now at length (after spilling so much Blood in the Defence of the *Gospel*, as was pretended) give themselves the Stab of a Lye, by doing that which will overthrow and lay *Truth* in the Dust, and setting up *Falseness* with a painted Face, coloured with Shews of

Piety, and Pretences of Godliness. *Quod a- verruncet Deus*. As for my Part, I shall ever beg of *God* (and it is a Piece of my daily Devotions) that he would open the Eyes, and mollify the Hearts of the *Seduced*, and obdurate *Seducers* in this Age, that, being reduced to the saving Knowledge of the *Truth*, they may have good Wills joined with their great Power to preserve the *Keriotsepher*, the *Universities*, and other *Schools*, that from thence may come knowing Men of †† sound Opinions, and incorrupt Lives, whereby they may outshine *Hereticks*, and be able to refute and stop the Mouths of *Heresies*. Men well learned, of good Lives, and lawfully ordained *Ministers*, have a special Call to so great a Work, they have a Blessing promised ||| on their Labours; and may such be ever blessed who are *Lovers of Peace*, and *Truth's* Defenders.

The Second QUERY.

Who is an Heretick, and what is an Heresy?

Amongst many convincing Arguments to prove the Greatness of the Evil and Danger of *Hereticks*, some have been drawn from the great Pains, and Cost, which the Primitive *Church* employed, and spent to extinguish the Flame or Fire of *Heresies*, wheresoever and whensoever it was unhappily kindled: This is attested by the learned *Chamierus* in an Epistle to *Armandus****. Thus from the great Care and Solitude of the *Physician*, from the Price and Cost of the *Physick*, or Remedies, we may judge of the Grievousness and Danger of the Disease.

Again, another Argument, to prove the Greatness of this Evil, may be reduced from the raging Anger, and impatient Wrath, which ever appeared, and broke forth in these ancient *Christians*, who were Patterns of Humility, and rare Examples of Meekness; yet, being falsely accused of *Heresies*, and branded with the Name of *Heretick*, could not with any Patience hear and endure it. We read in the ††† Lives of the Fathers, of one *Agatho*, whose Name speaks him, as he was a 'good Man, and most devout,

* 2 Tim. ii. 17.

† 2 Pet. ii. 1.

‡ Gal. v. 40.

|| Ignat. Ep. ad Ephes. Οἱ αἰχοφ-

θόροι βασιλεῖαι θεῶν ἡ κληρονομία, &c.

** Vid. Middendorp. de Academiis l. 1. c. 4. & 8.

†† Universities.

‡‡ ὁ βίος συμφωνῇ τοῖς δόγμασι καὶ τὰ δόγματα βίῳ, Chrys.

||| Mat. xxviii.

20. I am with you.

*** Scimus quantis olim sudoribus Episcopi Catholici Hæreticos redarguerint, & quantis sumptibus Orthodoxi Imperatores eos represserint. Epist. 3. ad Armand. Jesuit.

††† Part. 2.

de Patient. & Humilit.

that, having held his Peace, in Imitation of his meek Saviour, at the Proposal of many Crimes falsely objected and maliciously laid to his Charge, yet at the Name of *Heresy* (being called *Heretick*) he was very much moved, and most wrathfully displeased.

This made *Ruffinus* (as he is cited by * Bishop *Jewel*, say, *Non est Christianus, qui notam Hæreseos dissimulat*, i. e. He is no *Christian*, that can endure to be called *Heretick*. To this Purpose is that of St. *Jerom* †, *Nolo in suspitione Hæreseos quemquam esse patientem*. It becomes every one with the greatest Care and Industry to avoid the very Suspicion of *Heresy*.

Thus a mere Imagination, and false Apprehension of being reputed and named *Hereticks*, exasperated of late the Spirits of some well-meaning *Christians*, and moved them to break through all Bounds of Modesty, by a publick Demand of me, before the Congregation ‡, (in *Swacy* near *Cambridge*) to deliver my Thoughts concerning *Heresy* and *Hereticks*. To whom (after a short Preface to our ensuing Conference) I thus replied with great Affection to their Souls, and (in Obedience to the Apostle's Command ||) with as much Meekness as I could, lest that, in the Flame of Passion and Heat of Contention, Truth should singe her Wings (as too oft she hath done) and take her Flight, leaving the Parties wholly unsatisfied.

First, to avoid all needless Questions, and endless Disputes, we must distinguish between these two Things, to be an *Heretick*, and to embrace an *Heresy*, or an Opinion that is erroneous.

For not every one, whose Opinion is *Heretical*, is to be reckoned and listed in the black Roll of *Hereticks*, but only he, who, having been baptized in the *Christian Faith*, shall stiffly maintain, and obstinately defend an Untruth against it. By the *Christian Faith*, we are not to understand in general the Word of God in its whole Latitude, viz. The *Prophetical* and *Apostolical* Doctrine contained in the Books of the *Old* and *New Testament*; for not every false Interpretation of any one Place of Scripture, not every Opinion, resulting from that Place so interpreted, falls under the Name and Notion of *Heresy* (as St. *Jerom* seems to assert it in his Com-

mentary upon the *Galatians*) but, by the *Christian Faith*, we mean those *Four Principles* of our Faith, which are the four Kinds of Fundamentals, the denial and opposing any one whereof with Pertinacy intitles a Man to the Guilt of *Heresy*, and the Name of *Heretick*.

The *First* of those Fundamentals is placed in the *Apostles Creed*.

The *Second*, in the *Decalogue* or *Ten Commandments*.

The *Third* in the *Lord Prayer*.

The *Fourth* is the two *Sacraments* and the *Lord's Supper*.

Thus the reverend and learned Bishop *Davenant* determines the Case, in that most judicious and Schism-confounding Work of his, intituled, *ad Pacem Adhortatio* §. 'So then, he ' that shall perversely deny any Article of the ' *Creed*, which is *Christianorum fidei & spei* ' *formula Veritatis summa ac fundamentum* (to ' use the Terms of the *Tridentine Catechism*) ' the Form of a *Christian's* Faith and Hope; ' the Epitome and Foundation of Truth; he that shall likewise wilfully err, in *principiis morali-* ' *bus*, i. e. in the *Principles of Manners*, or good ' *Living*; he that shall believe or maintain the ' contrary to any Precept or moral Command, as, ' that *simple Fornication* is no Sin, which is the ' Opinion of the ** *Jews* and *Papists*; that it is ' lawful to worship an Image, the Works of Men's ' Hands, or the like; he that shall overthrow the ' Doctrine of the *Sacraments*, either denying the ' Exercise or Use of the *Sacrament of Baptism*, or ' not baptizing, according to the Tenor of Christ's ' †† Injunction, *In the Name of the Father, Son,* ' *and Holy Ghost*, or not celebrating the *Eucha-* ' *rist* according to our Saviour's Institution, by ' denying the Cup to the People, or the like: ' Lastly, He or they that err in the *fundamental* ' Doctrine concerning *Prayer*, making their Ad- ' dresses to any one, but God alone, through the ' Mediation of *Christ* his Son, by Faith in whom, ' and being knit to them in Love, we are bold to ' call *God Our Father*, &c. He that shall obstinate- ' ly persist both in Opinion and Practice against ' any Precept or Doctrine in these four Kinds ' of *Fundamentals*, he cannot be exempted from

* Part i. c. 6. Defens. Anglic. Eccl.

|| Gal. vi. 1. *Ye which are spiritual, restore, &c.* *Kinchi* in *Psal.*

†† Mat. xxviii. v. ult.

† Ep. 6. ad *Pammach.*

‡ Orob. 3d. 1652.

§ An Exhortation to Peace.

** Vid.

the Number of *Hereticks*, whose Names are not registered in the Book of Life, into which none shall enter that *work Abomination, or make a Lie*, Rev. xxi. 27. Such Workers of Mischief are those ἀπωλείας ἔργαται, as * Cyril rightly tells them, Men that are *Leaders and Abettors* of an *Heresy*. Such Men, whom we may call *Dæmonice Meridiana* (as St. † Jerom once called *Arius*) Men blown up with Pride, and infected with a diabolical, daring Spirit, you must decline, as you would those that have [the Leprosy or Plague. *Heresy* is a catching Disease, and hard to be cured; it enters into the Soul by the Eye and Ear (when you either read the Books, or hear the Sermons of *Hereticks*) and, entering thus in, it brings Death and Destruction; as its Attendants, with it. St. Paul was not ignorant of this, as appears by his wholesome and seasonable Exhortation for these Times. Rom. xvi. 17. *I beseech you, Brethren* (observe the Apostle's earnest Supplication, grounded upon the Danger of heretical Infection) *mark them which cause Divisions and Offences, contrary to the Doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them.* Verse 18. *For they, that are such, serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own Bellies.* They are commonly covetous and luxurious Persons, given over to their Appetites. They are dissembling Hypocrites, for, as it follows there, *with fair Speeches and Flatteries they deceive the Hearts of their simple Followers and Auditors.* *If there come any such unto you, and bring not the Doctrine of Christ* (but that which is contrary to it) *receive him not into your House, neither bid him God speed,* 2 John 10. i. e. Have nothing to do with him, neither shew him any Sign of Familiarity or Respect, lest, under the Guise or Fleece of a Lamb-like Teacher, you meet (in the Conclusion, with devouring *Wolves*, proud *Anabaptists*, or Soul-murdering *Jesuits*; who now, like their great Master, the *Prince of Darkness*, go about, seeking whom they may destroy with their Anti-scripture, Antichristian, infectious, Tenets or *Heresies*. None, more than these grand *Impostors*, are Pleaders for *Conventicles*, that so they may with more Security open the Fardal of their *Mass* (that † Maze of Idolatry) among themselves, and draw poor deceived Souls from the Love of the Church, and their

Ministers. Σκοπιῖς, mark with Diligence, those that preach this Doctrine, and conclude with yourselves, that they are either immediately sent from Rome, that Antichristian Synagogue, or seduced by the *Romish Agents*, whose only Aim in these Times is, to blow the Coal of Division (using the *Separatists* || as his Bellows for this very Purpose) and to draw Men's Minds from the Love of the Truth and Learning, knowing full well, that the Fabrick of their Superstition and idolatrous Worship relies only upon the rotten Pillar of Ignorance, the only Prop too of the Pope's Greatness.

For (as § that Examiner of the Council, or rather Conventicle, of Trent says well) *ut bonarum literarum instauratione facessere cepit ignorantia, &c. i. e. So soon as the Cloud of Ignorance was dispelled by the bright Beams of Learning, the Authority of the Pope began presently to fail and suffer a great Diminution.* Therefore I exhort you again, σκοπιῖς, to mark those who are Sowers of Division, who endeavour to disjoin your Hearts from the Love of those, whom God hath placed over you, to be your Guardians and Watchmen**, such among the reverend Fathers of the Church are now (God be blessed for it) yet living, to the Terror and Grief of our Adversaries; such likewise yet breathe (though with much Discouragements) amongst the inferior Ministers, who are more famous for the Pulpit and Schools, than for the Press, and are able to wield the Sword of Argumentation, to the Confutation and Confounding of Rome's Factors; who deal by us, as the *Hereticks* of the former Age by those *propugnatores fidei*, Defenders of the Faith, Basil, Nazianzen, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerom, &c. whom (as †† Lindanus notes) the others impudently called *Hereticks*, *Hæretici Hæreticos appellabant*, so they undeservedly and most uncharitably term us. To whom I shall only reply in the Words of St. Augustine †† to the Pelagians: *Impetremus, si possumus, à fratribus nostris, ne nos insuper appellent Hereticos, quod eos talia disputantes nos appellare possumus fortasse, si vellemus, &c. i. e. We wish that we might obtain this Favour of our Brethren, that they would not call us Hereticks, which we might (if we were so pleased to break the Rule of Charity, which loveth Peace |||.)*

* Cyril. 1. 1. in Job. cap. 4.
 † Hieron. Apol. adversus Ruffin. Lib. 2.
 † So called in the Confutation of the Papists Catechism, pag. 29.
 || Doctor Crakanthorpe, in his Defence of our Church, does call them fitly, *Flabella Jesuitarum.*
 § Gentillet.
 ** Ezek. liii. 17, 18, 19.
 †† Præfat. in Panopliam.
 †† Aug. contr. Pelag.
 ||| 2 Cor. xiii. 7.

rightly call them, &c. as might be evidenced and proved by the former Definition of *Heresy*, and Description of an *Heretick*. To all which I shall subjoin this, to strengthen my Assertion, That, as an Error in *fundamento*, in any one of the forenamed *Fundamentals*, so, one that is *circa fundamentum*, about, or bordering upon the *Foundation* joined with *Conviction* (after the Testimony of the whole *Church*, in Word or Writing to the contrary) and that *Conviction* backed with *Contumacy*, these do constitute an *Heretick*.

He that comes boldly in a Man's Face, and cuts his Throat, and he that steals behind his Back, and knocks him on the Head, are both equally guilty of Murder (and would be found so, were they to be tried.) So he that directly and manifestly destroys a fundamental Truth, and he that obliquely does it, teaching, or obstinately maintaining those Things, which, if they be granted, by a necessary Consequence overthrow the Doctrines of Faith, both these *Antiscripturists* are to be reckoned amongst *Hereticks*, although the former are far worse than the latter.

Thus the *Heresy* of the * *Marcionites*, and *Manichees*, who destroy the human Nature of *Christ*, by allowing him only a phantastick Body, is somewhat worse than that of the *Papish Transubstantiators*, who, by Consequence, do that which is directly intended by others: For that, with the Defence of this their absurd Opinion, the Articles of the *Incarnation*, *Ascension*, and *Session* of our Lord *Christ*, at God's Right-hand, all these will fall to the Ground, as the reverend and most learned Bishops, † *Morton*, *Hall*, and *White*; also, the judicious *Crakanthorpe*, in his elaborate Defence of our Church against *Spalatensis* ‡, prove at large.

You may hereby collect what great Boldness hath seized upon the Tongues and Pens of the proud *Romanists*, who dare throw that Dirt upon us, which covers their own Faces, whilst they, with as much Audacity as Falsity, stile us (what they are, indeed, themselves judged by the Learned to be) § *Hereticks*. Thus the *Arians* dealt by the *Christians* in the primitive

Times, as we find in *Salvian*, who complains thus of them: *In tantum se Catholicos esse judicant, ut nos titulo hæreticæ pravitatis infament*; which Words would rightly fit our Tongues in Reference to our *Romish* Adversaries, who (speaking and writing a mere Contradiction) call themselves *Catholicks*, when, indeed, they are not truly so: It is a Term proper only to the universal Church of *Christ*, dispersed and scattered over the Face of the whole Earth. They are a particular Church, and therefore, whilst they stile themselves (indeed, it is *stilo novo*) *Catholicks*, they speak as much, or, in Effect, as if a Man should say, a *particular Universal*, or *universal Particular*, which is absurd, and against the Rules of Logick. Therefore, in that, they appropriate to themselves the Name of *Catholicks*, they do this as falsely, as when they fasten upon us the Name of *Hereticks*, which is a Term disgraceful and odious.

Lord, open their Eyes, that they may see the Truth, and inflame all our Hearts with a greater Love of it, that, knowing what we believe, and practising what we know, we may, at the last, be crowned amongst those, who, with that invincible || *Athanasius*, have contended earnestly for the Truth, even to the Loss of their Lives and Liberties. This is enjoined by St. *Jude*, ver. 3. and a clear Description of such an heroic Spirit we find, *Heb. xi. 37. It. c. x. 34. Which Things were written for our Instruction*, that we, being compassed about with so great a Cloud of Witnesses, should § resist even unto Blood, and strive against *Heresy* and *Hereticks*, Men of corrupt Minds, and destitute of the Truth; from such separate yourselves, 1 *Tim. vi. 5*. Converse not with such pestilentious Persons. This, too, was the wise Counsel of the blessed Martyr *Ignatius*, who (as we read in ** *Eusebius*) used to go from House to House, through all the Churches in the Diocese, admonishing and intreating the Christians to abstain from the Society of known *Hereticks*, who, like †† *Pitch*, defile the Weak, with the least Touch of private Conference.

†† Beware of false Prophets, &c.

* De his vid. *Epiphani. Aug. Philast. de Hæresibus. Granmer. adv. Hæres.*

† *Ep. Mort. contra Missam. Lib. 8. Cap. 2. Hall in his Treat. called Rome irreconcil. White against Fisher. Q. 19. Dr. Crakanthorpe, Cap. 48. Num. 23.*

‡ *Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato in Italy. Salv. Lib. 5. de Guber. Dei.* || *Athanasius cont. Mundum. Raimund. cont. Athanasium. vid. Ribadin. in Vita ejus.*

§ *Heb. xii. 1. & 4.*

** *Euseb. Lib. 3. Cap. 30.*

†† *Ecc. xiii. 1.*

†† *Mat. vii. 15.*

The Third QUERY.

Whether it be lawful (or allowable by the Word) for any to frequent Conventicles, forsaking the publick Meetings of Christians in Churches?

AS there is a peevish Industry in *Wickedness*, to find or make *Associates*, so* it is a commendable and industrious Piece of *Virtue* or *Goodness*, to oppose the Attempts of *Wickedness*, especially those of *Schismatics*, who, not contenting themselves with the Bounds of their own Impieties, never rest till they have corrupted others with the Poison of their ungodly *Tenets*. And I cannot but grieve to see the once brave Spirits of our Nation (shewed in the Subduing the *Genevising Scots*) suck in with Greediness the Positions of the *new Jesuiting Englandians*, who are infected with the Venom of old Moth-eaten *Heresies*, which have lain asleep for a long While, but are now awakened and revived by the Prince of Darkness, and transported into our Church.

The Ground (as I humbly conceive) of all the Enormities and loose Opinions amongst us, is, the Discountenancing and Discouraging of the publick Ministry, and the Crying down of Churches (*Vox Diabolum sonat, non Deum certe*) as if there were none other, but those, that are *Spiritual*, when, as we find upon Record, both in the *† Word*, and in ancient *Writers*, there were *material Churches* †, Houses built and set apart for the publick Worship of God, where in the *Christians* solemnly met, at the least once a Week; this was the Practice of the *Primitive Times*, even in the Days of the *Apostles* ‖, and continued from them to us through all Ages by uninterrupted Successions.

There is a *Fable*, amongst the *Mythologists*, of a *Maiden*, and a *Lion* who fell in Love with her, and she promised out of Fear to yield to his Desires, on Condition that she might first knock out his *Teeth*; which he presently yielded to, and was by her immediately destroyed.

Thus the only Aim of the Devil, and his *Associates*, is not only to pluck out the *Teeth* of

Discipline (the Wall) but even the *Tongue* of sound *Doctrine*, which is the *Heart* of the Church. This he now endeavours, by Stopping the Mouths of God's lawful *Ministers*, and Sending out his *§ Shemaiahs*, *Nehelamites*, his *dreaming Chaplains*, who dream of a Form of Government never thought of, nor intended by *Christ*, and, having no Commission to preach, thrust themselves into *Conventicles*, where they vent their Dreams, and propagate their Fancies, to the Destruction of many poor well-meaning *Christians*.

Concerning the Unlawfulness of which *private Meetings* (congregated by Men, who have no Calling to teach, and in Opposition to the Unity and Uniformity of our *National Church*) I shall now, in all Love and Tenderness to the Souls Good of the Unlearned, enlarge my Thoughts, and deliver my Opinion, which I trust will be embraced by those, who shall peruse this short *Treatise* without a partial Prejudice; which, like a *Curtain* drawn before a *Window*, shuts out the Light of *Truth*, and keeps *Darkness* in; it harbours Errors and Mistakes, which breed Hatred and Dissension.

First, take a *Conventicle*, for a Meeting of Men and Women in a private House upon the *Lord's-day*, then when they should join with the People of God in a Church appointed for God's publick Worship and Service; thus to convene and meet (though in Times of Restraint) without a lawful Minister to head that Body, and by enjoined *Prayers* and *Preaching* to sanctify the Work, is held utterly unlawful: Which I shall prove both by the Word of God, the Practice of *Christ*, together with the Authority of *Fathers*, and *Interpreters* of the *Holy Scriptures*, as also by Arguments drawn from Reason which commonly (if not perverted) is a sure Guide, and a good Judge.

First, then, if we weigh the *Truth*, in the Balance of the *Sanctuary*, if we look into the Scriptures, we shall find a flat Prohibition to the contrary, as *Heb. x. 24, 25. Let us consider one another to provoke to Love and good Works, nor forsaking τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, the Congregation, as the Manner of some is, but let us exhort one another, &c.* Upon which Place *Esbias* (a moderate and learned Interpreter**) hath this Gloss.

* Si Pertinacia insuperabiles vires habere conatur, quantas debet habere Constantia? &c. Aug. Ep. 167. Feslo.
† 1 Cor. xiv. 35. † xi. 22. ‖ Vide a full and learned Discourse of this in Mr. Mede's Diatribæ.
‡ Jer. xxxix. 24. Jud. 8. ** Qui conventibus Ecclesiasticis per fastum & superbiū sese subtrahunt, proximi sunt graviori ruinæ, Est. in Loc.

Qui conventibus Ecclesiasticis, &c. Or, they, that withdraw themselves from the publick Congregation, are in Danger of an unavoidable and fearful Ruin; for that thereby they make a Schism in the Church (the Doing whereof is most dangerous and displeasing to God) and ingender Sects: (so *Esthius* on the Text.) Whereby they do worse by Christ, than the persecuting Jews; they divide his seamless Coat, and gave an Occasion to the Adversary, of Rejoicing and Triumphing over the Church.

Therefore *Ignatius* in his Epistles exhorts*, and that with much Earnestness, the Christians to frequent the Church, to be often present and seldom absent from the Meetings of God's People there, lest that, by their continued Absence, they fall at length from the Faith, having first lost their Love to God and his Saints: Which Love is commonly chilled by the cold Breath of Conventicles, where Hatred and Malice (against those of a contrary Judgment) with Sedition is commonly hatched and fomented, as hath been found by sad Experience in this sinful Nation.

I might here accumulate the Testimonies of other Interpreters upon this Place, to confirm this Truth concerning the Unlawfulness of Conventicles.

Cornelius à Lapide writes thus upon this Text, much to our present Purpose: The Apostle (says he) by this Word, *ἐκ συναντήσεως*, intelligit *Cætus Ecclesiæ & Conventus Fidelium ad sacram Synaxin, & ad Verbum Dei Precesque publicas, &c.* i. e. He understands the Meeting of the Church in publick Prayer, in Receiving of the Holy Sacrament, and to hear the Word. Hos ergo Conventus Apostolus vult frequentari, &c. Therefore the Apostle would have these publick Meetings frequented, that so Men and Women may make a clear and open Profession of their Faith, which is a great Means to beget mutual Love and Affection in those, who agree in the same Faith with us †. By this open Profession we likewise encourage and incite others to profess the same Faith, to worship the same God in that Manner, and after that Way as it is done by us, who hereby shew ourselves to be an Example of good Works. And Examples we know are more prevalent

than Words or Precepts. They have a greater Influence upon Men's Practice in a Way of Conformity and Obedience.

Besides the forenamed *Ignatius* amongst the Fathers, *Chrysostome*, *Theodoret*, *Theophylact*, and *Oecumenius* interpret this Text in the same Sense with *à Lapide* and *Esthius*; who, indeed, light their Candle at those bright burning Tapers, whom God did set up for the Good of his Church, to enlighten it, and to direct it in the Ways of Truth. And ‡ he that despiseth them (with the rest of the antient Fathers) despiseth God who sent them.

The second Scripture Proof against private Meetings, as before were defined, is this, *Mat. xxiv. 26.* Wherefore, if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the Desert, go not forth; behold, he is in the secret Places, *ἐν τοῖς ταμίαις*, believe it not. Most of the ancient Fathers (therefore now despised, because they are Enemies to Heresies) as *Origen*, *Augustine*, and others interpret this Place of the private Corners of Schismatics and Hereticks, who labour to draw the People's Minds from the Love of the public Congregation, and engage them to their private Meetings, whereby they commonly intangle them in their Errors and Heresies. Therefore if they say, as the *Donatists* || once did, that Christ is only amongst them in their Crypts and Conventicles, believe them not, for they do contrary to the Precept and Practice of Christ; he wills or enjoins us § to confess him and his Truth before Men, i. e. to make an open Profession of our Faith, both in Times of Persecution and Peace. He himself ever** taught publicly, as he witnessed of himself before *Pilate*; he †† did so teach us this Lesson, that Truth seeks not Corners, but loves the Light (therefore it is sometimes called Light in the Holy Scriptures. *Eph. v. 8.* Walk as Children of the Light. *Vid. Act. xxvi. 18.*) But they, that ‡‡ hate the Truth, delight in Darkness, dare not say that in an open Congregation, which they spawn and vent in a Conventicle or private Meeting. Therefore avoid them, join not with them, beware of making a Schism in the Church or making that Rent wider, which was first begun of late by the *Presbyterians*; adhere not to

* *Ignat.* in Ep. ad Ephes. & Smyrneses.

‡ *Illi publici cætus & mutui congressus mire fovent fidem & charitatem, quæ in secessu & separatione diuturniori languescit, &c.* *Cornel. à Lap.*

† *Luke x. 16.*

|| *Vide August. Ep. 48.*

§ *Luke xii. 8.*

** *John xviii. 19, 20.*

†† *Luke iv. 15. 44.*
are Evil.

‡‡ *John iii. 19.* Men love Darkness rather than Light. because their Deeds

Schismatics, whose Portion, without a deep Repentance for so great a Sin, as Wounding *Christ's Church*, shall be after Death in the Land of Darkness, because they loved Darkness rather than Light. I never read that Saying of *Augustine* *, but with Horror and Dread, when I considered the common Guilt: *Foris ab Ecclesia constitutus & separatus à Communione Unitatis, & Vinculo Caritatis, æterno Supplicio punieris, etiamsi pro Christi Nomine vivus combureris, i. e.* 'He, or she, that out of Pride or Peevishness, separates himself from the Body of the Church,' (whose Members are knit together by the Ligaments of one Faith and Bond of Love) 'that Man shall be punished with everlasting Torments, although he should die in the Flames, and be burnt for the Name of *Christ*.' Such biting Truths as these are the Cause, why *Schismatics* and *Hereticks* love not to read the Fathers, nor vouchsafe so much as to name them in their Sermons or Writings. Therefore let no Man deceive you with vain Words, for, for such Things, cometh the Wrath of God upon the Children of Disobedience. Be not then Companions with them: For ye were sometimes Darkness, but are now Light in the Lord, walk as Children of Light. *Eph. v. 6, 7, 8.* And conform yourselves to the † Example of our Lord and Master *Jesus*, who † preached in the Synagogues and the Temple, notwithstanding they were Places full of Disorder and Corruption. He † called the Temple a Den of Thieves, and are there not too many in ours? § The Doctrine of the Law was then corrupted by the *διδασκαλίας*, the false Glosses of the Scribes and Pharisees, and is not the Doctrine of the Gospel as much corrupted by ours? Besides all this, they were loose and wicked in their Lives, witness that Charge of our Saviour, to his Followers and Auditors, against the Jewish Doctors, *Do not after their Works, &c.* ** Notwithstanding all these Corruptions and Deformities in the Jewish Church, yet our Saviour *Christ* made no Separation from it, but came and preached in those Places of publick Concourse, where the Seducers and false Teachers were.

If this Example and Practice of our Saviour will not convince and startle into Fear and Obedience the Separatists of our Age (both Teachers and Disciples) I know not what will do it. If *Christ* should have trod in their Steps,

been led by their fond Opinion, he would have made a Separation, and fled from the Society of the Jews, and not so much as once gone into the Temple, or taught in their Synagogues, but he did otherwise; and from what he did we may conclude, that the Practice of those *Phanatics*, who separate themselves from all Assemblies, or publick Places of God's Service, pretending either a Want of Gifts, or a Defect of Holiness in the Ministers, I say, the Practice of such Men doth speak them to be those *Antichrists*, which the Apostle *St. John*, mentions in his first Epistle, *Now there are many Antichrists, whereby we may know it is the last Time: They went out from us, &c.* †† i. e. They turned Separatists, and therefore *Antichrists*, because they went flat against the Practice and Precept of *Christ*, who commands us by his Apostle ††, to be of one Heart, and of one Mind, to think and speak, and do the same Thing (in Good) to love as Brethren, who forsake not one another's Company, and desert not their Family, when they discover any Infirmary in their Father, or any Deformity in their Mother, but keep close to both in Observance and humble Duty. We may have Communion or Fellowship with Men's Persons in Publick Worship, and not partake in the Guilt of their Sins. *Ille communicat malis, qui consentit factis malorum: He communicates with the Wicked, that consents to their Wickedness* †††; abhor and forsake his Sin, then mayest thou without Fear or Danger communicate with a wicked Man. *Si malos odistis, vos ipsi mutamini à Scelere Schismatis. Si malarum permixtionem timeretis, Opatum inter vos in apertissima iniquitate viventem per tot annos non teneretis.* Thus *Augustine* bespeaks the *Donatists*; so may I the Men of our Times; if you hate the Ungodly, shew your Hatred towards yourselves by repenting and turning from your *Schism* and *Heresies*; and, if you fear the Mixture or Company of the Wicked, shun the Society, and abhor the Persons of your Leaders by whom you are seduced and corrupted.

A Third Argument, against such Meetings in private on the Lord's-day, may be deduced from the Intent and Scope of the fourth Commandment, whose Morality, in the Judgment of all, both Fathers and modern Writers, consists in this, that God be worshiped in the Congregation with publick Service, in an open Confession of

* *Aug. Ep. 204.*† *Mat. xxi. 13.*†† *Phil. i. 27. ii. 2.*† *Christi Aëlio nostri debet esse Instructio. Aug.*

§ xv. 3.

** *Matthew xxiii. 23.*‡ *Aug. Ep. 171.*† *Luke xix. 47.*†† *1 Ep. Joh. c. 2. v. 18, 19.*

our Faith, and a Profession of our Love and Thankfulness to him for all his Mercies and Blessings, those which concern our Souls, and those which respect our Bodies, &c. But to wave this and other Arguments, which might be produced to confirm my former Thesis, I proceed to Reasons against Conventicles.

First, Reason suggests this Truth to our Spirits, that our Souls, being, as it were, so many Sparks of the * Deity, the Breath of God, are more † precious than our Bodies, which are Clods of Earth, and by Nature Cages of Uncleanneſs; by so much greater ought our Care to be towards those than these mortal Bodies. Now no Man, that hath a Treasure of Jewels or Gold about him, will venture alone into a Place which is a Receptacle of Thieves and Robbers: None that is found in Health will thrust himself, boldly without Fear or Wit, into the Company of those who are infected with the Plague, or some other noisome Disease: Oh then how do they at once betray their Religion, and forfeit their Reason, who mingle themselves with Hereticks, and resort frequently to the Company of Schismatics, who are Thieves and Robbers, for that they steal the Truth out of Mens Hearts ‡, and rob their high-born Souls of the Love of God and Goodness; whose Opinions likewise are worse than the Plague in the Event and Consequence; for, as they incurably infect the Soul, so, being embraced and followed, they debar Men from ever coming to the Kingdom of God. See Gal. v. 19. Witness likewise that of || Ignatius, which (did our Separatists understand his Language) they would read with a Trembling in their Joints, like that great Prince in Daniel, c. v. v. 6. when he read his Doom on the Wall. The Words of Ignatius in English are these: § They that join themselves in a Faction, and adhere in Affection to such who separate and divide their Hearts from the Truth, such Men shall not inherit the Kingdom of God. They, who shun not the Company of false Teachers, shall be condemned to everlasting Torments. For as with David we must hate the Congregation of the Wicked **, for Evil-doers, such are perverse Schismatics; so must we delight in the Company of the Saints, who are such not only in Name, but also in

Practice; being pure in their Opinions, holy in their Lives, not carnal, nor sensual; they despise not Government, neither speak Evil of those who are set in Authority †† over them by God, but are spiritual, heavenly-minded, meek and obedient; these are אֲדוֹרִי, those that excel in Virtue, commended by holy David ‡‡ for our choice Respect and Company.

Again, in the second Place, as Reason fetches an Argument against them from the Danger of such Meetings, where the Devil may seize upon thee, (as he did once upon that Woman in the Theatre as Tertullian || records) so my Reason tells me (thus should every one argue with himself) that it is a Shame and Disgrace for a Christian, a Brother of Christ, to follow such a Teacher, to make him his Master, who is καὶ δούλος, a Servant to his own Belly, and a Slave to his Lusts; the Subserviency to which hath ever been the Original of Heresies, as Theophylact notes well upon that Place of the Apostle §§, They serve not the Lord Jesus, but their own Bellies. This is spoken of Schismatics, whose private Meetings end commonly in Belly-cheer, in Luxury and Wantonness: This is too well known to be true in these Truth-denying Times; and this too was confessed of late to me by a Taylor here at Whethamstead, to be the Cause of his Revolt from such private Meetings, and coming again to our Church; it was (as he ingenuously said) their Disorder and unseemly Carriage in their Conventicles, that moved him, a Man of a tender Spirit, to forfake their wicked Company, and return to God.

Oh therefore be persuaded in Time, before you meet with Destruction, to avoid such Teachers and their Meetings in dark Cells and Corners: They are Nurseries of Sin and Corruption. Though Israel play the Harlot, let not Judah offend: Come ye not to Gilgal, neither go up to Beth-aven, Hos. iv. 15. Give not up your Names to be those Men's Disciples, who, for aught ye know, may be the Pope's Legates, who broach new Opinions contrary to those you have received, and repugnant to the Scriptures; such Men are not Doctores, but Seduciores, not Doctors, but Seducers, not Pastors, but Impostors ***: Therefore shun their Company, come not into their

* Gen. ii. 7. † Mark viii. 37. Matt. xvi. 26. ‡ John x. 8. || Ignat. Epist. ad Philod.
§ Εἰ τις χιζόνῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκολουθεῖ, βασιλείαν θεοῦ ἢ κληρονομήσει, &c. Ignat. ibid. ** Psal. xxvi. 4.
†† Jude ver. 8. ‡‡ Psal. xvi. 3. ||| Tertul. cap. 26. lib. de Spectaculis, These he calls
Conventicles, Diaboli Ecclesias, &c. §§ Rom. xvi. 18. It was on the first of April last, 1651, on which
Day I baptized two of his Children in the open Congregation, one newly born, the other of the Age of
two Years and a half. *** Bernard. Non Pastores, sed Impostores.

private Assemblies, lest you be defiled with their Pollutions, corrupted by their *Heresies*, which ever end in Schism; both which break the Bones and bruise the Flesh of *Christ's Church*, his * *Spouse*. And he that lives and dies in a *Schism*, cannot hope to be saved, being severed from that Body whereof *Christ Jesus* is the Head, which Body is quickened by that Spirit, whereby we shall be raised. *If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the Dead dwell in you, he, that raised up Christ from the Dead, shall also quicken your mortal Bodies, &c.* †. If then that Spirit dwell not in you, you shall not be glorified: As a Member that is cut off from the Body dies, and by no Art can be quickened, or have Life put into it, being severed from the influential Virtue or Activity of that Soul which gives Life to the Body, whereto, whilst it was joined, it lived and moved. I will conclude this third Query with that Exhortation of the Apostle, *Keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace* ‡, that is, in Love and Charity.

If this heavenly Fire burns and glows in your Christian Breast, you will not, from that which I have delivered, deduce this *uncharitable* and *mistaken* Inference, as some once did, but are now better informed of my Intentions, that I am an Enemy to all *Kinds of Meetings* of God's Saints and Servants; I am not, I exhort them often to meet, but when? Not when they should be at Church. What to do? Not to take upon them the Minister's Office to preach, but to repeat what they have heard from the Mouths of their Orthodox Teachers, or to read the Scriptures to the Unlearned, or do as *David* did, *i. e.* Tell what God hath done for their Souls ||, the Manner of their Conversion, the Method and Means God used to comfort them in their Tribulation, or to pray together for the Peace of *Jerusalem* **, for the Restoration of the poor distressed Church, for a Blessing upon the Persons and Labours of their honest Ministers; let this be the End of your *House-Meetings*, and my Soul shall meet with you in Commendation of your holy Practice, and in Prayer for a Blessing on your pious Exercise; but if you do otherwise, *i. e.* forsake the Church, the Place where God's People, his Servants do congregate, I fear that it will happen to you, as it doth to

the silly Sheep that strays from the Flock, which becomes a Prey to the devouring Wolf; or as it did to *Dinah*, the Daughter of *Leah*, who, leaving her Father's House to see the Daughters of the Land, was met, and ravished by *Shechem* ††. So they that forsake their Ministers, and out of Curiosity resign and devote themselves to be Followers of those who are none, they must expect to be deflowered of their Faith and Manners by such Seducers, who are spiritual Adulterers and Murtherers, who corrupt Men's Judgments, and feast it with the Souls of their simple Disciples, whom they grind with the †† Teeth of Error, and poison with that Cup which they themselves have drunk of, a gilded Cup of *Heresies*, full of ||| *Abomination and Filthiness*. The Lord prevent us with his Grace, and preserve us from these Corruptions.

S. *Augustine*, in his fourth Book *de Doctrinâ Christianâ*, notes, that the Word in *Latin*, which signifies a *Conventicle* or Place of private Meeting (it is *Conventiculum* & tantum singulariter dicitur) is only used in the singular Number, improperly in the Plural; as if by God's Spirit (the prime Author of Words in the Hearts and by the Tongues of Men) this was thereby intended to be implied, that there must not be more Places than one for God's People to meet in, in their several Parishes, that is, each particular Church, the only Place allowed and appointed by God, for his publick Worship and Service. *Oh that Men would therefore praise the Lord for his Goodness, and declare his wonderful Works before the Sons of Men! That they would exalt him in the Congregation of the People* ***, leaving their *Conventicles*, wherein God cannot be so highly praised, nor so much honoured as in a Place of publick Concourse, a Church.

I must, for a Close of this third Query, freely vent my Thoughts, which have been ever in my Breast.

The Classial Presbyters made Way for these Abuses and Corruptions in our Church, by making an unhappy Breach in it, when they brought in their *Motly Directory* into the Church, by which Means they drove many out of it into *Conventicles*, and, like the Sons of *Eli* †††, by their unjust Usurpation made Men

* *Cant.* iv. 9, 10.

†† *Gen.* xxxiv. 2.

||| *Rev.* xvii. 4.

† *Rom.* viii. 11.

†† *Δη παύσι τὰς τῶν ἀποστόλων ψυχὰς, τῆς ἀπάτης ὁδοῦν συγείροντες.* *Cyrl. in Hos.*

*** *Psal.* cvii. 31, 32.

‡ *Eph.* iv. 3.

|| *Psal.* lxvi. 18.

** *Psal.* cxxii. 6.

††† *1 Sam.* ii. 17.

to abhor the Offering of the Lord, and caused the People to trespass, ver. 14.

They too by their usurping the Power of Ordination, contrary to the Rule of *Christ*, and the established Order of the Church, were the Cause that others (in Opposition to them) did and do now preach without Orders.

By this we see, what good Friends and Servants, how dutiful Sons the Presbyters have been to their Mother, the Church. All the Hurt that I wish them is this, that they were confined and doomed *Socorum pultibus saginari*, * to be Fellow Commoners, live, repent, and die amongst their wretched Brethren the Scots, the first Fomentors of our Divisions, and Authors of our Miseries.

Heavenly Father forgive them. They know not what Mischief they have done.

The Fourth QUERY,

Whether it be lawful for a Lay-man to preach?

I Remember a Saying of *Isocrates*, ἐκ ἀρμόξε, περὶ τῶν φανερῶν πολλὰ λέγειν, It is not proper for an Orator, or any one, to spend many Words about a Business or Theme, that is clear and common. Therefore seeing that the Query is not attended with any great Difficulty, and hath been so much discussed by the Pens of the Learned, I shall not spend many Words about it. Only this I shall say, for the Benefit and Conviction of the Unlearned, to whose Capacity I desire to fit my Discourse, and suit my Phrase.

If by Preaching we understand (as we are to do) the † dividing of the Word aright, i. e. The applying of it (according to the Diversity of Persons, Times, and Places) to the Consciences of the Hearers in publick; which Application of it implies a reproving of Sin in a judicial authoritative Way, and a denouncing of Judgment against Sinners; and lastly, a laying forth

or unfolding of sweet Promises of the Gospel, or Pardon and Forgiveness to the faithful and penitent, who renounce their own, and rely upon Christ's Merits: To affirm, that to do this, in a constituted or settled Church, is lawful for a Lay-man, is as incongruous, and carries with it as great an Absurdity, as to say (which is impious) that St. Paul was mistaken, and did not speak from Christ, when he enjoined every one to abide in that Calling to which he is called †. For one to invade the proper Duty of a Minister, without a special Calling from the Church, is altogether unlawful; so says *Amesius* himself, *Lib. iv. de Cas. Consc. Cap. 25.*

Secondly, He that can maintain it lawful for a common Soldier (because he hath good Skill at his Weapon and in the Feats of War) to challenge the Place of a Colonel or chief Commander, without the Consent of the superior Officers; he that can prove it that *Korah* and his two Confederates sinned not in rising up against *Moses* and *Aaron* ‖, and usurping the Priests Office. (*Moses* I am sure checked their Boldness thus §, *Ye take too much upon you*, &c. it was so much, and so weighty a Burthen, their Usurpation so great a Sin, that the Earth could not bear them, but opened and swallowed up them, and all their proud Associates.)

Thirdly, He that can convince my Judgment, that ** *Uzzah* sinned not in touching the Ark, that the Men of †† *Beth-shemesh* did not offend by looking boldly into it; that †† *Saul* and ‖ *Uzziah* did not commit a great Trespass in taking upon them the Priests Office. *Thou hast done foolishly*, so saith *Samuel* to *Saul*, 1 Sam. xiii. 13. He lost his Kingdom by it, as appears Ver. 14. *Now the Kingdom shall not continue*, &c. they are the Words of the Prophet. *** *Azariah the Priest, and with him fourscore Priests of the Lord, valiant Men; they withstood Uzziah the King, and said unto him, It belongeth not to thee, Uzziah, to burn Incense unto the Lord, but to the Priests, the Sons of Aaron, that are consecrated for to offer Incense; go out of the Sanctuary, for thou hast transgressed, and thou shalt*

* *Vossius* Hist. Pelag. says of *Pelagius*, that he was *Socorum pultibus saginatus*.

† 2 Tim. ii. 15. 1 Cor. vii. 20.

‡ Art thou then called to be a Weaver, a Taylor, or a Cobler? Desert not thy Calling, and thrust not thyself into that which belongs to another.

|| Num. xvi. 3.

§ Ver. 17.

†† 1 Sam. xiii. 11.

‖ 2 Chr. xxvi. 18.

** 2 Sam. vi. 6.

†† 1 Sam. vi. 19.

*** 2 Chron. xxvi. 17, 18.

have no Honour of the Lord thy God. You may read, *ver. 19.* How that he was punished with *Leprosy*, a foul Disease, for his foul Fact, and that in the Forehead, the Seat of Impudence, he was too bold. His open Sin was punished with open Shame. ' Though his Zeal ' seemed to be good, and also his * Intention, ' yet, because they were not regulated or guided ' by God's Word, he did wickedly, and was ' therefore both justly resisted [by the Priests] ' and punished [by God.] This Note you shall find in the Margin of your *English Bibles*, which I wish were well observed by our too forward Zealots, who flatter and deceive themselves with their good Intentions, when the Means they use are not lawful but unrighteous.

Fourthly, He that can prove it by any plausible Argument (as I am sure none can, though he were as powerful in Invention, and witty in arguing, as † *Perronius*, once a Cardinal of *Rome*) that it was lawful under the old Law for any Butcher, because he had Skill in killing of a Beast, to slay the Sacrifice, which was only proper to ‡ the *Levites*. And he that shall demonstrate to my Understanding, that he is not guilty of great Presumption, and much Pride, who shall first think himself fit for that Office, which *St. Paul* so admired, and trembled at, that he brake forth into a *τίς ικανός* ||, *Who is sufficient for it?* He that thinks himself so, is most insufficient; especially when he shall want all those Gifts, which are usually seen and required in Ministers, as, Skill in the Languages, Fathers, Councils, School-men, Church Histories, with other modern Writers; together with the Arts and Sciences.

Fifthly, He that shall clear this Point unto me, That the Practice of Christ and his Apostles, together with the whole Church, for Sixteen-hundred Years and upwards, is not to be allowed of; especially, when that Practice is confirmed and ratified by Precept in the Holy Scriptures, where we find § Directions to the then Bishops for the laying on of Hands upon

those who were then, and now are to be admitted into holy Orders.

And, *Lastly*, He that can evince it, That besides the inward Testimony of a Man's own Conscience **, there is not, upon the former Grounds required the outward Call or Testimony of the Church, to whom he is to give Trial of his Gifts, and then receive the Church's Blessing, with solemn Prayers to God to prosper the Work which he is going about, *i. e.* that he may convert Souls, and thereby enlarge the Kingdom of Christ.

He, that is able (as I am sure none ever was, or will be) to prove all these Particulars, shall subdue my Reason, and bring me to a Confession, that it is lawful for a Lay-man to preach.

Till this be proved (as it never can be expected) I shall with the Authority of God's Word, the Consent of all Antiquity, and the Practice of all Reformed Churches, conclude and stand firmly to this Position:

That no Man ought to take upon him this sacred Function, or Office, *but he that is called as Aaron was ††, i. e.* by God. The Voice of the Church is the Voice of God; *ergo*, Lay-men that call themselves by a bold Intrusion, we may lawfully call Usurpers of the Priests Office, of the Stock of *Korah*, of the Race of *Jeroboam's* Priests. *He made, of the lowest of the People, Priests of the high Places, which Thing became a Sin to the House of Jeroboam, even to cut it off and destroy it from the Face of the Earth ††.*

And unless the divine Justice shall speedily stop the Mouths of the Apron-rabbies, and Ruffet-Levites, by some strange Judgment, and so cut them off who have kindled a Flame in State and Church (that hath blasted all good Order, consumed all God's Ordinances, and caused a general Ebb of Devotion and Piety amongst us) who also have crept in like Thieves into the Church by Back-ways, have secretly insinuated themselves into the Society

* To a lawful act there is required not only a good End, but also good Means. A good Intention, if the Means be bad, bring not a Man to Heaven. Many with this Mistake have gone to Hell. *Bonum bene* is the Rule in Divinity.

† *Persuadebit nobis quicquid volet*, ita de *Perronio Paulus Sanctus*, in *Vita Perronii Opusculis* ejus præfixa.

‡ *Levit. i. 4.* He shall kill the Bullock.

|| *2 Cor. ii. 19.*

§ *1 Tim. iv. 14. v. 22. Tit. i. 5. Acts xiv. 23, &c.*

** That he is both willing and able to discharge the Office of a Minister.

†† *Heb. v. 4.*

‡‡ *1 Kings xiii. 33.*

of God's People; professing themselves to be Teachers of the true Faith, but are, indeed, the Destroyers of it, and Disturbers of our Peace, *ungodly Men, who were of old ἀγορεύσαντες, ordained**, appointed (as if it had been set down in a Book) to this *Condemnation, or to this Judgment*, to be *flagellum Ecclesiæ*, to try, to † exercise and molest the Church by their false Doctrine; and, when they have done their worst, to receive for a Recompence, or Reward of their Impiety and Wickedness, Damnation.

Till these Incendiaries be suppressed and silenced, we cannot expect but this our now distracted Nation, which was once the Scourge

of others, and the Praise of all the World, shall become the Scorn of all Nations; whilst, as the Jews ‡ once did, we destroy ourselves at Home by our multiplied Divisions, and so prevent the mischievous Malice of our foreign Enemies; which Thing will make us a Derision to those that are round about us, to the Men of *Gath* and *Askalon*, the uncircumcised *Philistines*, bloody *Jesuits* and *Papists*: Which God avert, for his Mercies Sake, and the Merits of his Son *Christ Jesus*.

Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem, Psalm cxxii. 16.

The Author's Prayer to God, for the Suppressing of Heresy, and happy Composing of our unhappy Divisions.

‘ **O** Thou who art one and infinite in
‘ Power, the Center of Perfection;
‘ and the God of Love, collect our scattered
‘ Thoughts from perverse Disputes, and worldly
‘ Distractions; draw in our Hearts from
‘ hunting after Vanities; confine them to thine
‘ Heaven, and to thyself, who art the Heaven
‘ of that Heaven. Make us to love thy Truth,
‘ which is the Brightness of thy everlasting
‘ Light, the undefiled Mirror of thy Majesty,
‘ and the Image of thy Glory. And, because
‘ there is but one Heaven, and one Way to it,

‘ that living Way of Faith and Obedience, oh
‘ let the bright Beams of thy Grace shine in
‘ the Hearts of thy People, who are now turned
‘ to the By-ways of Error, and wander in
‘ the Desarts of Sin and Heresy; reduce them,
‘ good Father, into the Way of Truth, that
‘ with one Heart, and one Mind, they may
‘ serve thee, the only true God, through Jesus
‘ Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Trin-uni Deo sit Honos, Laus, & Gloria.

* *Jude 4.*

† Idcirco doctrinam Catholicam contradicentiam obsidet impugnatione, ut fides nostra non otio torpescat, sed multis exercitationibus elimetur. *Aug.*

‡ See *Joseph. Hist.*

An Essay on *Writing*, and the Art and Mystery of *Printing*.
A Translation out of the Anthology.

Quisquis erat, meruit senii transcendere metas, &c.

[From a Broad Side, printed at *London*, in the Year 1696.]

Worthy that Man to 'scape Mortality,
And leap that Ditch where all must plunging lie,
Who found out *Letters* first, and did impart,
With dext'rous Skill, *Writing's* Mysterious Art,
In *Characters* to hold Intelligence,
And to express the Mind's most hidden Sense.
The *Indian* Slave, I'm sure, might wonder well,
How the dumb *Papers* could his Theft reveal.
The stupid World admir'd the secret Cause
Of the Tongue's Commerce, without Help of Voice ;
That merely by a *Pen* it could reveal,
And all the Soul's abstrusest Notions tell :
The *Pen*, like Plough-share on the *Paper's* Face,
With black and Magick Tracks its Way does trace,
Assisted only by that useful *Quill*,
Pluck'd from the Geese that sav'd the *Capitol*.

First *Writing-tables* *Paper's* Place supply'd,
Till *Parchment* and *Nilotick Reeds* were try'd :
Parchment, the Skins of Beasts, well scrap'd and dress'd,
By these poor Helps of old, the Mind express'd :
But after Times a better Way did go,
A lasting Sort of *Paper*, white as Snow,
Compos'd of Rags well pounded in a Mill,
Proof against all but *Fire*, and the Moth's Spoil.
What poor Beginnings these ! The Silk-worm there
Had nought to do, no Silken-threads were here ;
But Rags, from Doors pick'd Part, from Dung-hills Part,
Mash'd in a Mill, gave Rise to this fine Art ;
Which in an Instant gives a speedy Birth
To *Virgil's* Books, the rarest Work on Earth.

But still an Art from Heaven was to come,
(From thence it came) this Matter to consume ;
Which could transcribe whole Books without a Hand ;
Behold the *Press* ! see how the Squadrons stand !
In all his Fights the *Roman* Parricide,
With half the Skill, ne'er did his Troops divide ;

Nor

Nor *Philip's* Son, who with his Force o'er-run,
And mow'd the Countries of the rising Morn:
Not the least Motion from their Post, but all
Work hard, and wait the welcome Signal's Call;
The *Letters* all, turn'd Mutes, in Iron bound,
Never prove vocal, till, in *Ink* they're drown'd:
The lab'ring *Engines* their still Silence break,
And straight they render up their Charge and speak:
Now, drunk with the *Castalian* Flood, they sing,
Arma Virumq; Gods, and God-like Kings:
Six hundred Lines of *Maro's*, quick as Thought,
Beyond the nimblest Running-hand are wrought;
Much fairer too the *Characters* do show;
For Grace, fam'd *Cockquer's Pen*, its Head must bow.
Three-thousand Births at once, you see, which soon
O'er ev'ry Country scatter'd are, and thrown,
In ev'ry Tongue with which Fame speaks are known:
These Types immortalise where-e'er they come,
And give learn'd Writers a more lasting Doom.
Court Rites, *Galenick* Precepts, *Moses' Rules*,
Are printed off, the Guides of learned Schools:
What Wonders would Antiquity have try'd,
Had they the Dawn of this Invention 'spy'd?
The *Offices* of *Tully* were the first
That came abroad in this new-fashion'd Dress.
Imperial *Mentz* herself would Author prove;
And *Venice* cries, she did the Art improve;
Not antient Cities more for *Homer* strove.
Goddess! Preserver from the Teeth of Time,
Who keeps our Names still fresh in youthful Prime;
What Man was he whom thus the Gods have grac'd,
Worthy among the Stars to have a Place!
Like Head of *Nile* unknown, thy bubbling Rise
Is hid, for ever hid, from mortal Eyes.

The Natural History of *Coffee*, *Thee*, *Chocolate*, and *Tobacco*, in four several Sections; with a Tract of *Elder* and *Juniper-Berries*, shewing how useful they may be in our Coffee-Houses: And, also, the Way of making *Mum*; with some Remarks upon that Liquor. Collected from the Writings of the best Physicians, and Modern Travellers.

[From a *Quarto*, containing thirty-nine Pages, printed at *London*, for *Christopher Wilkinson*, at the *Black Boy*, over against *St. Dunstan's Church* in *Fleetstreet*, 1682.]

The Natural History of Coffee.

S E C T. I.

COFFEE is said to be a Sort of *Arabian Bean*, called *Bon*, or *Ban*, in the *Eastern Countries*; the Drink made of it is named *Coava*, or *Chaube*, over all the *Turkish Dominions*. *Prosper Alpinus* * (who lived several Years in *Ægypt*) assures us, that he saw the Tree itself, which he compares to our Spindle Tree, or Prick-wood, only the Leaves were a little thicker, and harder, besides continually green †. This Tree is found in the Desarts of *Arabia*, in some Parts of *Persia* and *India*, the Seed, or Berry, of which is called by the Inhabitants *Buncho*, *Bon*, and *Ban*, which being dried, and boiled with Water, is the most universal Drink, in all the *Turkish*, and several *Eastern Countries*, where Wine is publicly forbid; it has been the most ancient Drink of the *Arabians*, and ‡ some will have the *jus nigrum Spartanorum*, i. e. *The black Broth of the Spartans*, to have been the same with our

Coffee: The *Persians* at this Day do tipple as much *Coffee* off, as the *Turks* themselves. *Tavernier* || in his Description of *Ispahan* (the Metropolis of *Persia*) is very jocose and merry, when he comes to describe the famous Coffee-house of that City; he says, that the wise *Sba Abas*, observing great Numbers of *Persians* to resort to that House daily, and to quarrel very much about State-affairs, appointed a *Moullah* to be there every Day betimes, to entertain the Tobacco-whiffers, and Coffee-quaffers, with a Point of Law, History, or Poetry; after which, the *Moullah* rises up, and makes Proclamation, that every Man must retire, and to his Business; upon which they all observe the *Moullah*, who is always liberally entertained by the Company. *Olearius* does also speak § of the great Diversions, made in the Coffee-houses of *Persia*, by their Poets, and Historians, who are seated in a high Chair, from whence they make Speeches, and tell Satyrical Stories, play-

* *Alpinus* de Plant. *Ægyptiac.* p. 26.

† This Tree is now very common in Gentlemen's Green-Houses in the South of *England*; and *Ebenezer Mussel*, Esq; of *Bethnal Green*, near *London*, has two of the largest and healthiest, perchance, in the Nation.

‡ *Dr. Mundy* de Potulentis, p. 351.

§ *Olearius's Ambassadors Travels of Persia*, Book 6. p. 224.

|| *Tavernier's Travels*, p. 1.

ing in the mean Time with a little Stick, and the same Gestures, as our Jugglers, and Legerdemain-men, do in England.

As for the Qualities and Nature of *Coffee*, our own Countryman, Dr. *Willis*, has published a very rational Account*, whose great Reputation and Authority are of no small Force; he says, that in several Head-achs, Dizziness, Lethargies, and Catarrhs, where there is a gross Habit of Body, and a cold heavy Constitution, there *Coffee* may be proper, and successful; and in these Cases he sent his Patients to the Coffee House, rather than to the Apothecary's Shop; but where the Temperament is hot, and lean, and active, there *Coffee* may not be very agreeable; because it may dispose the Body to Inquietudes, and Leanness. The Doctor makes one unlucky Observation of this Drink, which I am afraid will cow our Citizens from ever meddling with it hereafter, that it often makes Men paralytick, and does so slacken their Strings, as they become unfit for the Sports and Exercises of the Bed, and their Wives Recreations; to confirm which, I will quote here two Precedents, out of the most learned *Olearius*, who says †, that the *Persians* are of an Opinion that *Coffee* allays their natural Heat, for which Reason they drink it, that they may avoid the Charge and Inconveniencies of many Children; nay, the *Persians* are so far from dissembling the Fear they have thereof, that some of them have come to the *Holstein* Physician of an Ambassy, for Remedies to prevent the Multiplication of Children; but the Doctor, being a merry, bold *German*, answered the *Persians*, that he had rather help them to get Children, than to prevent them. This most famous *Olearius* (that made so many curious and accurate Observations in his Travels) tells us of a *Persian* King, named *Sultan Mahomet Caswin*, who reigned in *Persia* before *Tamerlane's* Time, that was so accustomed to drinking of *Cabwa*, or *Coffee*, that he had an unconceivable Aversion to Women, and that the Queen, standing one Day at her Chamber Window, and perceiving they were about gelding a Horse, asked some Standers-by, why they treated so handsome a Creature in that Manner; whereupon Answer was made her, that he was too fiery and mettlesome, therefore they resolved to deprive him of his ge-

nerative Faculty: The Queen replied, That Trouble might have been spared; since *Cabwa*, or *Coffee*, would have wrought the same Effect, the Experiment being already tried upon the King her Husband. This King left a Son, called *Mahomet*, after him, as our most grave and faithful Traveller ‡ does assure us, who, being come to the Crown, commanded that great Poet, *Hakim Fardausi*, to present him with some Verses, for every one of which, the Sophy promised him a Ducat; the Poet, in a short Time, made sixty Thousand, which, at this Day, are accounted the best that ever were made in *Persia*, and *Hakim Fardausi* esteemed the Poet Laureat of the East; the Treasurers, thinking it too great a Sum for a Poet, would have put him off with Half; whereupon, *Fardausi* made other Verses, wherein he reproached the King with Avarice, and told him, he could not be of Royal Extraction, but must be rather descended from a Shoemaker, or a Baker: *Mahomet*, being nettled, made Complaint to the Queen his Mother, who, suspecting that the Poet had discovered her Amours, ingenuously confessed to the King her Son, that, his Father being impotent, through his excessive drinking of *Cabwa*, or *Coffee*, she fancied a Baker belonging to the Court, and said, if it had not been for the Baker, the young King had never been what he was; so, lest the Business should take Wind, the Poet got his full Reward. But let us return a little into our old serious Road.

Coffee is said to be very good for those, that have taken too much Drink, Meat, or Fruit, as the learned *Schroder* § will inform you; as also against Shortness of Breath, and Rheum; and it is very famous in old Obstructions, so that all the *Egyptian* and *Arabian* Women, are observed to promote their monthly Courses with *Coffee*, and to tipple constantly of it, all the Time they are flowing; for which we have the undoubted Authority of *Prosper Alpinus* §, who spent several Years amongst them. It is found to ease the running scorbutick Gout, or Rheumatism, as *Mollenbroccius* has affirmed**.

As for the Manner of preparing *Coffee*, it is so easy, and so commonly known, that we need not mention it; only we may observe, that some of the *Asiatick* Nations make their *Coffee* of the Coat, or Husk of the Berry, which they

* Dr. *Willis* Pharmaceut. Rat. p. 1.

† *Olearius's* Ambassadors Travels through *Persia*, Book 6.

‡ Idem ibid. p. 240.

§ *Schroder's* Append. p. 24.

§ *Prosper Alpinus*, de Med. *Ægyptor.* l. 4. de

Plant. *Ægyptiar.* ap. 118. ad p. 122.

** *Mollenbrock*, de Arthrit. бага scorbul. p. 114.

look upon to be much stronger, and more efficacious, than the Berry itself, so that they take a less Quantity of it; but the *Europeans* do peel and take off the outward Skin of the Berries, which, being so prepared, are baked, burnt, and afterwards ground to Powder; one Ounce of which they mix commonly with a Pint and a half of hot Water, which has been boiled half

away; then they are digested together, till they are well united.

The *Laplanders* * prepare a very good Drink out of *Juniper-Berries*, which some prefer before either *Coffee*, or *Thee*†, of which Berries, we will discourse in a Tract at the End of these Sheets.

* *History of Lapland.*

† *Or Tea.*

The Natural History of Thee, or Tea.

S E C T II.

THIS Herb, *Thee*, is commonly found in *China*, *Japan*, and some other *Indian* Countries; the *Chinese* call it *Thee*, the *Japonians*, *Tchia*: That of *Japan* is esteemed much the best, one Pound of it being commonly sold for one Hundred Pounds, as *Tulpius* informs * us from several great Men, that have been Ambassadors and Residents in those Parts; so that most of the *Thee*, which is brought into *Europe*, comes from *China*, and that too of the worst Kind, which cannot but decay in so long a Voyage; for the *Dutch* have been observed to dry a great Quantity of Sage, whose Leaves, being rolled up like *Thee*, were carried into *China* by them, under the Name of a most rare *European* Herb; for one Pound of this dried Sage, the *Dutch* received three Pounds of *Thee* from the *Chinese*, as *Thevenot* informs † us. There is a great Controversy amongst the Herbalists, to what Classis this *Thee* may be reduced: *Bontius* ‡ compares it to the Leaves of our wild Daisy; for which *Simon Pauli* is very angry with him ||, and gives very strong Arguments, that *Thee* is the Leaves of a Sort of Myrtle, for, out of the Leaves of Myrtle, a Liquor may be made resembling *Thee* in all Qualities; therefore, the Jesuit *Trigautius* is of Opinion §, that several of our *European* Forests and Woods do abound with a true *Thee*, it being observed to grow in great Plenty in *Tartary* (which lies under the same Climate with many Countries of *Europe*) from whence some learned Men think, it came originally, for it has not

been long known to the *Chinese***, they having no antient Name, or Hieroglyphick Characters for *Thee*, and *Cha* being an ancient *Tartarian* Word: Besides, it is known to several Merchants, that a great Quantity of *Thee* is brought yearly out of *Tartary* into *Persia*; and we are all acquainted with the several great Conquests †† which the *Tartars* have made in *China*, so that the *Chinese* have had several Opportunities of learning the Use of *Thee* from the *Tartars*, in whose Country it is observed to be in great Plenty, and of little Value; yet the Inhabitants of *China* and *Japan* have a great Esteem and Opinion of it, where they are as much employed, and concerned for their Harvest of *Thee* (which is in Spring) as the *Europeans* are for their Vintage, as several Jesuits inform us in their Observations of *China* ‡‡: For the Noblemen, and Princes of *China* and *Japan*, drink *Thee* at all Hours of the Day; and, in their Visits, it is their whole Entertainment, the greatest Persons of Quality boiling and preparing the *Thee* themselves, every Palace and House being furnished with convenient Rooms, Furnaces, Vessels, Pots and Spoons for that Purpose; which they value at a higher Rate than we do Diamonds, Gems, and Pearls, as *Tulpius* ||| assures us, from the Relations of several great *Dutchmen*, who travelled *China* in the Quality of Ambassadors, and made great Observations of those rich Stones, and Woods, out of which the aforesaid Materials were made.

* *Nicol. Tulpii Observat. Med. lib. 4. c. 60.*

de *Medicina Indor. lib. 2. p. 97.*

Chinae, lib. 3.

p. 241.

** *Simon Pauli, de Thee, p. 25.*

†† *Philos. Transact. N. 49.*

† *Oldenburg's Philos. Transact. N. 14.*

‡ *Bontius*

§ *Trigautius, de Regno*

†† *Olearius's Ambassadors Travels in Persia,*

||| *Nicol. Tulpii Observat. Med. lib. 4. c. 60.*

As for the Qualities and Vertues of *Thee*, these few following Observations may give Satisfaction; that it makes us active and lively, and drives off Sleep, every Drinker of it cannot but be sensible. The great Jesuit, *Alexander de Rhodes*, always cured himself of a periodical Pain of his Head by *Thee**, and having often Occasion to sit up whole Nights in *China*, to take the Confessions of dying People, he found the great Benefit of *Thee* in those great Watchings, so that he was always as vigorous and fresh the next Day, as though he had rested all Night; nay, he says, that he sat up six Nights together, by the Assistance of *Thee*. *Kircher* himself took Notice of *Thee* for clearing the Head and opening the urinary Passage†; and it was observed by those concerned in the *Dutch* Ambassy to *China*, that the *Chinese* did spit very little, and were seldom subject to the Stone and Gout, which their Physicians imputed to their frequent drinking of *Thee*‡. It is a common Proverb in *Japan*:

Illene sanus non sit? Bibit de optima Tisia?

“What is he not well? He drinks of the
“best *Thee*.”

I know some that celebrate good *Thee* for preventing Drunkenness, taking it before they go to the Tavern, and use it also very much after a debauch, *Thee* being found so friendly to their Stomachs and Heads; several Ambassadors find the Advantage of it in preserving them from the Accidents and Inconveniencies of a bad foreign Air; but that, which gives the greatest Commendation to *Thee*, is the good Character which our famous Countryman, Mr. *Boyle*, gives of it in his *Experimental Philosophy*§, where he says, that it deserves those great Praises which are commonly bestowed upon it. Yet *Simon Pauli* exclaims** against the Use of *Thee*, as a great Drier, and Promoter of old Age, and as a Thing unnatural, and foreign to the *European* Complexions. But *Schroder* †† answers *Pauli* very mildly, supposing him to speak only of the Abuse and extravagant Management of *Thee*;

for otherwise *Rhubarb*, *China*, *Sassafras*, and *Saunders* should be banished from our Shops by the same Reason, they being Driers, and foreign to us *Englishmen*; therefore, we may conclude *Thee* innocent and beneficial.

The *Chinese* gather the Leaves in the Spring, one by one, and, immediately, put them to warm in an iron Kettle over the Fire; then, laying them on a fine light Mat, roll them together with their Hands; the Leaves, thus rolled, are again hanged over the Fire, and then rolled closer together, till they are dry; then put up carefully in Tin Vessels, to preserve them from Moisture; thus they prepare the best Leaves, that yield the greatest Rates; but the common ordinary ones are only dried in the Sun, yet in the Shade is, doubtless, much better (as the ingenious Author †† of *Vinetum Britannicum* does well observe) the Sun having a great Power to attract the Vertue out of any Vegetable after its Separation from its Nourisher, the Earth. One Spoonful of this prepared *Thee* is enough for one Quart of boiled Water.

There are several Ways and Methods for preparing *Thee*‡‡. The *Japonians* powder the Plant upon a Stone, and so put it into hot Water. The *Chinese* boil the Leaves with Water and a little Sugar. Some *Europeans* make Tinctures, Infusions, Conserves, and Extracts of *Thee*. The *Tartars* are observed to boil their *Thee* in Milk with a little Salt, which Way they think is the very best§§.

The Inhabitants of *Carolina* prepare a Liquor out of the Leaves of an *American* Tree, which is very like *Thee*, and equal to it in every Respect. Dr. *Mundy* observes***, that the Inhabitants of *Florida* have an old Custom, before they go into the Field to War, of drinking a Liquor in a great publick Assembly, which he that vomits up, is judged unfit for that warlike Expedition, and is condemned to stay at Home in Disgrace; but, when he has learnt to carry off the Liquor, then he is admitted to be a lawful Soldier: Now *Thee* itself, when given in a large Dose, and in a strong Decoction, does often prove vomitive, as I myself have observed several Times.

* *Alexander de Rhodes* Voyages & Missiones Apostoliques.

† *Kircheri* China illustrata, Lib. 4.

‡ *Thevenot* Histor. Legat. Batavor. in China, Tom. 3. Philosoph. Transact. N. 14.

§ *Varenus* Descript. Regni Japon. c. 23. p. 161.

§ *Boyle's* Exper. Philol. p. 94.

** *Simon Pauli* de Thee, p. 67.

†† *Schroderi* Append. ad Pharmacop. p. 28.

‡‡ *Vinet. Britan.* p. 140.

‡‡ *Nicol. Tulpii* Observat. Med. Lib. 4. c. 60.

§§ *Thevenot* Histor. Legat. Belgic. ad Sinensium Regem.

*** Dr. *Mundy* de Potulentis, p. 353.

Some make Decoctions of the Roots of *Avens*, *Saunders*, of the Leaves of *Sage*, *Betony*, *Rose-Galanga*, *Coriander*, *Anniseeds*, *Sarsa*, *China*, *mary*, which they do extol above *Thee* or *Coffee*.

The Natural History of Chocolate.

S E C T. III.

HAVING given a short Natural History of two Things, which are so universally used in the Eastern Parts of the World, we now come to treat briefly of two more, which are generally used in the Western. First, of *Chocolate*, of which the *Cocoa*, or *Cacaw-nut*, being the principal Ingredient, a short Account of it cannot be improper: This Nut, or rather the Seed, or Kernel of the Nut, as Mr. *Hughes* observes*, is of the Bigness of a great Almond; in some of these Fruits there are a Dozen, in some twenty, in other thirty, or more of these Kernels, or *Cocoa's*, which are well described by the ingenious and learned Dr. *Grew*†; when these Kernels are cured, they become blackish, and are compared to a Bullock's Kidney, cut into Partitions; there is great Variety in them, by Reason of the Difference of Soils and Climates where they grow. The Tree is said to be as large as our *English* Plumb-trees, the Leaves sharp-pointed, compared by some Travellers to the Leaves of Chestnut; by the curious *Piso* to the Leaves of an Orange‡; the Flower of a Saffron Colour, upon the Appearance of which, the Fruit appears upon the Branches as Apples; this Tree grows in several Parts of *America*, as in *Nicaragua*, *New Spain*, *Mexico*, *Cuba*, and in *Jamaica*, especially at Colonel *Barrington's* Quarters, or Plantations§; they prosper best in low, moist, and fat Ground, and are as squarely and orderly set, as the Cherry Trees in *Kent* or *Worcestershire*; they commonly bear within seven Years, and then twice every Year; the first Crop between *January* and *February*, the other between *May* and *June*. The Inhabitants have so great a Value for them, that they secure them with the Shades of Plain-tain and Bonona-trees, against the Injuries of their fiery Sun, and do use the Kernels instead of Money, both in their Traffick, and Re-

wards; as the great Jesuit, *Josephus Acosta*, observed, when he was sent into *America* §: The *Indians* look upon their *Chocolate* as the greatest Delicacy for extraordinary Entertainments. *Montezuma* is said to have treated *Cortez* and his Soldiers with it; and you can scarce read an *American* Traveller, but he will often tell you of the magnificent Collations of *Chocolate*, that the *Indians* offered him in his Passage and Journies through their Country; as Mr. *Gage* (who travelled many Years in *America*) informs us, the *Spaniards* do constantly drink *Chocolate* in their Churches at *Mexico* and *Chiapa*, of which they, being once forbid, did mutiny, and commit great Outrages, till their Custom was restored them**. The *Indians* and Christians, in the *American* Plantations, have been observed to live several Months upon *Cocoa* Nuts alone, made into a Paste with Sugar, and so dissolved in Water; I myself have eat great Quantities of these Kernels raw, without the least Inconvenience; and have heard that Mr. *Boyle* and Dr. *Stubbs* have let down into their Stomachs some Pounds of them raw without any Molestation; the Stomach seems rather to be satisfied than cloyed with them, which is an Argument they are soon dissolved and digested. The *Spaniards* do not scruple to eat them upon their great Fast-days.

The *Indians* at first made their *Chocolate* of the Nut alone without any Addition, unless sometimes Pepper and Maiz, or *Indian* Wheat; and in *Jamaica* at this Day, as Mr. *Hughes* observes††, there is a Sort of *Chocolate*, made up only of the Paste of the *Cocoa* itself; and this he esteems to be one of the best Sorts of *Chocolate*. Dr. *Stubbs*††, who was a great Master of the *Chocolate* Art, did not approve of many Ingredients besides the *Cocoa* Nuts; that *Chocolate*, which the Doctor prepared for his Ma-

* *Hughes's American Physician*, p. 115.

† *Piso* in *Histor. Nat. Indiæ utriusque*.

§ *Jos. Acosta* *Indor. Histor. Lib. 4. c. 22.*

†† *Hughes's American Physician*, p. 11.

† Dr. *Grew* *Mus. Reg. Soc. Angl.* p. 204.

|| *Hughes's American Physician*, p. 112.

** *Gage's Survey of the West-Indies*, Chap. of *Chocolate*.

†† Dr. *Stubbs's Indian Nectar*.

jefty, had double the Quantity of the Cocoa Kernel to the other Ingredients: In the common Sort, the Cocoa Nuts may take up half the Composition, according to *Piso* *; in the worst, a third Part only. As to the other Ingredients for making up *Chocolate*, they may be varied according to the Constitutions of those that are to drink it; in cold Constitutions, *Jamaica* Pepper, Cinnamon, Nutmegs, Cloves, &c. may be mixed with the Cocoa-nut; some add Musk, Ambergrease, Citron, Lemon-peels, and odoriferous Aromatick Oils: In hot consumptive Tempers you may mix Almonds, Pistacho's, &c. sometimes China, Sarsa, and Saunders; and sometimes Steel and Rhubarb may be added for young green Ladies. Mr. *Hughes* gives us very good Advice †, in telling us, that we may buy the best *Chocolate* of Seamen and Merchants, who bring it over ready made from the *West-Indies*; his Reason is none of the worst, which is this: Let the Cocoa Kernels be never so well cured in the *West-Indies*, and stowed never so carefully in the Ship, yet, by their long Transportation, and by the various Airs of Climates, they are often spoiled, their natural Oiliness tending much to Putrefaction; from whence I have heard several complain in *England*, that their *Chocolate*, made up here, does often prove musty, and will settle much to the Bottom of the Dish; which is a certain Sign, says the learned Dr. *Stubbs* ‡, that the Nuts are either faulty, or not well-beaten and made up. The best Cocoa-nuts are said to come from *Carraca*, or *Nicaragua*, out of which Dr. *Stubbs* prepared *Chocolate* for the King; yet the Doctor commends the Cocoa-nuts of *Jamaica*, which were first planted there by the *Spaniards*. That you may know how to prepare your *Chocolate*, I will give you a short Direction, if you intend to make it up yourself; consult your own Constitution and Circumstances, and vary the Ingredients according to the Premises, for I cannot give a Receipt to make up the Mass of *Chocolate*, which will be agreeable and proper to all Complexions; yet, in the Composition of it, you must remember to appoint the Cocoa Kernel for the funda-

mental and principal Ingredients; as for the managing the Cocoa-nut, Dr. *Stubbs* ||, and Mr. *Hughes* §, have published most excellent Instructions, how you must peel, dry, beat, and scarce it very carefully, before you beat it up into a Mass with other Simples. As for the great Quantity of Sugar which is commonly put in, it may destroy the native and genuine Temper of the *Chocolate*, Sugar being such a corrosive Salt, and such an hypocritical Enemy to the Body. *Simon Pauli* ** (a learned *Dane*) thinks Sugar to be one Cause of our *English* Consumptions; and Dr. *Willis* †† blames it as one Cause of our universal Scurvies; therefore, when *Chocolate* produces any ill Effects, they may be often imputed to the great Superfluity of its Sugar, which often fills up half its Composition. For preparing the Drink of *Chocolate*, you may observe the following Measures: Take of the Mass of *Chocolate*, cut into small Pieces, one Ounce; of Milk and Water well boiled together, of each half a Pint; one Yolk of an Egg well beaten; mix them together, let them boil but gently, till all is dissolved, stirring them often together with your Mollinet, or Chocolate-mill; afterwards pour it into your Dishes, and into every Dish put one Spoonful of Sack.

As for the Vertues and Effects of the Cocoa-nut, or *Chocolate*, all ‡‡ the *American* Travellers have written such Panegyricks, and so many experimental Observations, that I should but degrade this Royal Liquor, if I should offer at any; yet, I think, two or three Remarks upon it cannot be unsuitable to this little History; several of these curious Travellers and Physicians do agree in this, that the Cocoa-nut has a wonderful Faculty of quenching Thirst, allaying hec tick Heats, of nourishing and fattening the Body. Mr. *Gage* acquaints us |||, that he drank *Chocolate* in the *Indies*, two or three times every Day, for twelve Years together, and he scarce knew what any Disease was in all that Time, he growing very fat; some object it is too oily and gross, but then the Bitterness of the Nut makes Amends, carrying the other off by strengthening of the Bowels. Mr. *Hughes* informs §§ us, that he lived, at Sea, for some

* *Piso* Nat. Hist. Indor.

† Dr. *Stubbs*'s *Indian* Nectar.

** *Simon Pauli* Quadripart. Botan.

‡‡ *Job. de Laet*. Hist. Indor. *Piso* Nat. Hist. Indor. Herbar. Mexican. *Benxonus* Hist. Indor. Occident. &c.

§§ *Hughes*'s *American* Physician, p. 147.

† *Hughes*'s *American* Physician, p. 111.

|| Id. Ib.

§ Mr. *Hughes*'s *American* Physician.

†† Dr. *Willis* de Scorbuto.

||| *Gage*'s Survey of the *West-Indies*, Chap. of *Chocolate*.

Months on nothing but *Chocolate*, yet neither his Strength nor Flesh were diminished; he says, our *English* Seamen are very greedy of it when they come into any *Indian* Ports, and soon get plump Countenances by the Use of it. Mr. *Hughes* himself grew very fat in *Jamaica*, by Vertue of the Cocoa-nut; so he judges it most proper for lean, weak, and consumptive Complexions; it may be proper for some breeding Women, and those Persons that are hypochondriacal and melancholy. The industrious Dr. *Mundy* gives a notable Example of the Effect of *Chocolate*; he * says, that he knew a Man in a desperate Consumption, who took a great Fancy for *Chocolate*; and his Wife, out of Complaisance drank it often with him; the Consequence was this, the Husband recovered his Health, and his Wife was afterwards brought to Bed of three Sons at one Birth.

The great Use of *Chocolate* in Venerie, and for Supplying the Testicles with a Balsam, or a Sap, is so ingeniously made out by one of our learned Countrymen already, that I dare not presume to add any Thing after to so accomplished a Pen; though I am of Opinion, that I might treat of the Subject without any Immodesty, or Offence. *Gerson*, the grave Roman Casuist, has writ *de Pollutione Nocturna*, and some have defended Fornication in the Popish Nunneries, hysterical Fits, hypochondriacal Melancholy, Love-Passions, consumptive Pinings away, and spermatical Fevers, being Instances of the Necessity hereof, natural Instinct pointing out the Cure. We cannot but admire the great Pru-

dence of *Moses*, who severely prohibited that there should be no Whore among the Daughters of *Israel*, yet that most wise Legislator took great Care for their timely Marriage; upon these very Accounts the Casuists defend the Protestant Clergy in their Marriages. And *Adam* is commanded in Paradise to increase and multiply, therefore I hope this little Excursion is pardonable, being so adequate to this Treatise of *Chocolate*; which, if *Rachel* had known, she would not have purchased *Mandrakes* for *Jacob*. If the amorous and martial *Turk* should ever taste it, he would despise his Opium. If the *Grecians* and *Arabians* had ever tried it, they would have thrown away their Wake-robins and their Cuckow-pintles; and I do not doubt but you *London* Gentlemen, do value it above all your Cullisses and Jellies; your Anchovies, *Bononia* Sauages, your Cock and Lamb-stones, your Soys, your Ketchups and Caveares, your Cantharides, and your Whites of Eggs, are not to be compared to our rude *Indian*; therefore you must be very courteous and favourable to this little Pamphlet, which tells you most faithful Observations.

The industrious Author † of the *Vinetum Britannicum* makes a Query, Whether the Kernel of the Walnut may not supply the Defect of the *Cocoa*, if well ground? Dr. *Grew* thinks ‡, that for those that drink *Chocolate*, at Coffee-Houses, without any Medicinal Respect, there is no Doubt, but that of Almonds finely beaten, and mixed with a due Proportion of Spices, and Sugar, may be made as pleasant a Drink as the best *Chocolate*.

* Dr. *Mundy* de Potulentis, p. 350. Soc. p. 205.

† *Vinet. Britan.* p. 139.

‡ Dr. *Grew's* Mus. Reg.

The Natural History of Tobacco.

S E C T. IV.

TOBACCO is reckoned by the best Herbalists to be a Species, or Sort of *Henbane*, proper to the *American* Regions, as *Dodonæus* and *Simon Pauli* *; yet some Botanists will have it a Native of *Europe*, and reduce it to several of our Classes: But I will not trouble you with this Controversy, only we may take

Notice, that *Thevet* did first bring the Seed of *Tobacco* into *France*, though *Nicot* the *French* Ambassador in *Portugal* (from whom it is called *Nicotiana*) was the first that sent the Plant itself into his own Country. *Hernandes de Toledo*, who travelled *America*, by the Command of *Philip the Second*, having supplied *Spain* and *Por-*

* *Dodonæus* Herbal. *Simon Pauli* Quadripart. Botan. & Lib. de Tobacco.

ugal with it before *. Sir Francis Drake got the Seed in Virginia, and was the first that brought it into England †; yet some give Sir Walter Raleigh the Honour of it; since which Time it has thriven very well in our English Soil; a great Quantity of it grows yearly in several Gardens about Westminster, and in other Parts of Middlesex. It is planted in great Plenty in Gloucester, Devonshire, and some other Western Countries; his Majesty sending every Year, a Troop of Horse to destroy it, lest the Trade of our American Plantations should be incommoded thereby: Yet many of the London Apothecaries make Use of English Tobacco in their Shops, notwithstanding the vulgar Opinion that this Herb is a Native of America, and foreign to Europe: Yet Libavius assures us, that it grows naturally in the famous Hercynian Forest of Germany. If this was true, we would no longer call it Tobacco from the Island of Tobago. The Names of it are so various, as they would glut the most hungry Reader. The Americans stile it *Picielt*; in *nova Francia*, *Petum*; in *Hispaniola*, *Cozebba*; in *Virginia*, *Uppuwoc*; at *Rome*, *Herba Sancta Crucis*; in some Parts of *Italy*, *Herba Medicea*; in *France*, *Herba Reginae*, as you may read in *Magnenus* and *Neander* ‡: But, let it be of what Name or Kind it will, I am confident, that it is of the poisonous Sort, for it intoxicates, inflames, vomits, and purges; which Operations are common to poisonous Plants, as to Poppies, Nightshades, Hemlocks, Monks-hood, Spurges, and Hellebores, that will produce the like Effects: Besides, every one knows, that the Oil of Tobacco is one of the greatest Poisons in Nature; a few Drops of it, falling upon the Tongue of a Cat, will immediately throw her into Convulsions, under which she will die. This Dr. Willis assures || us to be true; the Experiment succeeded, when it was tried before the Royal Society, as the Learned Dr. Grew has affirmed §; besides, I can speak it upon my own certain Knowledge, having killed several Animals with a few Drops of this Oil. Yet that most sagacious Italian, *Francisco Redi*, observes ** very well, that the Oil of Tobacco kills not all Animals, neither does

it dispatch those, it kills, in the same Space of Time; there is a great Difference between the Tobacco of Brazil, and that of St. Christophers, as to this Effect: *Varino* and *Brazil Tobacco* being almost of the same Quality and Operation, whereas that of St. Christophers, *Terra Nova*, *Nieve*, and St. Martin, has very different Effects.

If we run over those Countries, where Tobacco is made Use of, we may observe the various Manners of using it; some Americans will mix it with a Powder of Shells, to chew it, salivating all the Time, which, they fancy, does refresh them in their Journies and Labours; others in *New Spain* will dawb the Ends of Reeds with the Gum, or Juice of Tobacco, and, setting them on Fire, will suck the Smoke to the other End. The Virginians were observed to have Pipes of Clay before ever the English came there ††; and, from those Barbarians, we Europeans have borrowed our Mode and Fashion of Smoaking. The Moors and Turks have no great Kindness for Tobacco; yet, when they do smoak, their Pipes are very long, made of Reeds, or Wood, with an earthen Head. The Irishmen do most commonly powder their Tobacco ‡‡, and snuff it up their Nostrils, which some of our Englishmen do, who often chew and swallow it; I know some Persons, that do eat every Day some Ounces of Tobacco, without any sensible Alteration; from whence we may learn, that Use and Custom will tame and naturalise the most fierce and rugged Poison, so that it will become civil and friendly to the Body. We read of a French Ambassador |||, that, being in England, was so indisposed, that he could never sleep; upon which he would often devour whole Ounces of Opium without being concerned: And the Turks are often observed to swallow great Lumps of it, a tenth Part of which would kill those that were not accustomed to Opiates. I know a Woman in this City, that, being used to take both the Hellebores, will often swallow whole Scruples of them without the least Motion, or Operation; so that Custom and Conversation will make the fiercest Creature familiar.

* Hernandez Histor. American.

† Purchas's Voyages into America

‡ Magnenus de Tobacco. Neander Tabacalog.

|| Dr. Willis Pharm. Rat.

§ Dr. Grew's Mus. Reg. Soc. p. 352.

** Philos. Transact. Odenburgh N. 92.

†† Purchas's Voyages to America.

‡‡ Observe the Original of that nauseous and unwholesome

Custom of taking Snuff.

||| Ephem. German. An. 2.

Months on nothing but *Chocolate*, yet neither his Strength nor Flesh were diminished; he says, our *English* Seamen are very greedy of it when they come into any *Indian* Ports, and soon get plump Countenances by the Use of it. Mr. *Hughes* himself grew very fat in *Jamaica*, by Vertue of the *Cocoa-nut*; so he judges it most proper for lean, weak, and consumptive Complexions; it may be proper for some breeding Women, and those Persons that are hypochondriacal and melancholy. The industrious Dr. *Mundy* gives a notable Example of the Effect of *Chocolate*; he says, that he knew a Man in a desperate Consumption, who took a great Fancy for *Chocolate*; and his Wife, out of Complaisance drank it often with him; the Consequence was this, the Husband recovered his Health, and his Wife was afterwards brought to Bed of three Sons at one Birth.

The great Use of *Chocolate* in Venerie, and for Supplying the Testicles with a Balsam, or a Sap, is so ingeniously made out by one of our learned Countrymen already, that I dare not presume to add any Thing after to so accomplished a Pen; though I am of Opinion, that I might treat of the Subject without any Immodesty, or Offence. *Gerson*, the grave Roman Catholic, has writ *de Pollutione Nocturna*, and some have defended Fornication in the Popish Nunneries, hysterical Fits, hypochondriacal Melancholy, Love-Passions, consumptive Pinings away, and spermatical Fevers, being Instances of the Necessity hereof, natural Instinct pointing out the Cure. We cannot but admire the great Pro-

dence of *Moses*, who severely prohibited that there should be no Whore among the Daughters of *Israel*, yet that most wise Legislator took great Care for their timely Marriage; upon these very Accounts the Casuists defend the Protestant Clergy in their Marriages. And *Adam* is commanded in Paradise to increase and multiply, therefore I hope this little Excursion is pardonable, being so adequate to this Treatise of *Chocolate*; which, if *Rachel* had known, she would not have purchased *Mandrakes* for *Jacob*. If the amorous and martial *Turk* should ever taste it, he would despise his Opium. If the *Gracians* and *Arabians* had ever tried it, they would have thrown away their Wake-robins and their Cuckow-pintles; and I do not doubt but you *London* Gentlemen, do value it above all your Cullisses and Jellies; your Anchovies, *Boronia* Sausages, your Cock and Lamb-stones, your Soys, your Ketchups and Caveares, your Cantharides, and your Whites of Eggs, are not to be compared to our rude *Indian*; therefore you must be very courteous and favourable to this little Pamphlet, which tells you most faithful Observations.

The industrious Author † of the *Vineta Britannicum* makes a Query, Whether the Kernel of the Walnut may not supply the Defect of the *Cocoa*, if well ground? Dr. *Grew* thinks ‡, that for those that drink *Chocolate*, at Coffee-Houses, without any Medicinal Respect, there is no Doubt, but that of Almonds finely beaten, and mixed with a due Proportion of Spices, and Sugar, may be made as pleasant a Drink as the best *Chocolate*.

* Dr. Mundy de Potulentis, p. 350.
Soc. p. 205.

† Vinet. Britan. p. 139.

‡ Dr. Grew's Mus. Reg.

The Natural History of Tobacco.

SECT. IV.

TOBACCO is reckoned by the best Herbalists to be a Species, or Sort of *Henbane*, proper to the *American* Regions, as *Dodonæus* and *Simon Pauli* *; yet some Botanists will have it a Native of *Europe*, and reduce it to several of our Classes: But I will not trouble you with this Controversy, only we may take

Notice, that *Thevet* did first bring the Seed of Tobacco into *France*, though *Nicot* the French Ambassador in *Portugal* (from whom it is called *Nicotiana*) was the first that sent the Plant itself into his own Country. *Hernandes de Toledo*, who travelled *America*, by the Command of *Philip the Second*, having supplied *Spain* and *Por-*

* *Dodonæus* Herbal. *Simon Pauli* Quadripart. Botan. & Lib. de Tobacco.

tugal

tugal with it before *. Sir Francis Drake got the Seed in Virginia, and was the first that brought it into England †; yet some give Sir Walter Rawleigh the Honour of it; since which Time it has thriven very well in our English Soil; a great Quantity of it grows yearly in several Gardens about Westminster, and in other Parts of Middlesex. It is planted in great Plenty in Gloucester, Devonshire, and some other Western Countries; his Majesty sending every Year, a Troop of Horse to destroy it, lest the Trade of our American Plantations should be incommoded thereby: Yet many of the London Apothecaries make Use of English Tobacco in their Shops, notwithstanding the vulgar Opinion that this Herb is a Native of America, and foreign to Europe: Yet Libavius assures us, that it grows naturally in the famous Hercynian Forest of Germany. If this was true, we would no longer call it Tobacco from the Island of Tobago. The Names of it are so various, as they would glut the most hungry Reader. The Americans stile it *Picielt*; in *nova Francia*, *Petum*; in *Hispaniola*, *Cozobba*; in *Virginia*, *Uppuwoc*; at *Rome*, *Herba Sancta Crucis*; in some Parts of *Italy*, *Herba Medicea*; in *France*, *Herba Reginae*, as you may read in *Magnenus* and *Neander* ‡: But, let it be of what Name or Kind it will, I am confident, that it is of the poisonous Sort, for it intoxicates, inflames, vomits, and purges; which Operations are common to poisonous Plants, as to Poppies, Nightshades, Hemlocks, Monks-hood, Spurges, and Hellebores, that will produce the like Effects: Besides, every one knows, that the Oil of Tobacco is one of the greatest Poisons in Nature; a few Drops of it, falling upon the Tongue of a Cat, will immediately throw her into Convulsions, under which she will die. This Dr. Willis assures || us to be true; the Experiment succeeded, when it was tried before the Royal Society, as the Learned Dr. Grew has affirmed §; besides, I can speak it upon my own certain Knowledge, having killed several Animals with a few Drops of this Oil. Yet that most sagacious Italian, *Francisco Redi*, observes ** very well, that the Oil of Tobacco kills not all Animals, neither does

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If we run over those Countries, where Tobacco is made Use of, we may observe the various Manners of using it; some Americans will mix it with a Powder of Shells, to chew it, salivating all the Time, which, they fancy, does refresh them in their Journeys and Labours; others in *New Spain* will dawb the Ends of Reeds with the Gum, or Juice of Tobacco, and, setting them on Fire, will suck the Smoke to the other End. The Virginians were observed to have Pipes of Clay before ever the English came there ††; and, from those Barbarians, we Europeans have borrowed our Mode and Fashion of Smoaking. The Moors and Turks have no great Kindness for Tobacco; yet, when they do smoak, their Pipes are very long, made of Reeds, or Wood, with an earthen Head. The Irishmen do most commonly powder their Tobacco ‡‡, and snuff it up their Nostrils, which some of our Englishmen do, who often chew and swallow it; I know some Persons, that do eat every Day some Ounces of Tobacco, without any sensible Alteration; from whence we may learn, that Use and Custom will tame and naturalise the most fierce and rugged Poison, so that it will become civil and friendly to the Body. We read of a French Ambassador |||, that, being in England, was so indisposed, that he could never sleep; upon which he would often devour whole Ounces of Opium without being concerned: And the Turks are often observed to swallow great Lumps of it, a tenth Part of which would kill those that were not accustomed to Opiates. I know a Woman in this City, that, being used to take both the Hellebores, will often swallow whole Scruples of them without the least Motion, or Operation; so that Custom and Conversation will make the fiercest Creature familiar.

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†† Purchas's Voyages to America.

‡‡ Observe the Original of that nauseous and unwholesome

Custom of taking Snuff.

||| Ephem. German. An. 2.

As for the Culture, Harvest, Preparation, and Traffick of *Tobacco*, I will recommend you to *Neander*, where, if you are curious, you may meet with Satisfaction *. I cannot omit one Story out of *Monardus* †, who tells us, that the *Indian* Priests, being always consulted about the Events of War, do burn the Leaves of *Tobacco*, and, sucking into their Mouths the Smoke by a Reed, or Pipe, do presently fall into a Trance, or Extasy; and, as soon as ever they come out of it, they discover to the *Indians* all the secret Negotiation, which they have had with the great *Dæmon*, always delivering some ambiguous Answer.

As for the Qualities, Nature, and Uses of *Tobacco*, they may be very considerable in several Cases and Circumstances; though King *James* himself has both writ, and disputed very smartly against it at *Oxford*, and *Simon Pauli* † has published a very learned Book against it. Some Anatomists ‖ tell us most terrible Stories of sooty Brains, and black Lungs, which have been seen in the Dissections of dead Bodies, which, when living, had been accustomed to *Tobacco*. We read that *Amurath the Fourth* did forbid the Use of it, over all the *Turkish* Dominions, under the most severe Penalties; the *Turks* having an Opinion amongst them, that *Tobacco* will make them effeminate and barren, unfit for War and Procreation; though some think there is a politick Design in it, to obstruct the Sale of it, in the *Eastern* Countries, and to prevent the *Christians* from Establishing any considerable Traffick, from so mean a Commodity; which, perhaps, may be one Reason §, why the Great Duke ** of *Muscovy* has threatened to punish those Merchants, who offer to sell any *Tobacco* in his Countries. *Scach Abas* (the Great *Sophy* of *Persia*) leading an Army against the *Cham* of *Tartary*, made Proclamation, that, if any *Tobacco* was found in the Custody of any Soldier, he should be burnt alive, together with his *To-*

bacco. Yet, for all this, it may be very beneficial to Mankind, as you will conclude from what follows.

Dr. *Willis* †† recommends *Tobacco* to Soldiers, because it may supply the Want of Victuals, and make them insensible of the Dangers, Fatigues, and Hardships, which do usually attend Wars and Armies; besides, it is found to cure mangy and ulcerous Diseases, which are frequent in Camps. I know a curious Lady in the *North*, that does very great Feats in Sores and Ulcers by a Preparation of *Tobacco*. Our learned and most experienced Countryman, Mr. *Boyle* ††, does highly commend *Tobacco* Clysters in the most violent Cholick Pains, which are often epidemical in Cities and Camps. The renowned *Hartman* extols the Water of *Tobacco*, against Agues ‖‖: And the curious Dr. *Grew* §§ found the Success of the Oil of it, in the Tooth-ach, a Lint being dipped in it, and put into the Tooth. The Effects of *Tobacco* have been very good, in some violent Pains of the Head; as some Thousands have experimented: As for the daily Smoaking of it, the State and Circumstances of your Body must be the best Guide and Rule; if your Complexion be lean, hot, and dry, it is an Argument against it, but if cold, moist, and humoral, subject to Catarrhs, Rheums, and Pains, then there may be a Temptation to venture upon it; so every Man must consult his own Temper, and the Experience of others.

A modern *French* Author*** has writ a peculiar Tract of *Tobacco*, wherein he commends it in Convulsions, in Pains, and for bringing on Sleep; he extols the Oil of it in curing Deafness, being injected into the Ear in a convenient Vehicle; also against gouty and scorbutical Pains of the Joints, being applied in a Liniment. A Lixivium of *Tobacco* often prevents the Falling off of the Hair, and is famous for curing the Farcy, or Leprosy of Cattle.

The Use of Juniper and Elder-Berries in our Publick-Houses.

THESE two *Berries* are so celebrated in many Countries, and so highly recommended to the World by several famous Writers, and Practitioners, that they need not

desire any Varnish or Argument from me. The simple Decoctions of them, sweetened with a little fine Sugar-candy, will afford Liquors so pleasant to the Eye, so grateful to the Palate,

* *Neander* Tabacalog. † *Monardus* Lib. X. Exoticor. Clusii. † *Simon Pauli* de Abusu Tabaci.
 ‖ *Diemerbroeck*. Anat. Hoffman. Pauvius. § *Olearius*, Ambassadors Travels through *Muscovy*.
 ** Or, Czar. †† Dr. *Willis* Pharm. Rat. †† *Boyle's* Experimental Philosophy.
 ‖‖ *Hartman* prax. Chym. §§ Dr. *Grew* Mus. Reg. Soc. p. 252. *** *Journal des Scavans*. An. 1681.
 and

and so beneficial to the Body, that I cannot but wonder, after all these Charms, they have not as yet been courted, and ushered into our Publick-Houses; if they should once appear on the Stage, I am confident, that both the *Whig* and *Tory* would agree about them far better than they have done about the *Medal* and *Mushroom*; nay the very *Cynick* and *Stoick* himself would fall in Love with the Beauty and extraordinary Vertues of these *Berries*, which are so common, and cheap, that they may be purchased for little or nothing; one Ounce of the *Berry*, well cleansed, bruised, and mashed, will be enough for almost a Pint of Water; when they are boiled together, the Vessel must be carefully stopped; after the Boiling is over, one Spoonful of Sugar-candy may be put in.

The *Juniper-tree* grows wild upon many Hills in *Surry* and *Oxfordshire*, and upon *Juniper-Hill*, near *Hilderham* in *Cambridgeshire*; besides, in several other Parts of *England*: The *Berries* are most commonly gathered about *August*. The *Astrological Botanists* advise us to pull them, when the Sun is in *Virgo*.

The *Juniper-Berry* is of so great Reputation in the *Northern Nations*, that they use it, as we do *Coffee* and *Thee*, especially the *Laplanders*, who do almost adore it. *Simon Pauli*, a learned *Dane*, assures us, that these *Berries* have performed Wonders in the Stone, which he did not learn from Books, or common Fame, but from his own Observation and Experience; for he produces two very notable Examples, that, being tormented with the Stone, did find incredible Success in the Use of these *Berries*; and, if my Memory does not fail me, I have heard our most ingenious and famous Dr. *Troutbeck* commend a Medicine prepared of them in this Distemper. Besides, *Schroder* knew a Nobleman of *Germany*, that freed himself from the intolerable Symptoms of the Stone by the constant Use of these *Berries*: Ask any Physician about them, and he will bestow upon them a much finer Character than my rude Pencil can draw. The learned Mr. *Evelyn* will tell you what great Kindnesses he has done to his poor sick Neighbours, with a Preparation of *Juniper-Berries*, who is pleased to honour them with the Title of the *Forester's Panacea*; he extols them in the Wind Cholick, and many other Distempers. Do but consult *Bauhinus* and *Schroder*, the first being the most exact Herbal, the other the most faithful and elaborate Dispensatory, that ever has been published; and you will find great

Commendation of these *Berries* in Dropsies, Gravel, Coughs, Consumptions, Gout, Stoppage of the monthly Courses, Epilepsies, Palsies, and Lethargies, in which there are often an ill Appetite, bad Digestions, and Obstructions.

Take one Spoonful of the Spirit of *Juniper-Berries*, four Grains of the Salt of *Juniper*, and three Drops of the Oil of *Juniper-Berries* well rectified; mix them all together, drink them Morning and Night in a Glass of White-wine, and you will have no contemptible Medicine in all the afore-mentioned Diseases.

Now it is probable, that you have both the Spirit, Salt, and Oil of this *Berry* in a simple Decoction of it, provided it be carefully and skilfully managed. If this will not satisfy, do but read *Benjamin Scarffius*, and *John Michael*, who have published in *Germany* two several Books of the *Juniper*, and you may meet with far more persuasive Arguments, than I can pretend to offer you.

The *Elder-Tree* grows almost every where, but it most delights in Hedges, Orchards, and other shady Places, or on the moist Banks of Rivulets and Ditches, into which it is thrust by the Gardeners, lest, by its Luxury and importunate Increase yearly, it should possess all their Ground. We write here of the Domestick, common *Elder*, not of the Mountain, the Water, or Dwarf *Elder*, ours in Figure is like the *Ash*; the Leaves resemble those of a *Walnut-Tree*, but less; in the Top of the Branches, and Twigs, there spring sweet and crisped Umbels, swelling with white odoriferous Flowers (in *June* before St. *John's Eve*) which by their Fall give Place to a many-branched Grapes, first green, then ruddy, last of a black, dark Purple Colour, succulent and tumid with its winish Liquor; of all the wild Plants it is first covered with Leaves, and last unclothed of them. It flourishes in *May*, *June*, and *July*, but the *Berries* are not ripe till *August*.

As for the Qualities and Vertues of *Elder-Berries*, I need say no more, but that Mr. *Ray* has given a great Encomium of them; our learned Dr. *Needham* commending them in Dropsies, and some Fevers; and I have been informed, that the ingenious Dr. *Croon* has extolled a Spirit of *Elder-Berries* in an epidemical intermitting Fever. *Schroder* says, they do peculiarly respect some Diseases, attributed to the Womb. Mr. *Evelyn* is so bountiful to his poor *Forester*, as to assure him, that if he could but learn the Medicinal Properties of the *Elder-Tree*,

Tree, he might fetch a Remedy from every Hedge, either for Sickneſs or Wounds; the ſame curious Gentleman takes Notice, how prevalent theſe *Berries* are in ſcorbutick Diſtempers, and for the Prolongation of Life (ſo famous is the Story of *Neander*.) I have heard ſome praiſe them in Bloody Fluxes, and other Diſeaſes of the Bowels; alſo in ſeveral Diſtempers of the Head, as the Falling-Sickneſs, Megrims, Palfies, Lethargies; they are ſaid likewiſe to promote the monthly Inundations of Women, and to deſtroy the Heat of an Eryſipelas, for which the Flowers themſelves are highly celebrated by *Simon Pauli*, who experimented them upon himſelf with wonderful Succeſs. I could produce ſeveral Caſes out of the beſt Phyſical Writers, as *Foreſius*, *Riverius*, *Rulandus*, &c. where theſe *Berries* have acted their Parts, even to Admiration; but, if you are curious and inquiſitive after the Qualities and Nature of them, I will recommend a learned *German*, *Martyn Blochwitz*, to your Reading, where you may entertain yourſelf with great Variety: Yet I have one Thing ſtill to take Notice of, that the ſame Medicine may be prepared out of the Spirit, Oil, and Salt of this *Berry*, that you have been taught before to make out of the *Juniper-Berry*; but you may obtain them all in a ſimple Decoction, if it be well managed.

You have read here the great Uſe of theſe two *Berries*, that are more univerſally agreeable to all Tempers, Palates, and Caſes, than perhaps any other two ſimple Medicines, which are commonly known amongſt us; ſo that ſeveral Perſons, being under ill Habits of Body, and upon the Frontiers of ſome lingering Diſeaſes, cannot but deſire to drink them, when they have Occaſion to reſort to Publick Houſes; yet, for all this, my poor Advice will certainly meet

with that Fate, which does attend almoſt every Thing in the World, that is, *Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis*; but it dreads moſt of all the *Turky* and *East-India* Merchant, who will condemn it in Defence of their *Coffee* and *Thee*, which have the Honour of coming from the *Levant* and *China*. Beſides, I am afraid of a Laſh, or a Frown, from ſome young Ladies, and little Sparks, who ſcorn to eat, drink, or wear any Thing, that comes not from *France*, or the *Indies*; they fancy poor *England* is not capable of bringing forth any Commodity, that can be agreeable to their Grandeur and Gallantry, as though Nature, and God Almighty, had curſed this Iſland with the Production of ſuch Things, as are every Way unſuitable to the Complexions and Neceſſities of the Inhabitants; ſo we cannot but repartee upon theſe *A-la mode* Perſons, that, while they worſhip ſo much only Foreign Creatures, they cannot but be wholly ignorant of thoſe at Home. His Excellency, the moſt acute and ingenious Ambaſſador from the Emperor of *Fez* and *Morocco* (who now reſides amongſt us) is reported to have adviſed his Attendants to ſee every Thing, but admire nothing, leſt they ſhould ſeem thereby to diſparage their own Country, and ſhew themſelves ignorant of the great Rarities and Wonders of *Barbary*.

Poor contemptible *Berries*, fly hence to *Smyrna*, *Bantam*, or *Mexico*; then the Merchants would work through Storms and Tempeſts, through Fire and Water, to purchaſe you, and, on your Arrival here would proclaim your Vertues in all publick Aſſemblies; ſo true is that common Saying, *A Prophet is never valued in his own Country*. The *English* Soil is certainly influenced by ſome peſtilential Star, that blaſts the Credit of its Productions.

The Way of making Mum, with ſome Remarks upon that Liquor.

IN the *firſt Place*, I will give ſome Inſtructions how to make *Mum*, as it is recorded in the Houſe of *Brunſwick*, and was ſent, from thence, to General *Monk*.

To make a Veſſel of fixty-three Gallons, the Water muſt be firſt boiled to the Conſumption of a third Part; let it then be brewed, according to Art, with ſeven Buſhels of Wheat-malt, one Buſhel of Oat-malt, and one Buſhel of ground Beans; and, when it is tunned, let not the Hogſhead be too much filled at firſt; when it

begins to work, put to it of the inner Rind of the Fir three Pounds, of the Tops of Fir and Birch, of each one Pound; of *Carduus Benedictus* dried, three Handfuls; Flowers of *Rosa Solis*, two Handfuls; of Burnet, Betony, Marjoram, Avens, Penny-royal, Flowers of Elder, wild Thyme, of each one Handful and an half; Seeds of Cardamum bruſed, three Ounces; Bay-berries bruſed one Ounce; put the Seeds into the Veſſel: When the Liquor hath wrought a While with the Herbs, and after they are added,

ded, let the Liquor work over the Vessel as little as may be, fill it up at last, and, when it is stopped, put into the Hoghead ten new-laid Eggs, the Shells not cracked or broken; stop all close, and drink it at two Years old; if carried by Water it is better. Dr. *Ægidius Hoffman* added Water-creffes, Brook-lime, and wild Parsley, of each six Handfuls, with six Handfuls of Horse-radish rasped in every Hoghead; it was observed that the Horse-radish made the *Mum* drink more quick than that which had none.

By the Composition of *Mum*, we may guess at the Qualities and Properties of it; you find great Quantities of the Rind, and Tops of Fir, in it; therefore if the *Mum-makers* at *London* are so careful and honest, as to prepare this Liquor, after the *Brunswick* Fashion, which is the genuine and original Way; it cannot but be very powerful against the Breeding of Stones, and against all scorbutick Distempers. When the *Swedes* carried on a War against the *Muscovites*, the Scurvy did so domineer among them, that their Army did languish and moulder away to nothing, till, once incamping near a great Number of Fir-trees, they began to boil the Tops of them in their Drink, which recovered the Army, even to a Miracle; from whence the *Swedes* call the Fir, the *Scorbutick Tree*, to this very Day. Our most renowned Dr. *Walter Needham* has observed the great Success of these Tops of Fir in the Scurvy, as Mr. *Ray* informs us; which is no great Wonder, if we consider the Balsam or Turpentine (with which this Tree abounds) which proves so effectual in preserving even dead Bodies themselves from Putrefaction and Corruption. If my Memory does not deceive me, I have heard Mr. *Boyle* (the Ornament and Glory of our *English* Nation) affirm, that the Oil of Turpentine preserves Bodies from Putrefaction much better than the Spirit of Wine. The Fir, being a principal Ingredient of this Liquor, is so celebrated by some modern Writers, that it alone may be sufficient to advance the *Mum* Trade amongst us. *Simon Pauli* (a learned *Dane*) tells us the great Exploits of the Tops of this Tree in freeing a great Man of *Germany* from an inveterate Scurvy; every Physician will inform you, how proper they are against the Breeding of Gravel and Stones; but then we must be so exact, as to pull these Tops in their proper Season, when they abound most with Turpentine and balsamick

Parts, and then they may make the *Mum* a proper Liquor in *Gonorrhæa's*; besides, the Eggs may improve its Faculty that Way; yet I will not conceal what, I think, the learned Dr. *Merret* affirms in his Observations upon Wines, that those Liquors, into which the Shavings of Fir are put, may be apt to create Pains in the Head; but still it is to be confessed, that the Fir cannot but contribute much to the Vigour and Preservation of the Drink.

By the Variety of its Malt, and by the ground Beans, we may conclude, that *Mum* is a very hearty and strengthening Liquor; some drink it much, because it has no Hops, which, they fancy, do spoil our *English* Ales and Beers, ushering in Infections; nay, Plagues amongst us. *Tho. Bartholine* exclaims so fiercely against Hops, that he advises us to mix any Thing with our Drink, rather than them; he recommends Sage, Tamarisks, Tops of Pine, or Fir, instead of Hops, the daily Use of which in our *English* Liquors is said to have been one Cause, why the Stone is grown such a common Disease among us *Englishmen*; yet Captain *Graunt*, in his curious Observations upon the Bills of Mortality, observes, that fewer are afflicted with the Stone in this present Age, than there were in the Age before, though far more Hops have been used in this City of late than ever.

As for Eggs in the Composition of *Mum*, they may contribute much to prevent its growing fowre, their Shells sweetening Vinegar, and destroying Acids; for which Reason they may be proper in restoring some decayed Liquors, if put whole into the Vessel. Dr. *Stubbs*, in some curious Observations made in his Voyage to *Jamaica*, assures us, that Eggs, put whole into the Vessel, will preserve many Drinks, even to Admiration, in long Voyages; the Shells and Whites will be devoured and lost, but the Yolks left untouched.

Dr. *Willis* prescribes *Mum* in several Chronical Distempers, as Scurvies, Dropsies, and some Sort of Consumptions. The *Germans*, especially the Inhabitants of *Saxony*, have so great a Veneration for this Liquor, that they fancy their Bodies can never decay, or pine away, as long as they are lined and embalmed with so powerful a Preserver; and indeed, if we consider the Frame and Complexions of the *Germans* in general, they may appear to be living Mummies. But to conclude all in a few Words, if this Drink, called *Mum*, be exactly made according to the foregoing Instructions,

tions, it must needs be a most excellent alterative Medicine, the Ingredients of it being very rare and choice Simples, there being scarce any one Disease in Nature against which some of them are not prevalent, as Betony, Marjoram, Thyme, in Diseases of the Head; Birch, Burnet, Water-creffes, Brook-lime, Horse-radish, in the most inveterate Scurvies, Gravels, Coughs, Consumptions, and all Obstructions. Avens and Cardamom-seeds for cold weak Stomachs. *Carduus Benedictus*, and Elder-flowers, in intermitting Fevers. Bay-berries and Penny-Royal, in Distempers attributed to the Womb. But it is to be feared, that several of our *Londoners* are not so honest and curious, as to prepare their *Mum* faithfully and truly; if they do, they are so happy as to furnish and stock their Country with one of the most useful Liquors under the Sun, it being so proper and effectual in several lingering Distempers, where there is a Depravation and Weakness of the Blood and Bowels.

There still remains behind a strong and gene-

ral Objection, that may, perhaps, fall upon this little puny Pamphlet, and crush it all to Pieces, that is, the Histories are too short, and imperfect; to which I have only this to answer,

Ars longa, vita brevis,

A perfect natural History of the least Thing in the World, cannot be the Work of one Man, or scarce of one Age, for it requires the Heads, Hands, Studies, and Observations of many, well compared and digested together; therefore this is rather an Essay, or Topick, for Men to reason upon, when they meet together in Publick-Houses, and to encourage them to follow the Example of *Adam*, who, in the State of Innocence, did contemplate of all the Creatures that were round about him in Paradise, but after the Fall, and the Building of a City, the Philosopher turned Politician.

P O S T C R I P T.

Liquors and Drinks are of such general Use and Esteem, in all the habitable Parts of the World, that a Word or two concerning them cannot be improper or unwelcome.

First, the Saps and Juices of Trees will afford many pleasant and useful Liquors. The *Africans* and *Indians* prepare their famous Palm-wine (which they call *Sura* or *Toddy*) out of the Sap of the wounded Palm tree, as we do our Birch-wine in *England*, out of the Tears of the pierced Birch-tree, which is celebrated in the Stone and Scurvy. So the Sycamore and Walnut, being wounded, will weep out their Juices, which may be fermented into Liquors. In the *Molucca's*, the Inhabitants extract a Wine out of a Tree called *Laudan*.

Fruits and Berries yield many noble and necessary Liquors. Every Nation abounds with various Drinks by the Diversity of their Fruits and Vegetables. *England* with Cyder, Perry, Cherry, Currant, Gooseberry, Raspberry, Mulberry, Blackberry, and Strawberry Wine. *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Hungary*, and *Germany*, produce great Varieties of Wines from the different Species and Natures of their Grapes and Soils. In *Jamaica* and *Brasil* they make a very delicious Wine out of a Fruit called *Ananas*, which is like a Pine-apple, not inferior to *Malvasia* Wine.

The *Chinese* make curious Drinks out of their Fruits; so do the *Brasilians* and Southern *Americans*; as from their Cocoa, Acajou, Pacobi, Unni, or Murtilla's. We may note here, that all the Juices of Herbs, Fruits, Seeds, and Roots will work and ferment themselves into intoxicating Liquors, out of which Spirits and Brandies may be extracted; most Nations under the Sun have their drunken Liquors and Compounds; the *Turk* his Maflack, the *Persians* their Bangué, the *Indians* their Fulo, Rum, Arrack, and Punch. The *Arabians*, *Turks*, *Chinese*, *Tartars*, and other Eastern Countries do make inebriating Liquors out of their Corn and Rice; some, rather than not be drunk, will swallow Opium, Dutroy, and Tobacco, or some other intoxicating Thing, so great an Inclination has Mankind to be exalted. *Pliny* complains, that Drunkenness was the Study of his Time, and that the *Romans* and *Parthians* contended for the Glory of excessive Wine-drinking. Historians tell us of one *Novellius Torquatus*, who went through all the honourable Degrees of Dignity in *Rome*, wherein the greatest Glory and Honour, he obtained, was for the Drinking, in the Presence of *Tiberius*, three Gallons of Wine at one Draught, before ever he drew his Breath, and without being any Ways concerned.

Athenæus

Athenæus says, that *Melanthius* wished his own Neck as long as a Crane's, that he might be the longer a tasting the Pleasure of Drinks; yet, what he reports of *Lasyrtus* is wonderful, that he never drank any Thing, tho', notwithstanding, he urined as others do. The same famous Author takes Notice, that the great Drinkers used to eat Coleworts, to prevent Drunkenness; neither are some Men of our Days much inferior to those celebrated Antients. The *Germans* commonly drink whole Tankards, and Ell-glasses, at a Draught, adoring him that drinks fairly and most, and hating him that will not pledge them. The *Dutchmen* will salute their Guests with a Pail and a Dish, making Hog-heads of their Bellies. The *Polander* thinks him the bravest Fellow that drinks most Healths, and carries his Liquor best, being of Opinion, that there is as much Valour in Drinking as Fight-

ing. The *Russians*, *Swedes*, and *Danes* have so naturalised Brandy, *Aqua Vitæ*, Beer, Mum, &c. that they usually drink our *Englishmen* to Death, so that the most ingenious Author of the *Vineta Britannicum* concludes, that Temperance (relatively speaking) is the Cardinal Virtue of the *English*.

It is very wonderful what Mr. *Ligon* and other *American* Travellers relate of the Cassava-root, how out of it the *Americans* do generally make their Bread, and common Drink, called *Parra-now*; yet that Root is known to be a great Poison, if taken raw; their Drink, called *Mobby*, is made of Potatoes. But we will conclude all with *Virgil*, who, speaking of the many Liquors in his Time, says,

*Sed neque quam multæ species, nec nomina quæ
sunt,
Est Numerus.*

Contemplations upon Life and Death; with serious Reflexions on the Miseries that attend human Life, in every Station, Degree, and Change thereof. Written by a Person of Quality, in his Confinement, a little before his Death; shewing the Vanity of the Desire of long Life, and the Fear of Death; with a true Copy of the Paper delivered to the Sheriffs upon the Scaffold at *Tower-hill*, on *Thursday, January 28, 1696-7*, by Sir *John Fenwick*, Baronet.

[From a *Quarto*, containing thirty-one Pages, printed at *London*, in 1697.

I do not presume to arraign the Justice of that Sentence by which Sir John Fenwick, the Author of this Tract, was condemned to die for High-Treason; neither does it concern me to enter into the Particulars of the Charge brought against him; but I cannot but justly observe, that he, in these Contemplations, has left us a convincing Proof, how well he improved the Time under his Confinement; and a rare Example of Patience, Resignation to God's Will, and of a real Christian Understanding in the Way of Godliness. For I may venture to say, that, in this short Draught of Life and Death, he not only shews his great Ability in Point of Method and Invention; but has excelled those excellent Authors, Drexelius, Bellarmine, Bona, Sherlock, &c. who have written up-
on

on the same Subject ; and, therefore, believe it will be acceptable to my Readers, and thought worthy to be preserved from the Injury of Time in this Collection.

N *Osce te ipsum* *, is a Lesson a Man can never learn too late ; and therefore, though hitherto I have lived so much a *Stranger to myself*, that I have had little Leisure, and less Desire to think or contemplate (a studious and sedentary Life having always been my Aversion) yet the solitary Condition I am now reduced to, and the melancholy Circumstances under which I lie, do, methinks, call upon me to consider what I have been doing, and what I am further shortly to do. I am now under a close Confinement, secluded from all Conversation with the World, and denied the Visits of my nearest and dearest Relations ; and all this seems to be but the sad Prologue to that sadder Tragedy in which I am to be the principal Actor, before I go off the Stage of this World. And, therefore, since Death and I must shortly be better acquainted, it will certainly be my Wisdom, as well as my Interest, to familiarise it to me before-hand ; And I do not know how that can be better done, than by contemplating the *Miseries of Life*, in all its various Changes and Conditions ; and then to look upon *Death* as the great *Panpharmacum* or Remedy of all those Evils that Life subjects us to.

It is true indeed, we generally fly from *Death* as our worst Enemy, although it is in Truth our greatest Friend ; and this, to a considering Man, is very unaccountable. I must confess, it does seem strange to me, and is, methinks, a Thing to be admired, that the poor Labourer, to repose himself, longs for the setting Sun ; that the Mariner rows with all his Might to attain his wished-for Port, and rejoices when he can discover Land ; that the Traveller is never contented, till he be at the End of his Journey ; and that we, in the mean While, tied in this World to a perpetual Task, tossed with continual Tempests, and tired with a rough and thorny Way, yet cannot see the End of our Labour, but with Grief ; nor behold our Port, but with Tears ; nor approach to our Home, but with Horror and Trembling. This Life is but a *Penelope's* Web, in which we are always doing and undoing ; a Sea that lies open to all Winds, which sometimes within, and sometimes without, never ceases to blow violently upon us ; a weary Jour-

ney thro' extreme Heats and Colds, over high Mountains, steep Rocks, and dangerous Defarts ; and thus we pass away our Time in weaving at this Web, in rowing at this Oar, and in passing this miserable Way ; and yet, when Death comes to end our Work, and stretches out his Arm to pull us into the Port ; when after so many dangerous Passages, and loathsome Lodgings, he would conduct us to our true Home and Resting-place ; instead of rejoicing at the End of our Labour, of taking Comfort at the Sight of our desired Haven, and of singing at our Approach to those happy Mansions ; we would fain begin our Work again, hoist Sail to the Wind, and would willingly undertake our Journey a-new. No more we then remember our Weariness and Pains ; our Dangers and our Shipwrecks are forgotten. We fear no more the Tiresomeness of Travel, nor the Danger of Defarts. But, on the Contrary, we apprehend Death as an extreme Pain ; we shun it as the fatal Rock on which we are like to split ; we fly it as a Thief that comes to rob us of our Treasure. We do as little Children, who all the Day complain of Illness, and, when the Medicine is brought them, are no longer sick : Or, as they who all the Week long run up and down the Streets, complaining of the Pain of their Teeth, and yet, seeing the Barber coming to pull them out, are rather willing still to endure the Pain, than use the Remedy. And as those tender and delicate Bodies, who in a pricking Pleurisy complain, and cry out, and cannot stay for a Surgeon ; and yet when they see him whetting his Launcet, to cut the Throat of the Disease, pull in their Arms and hide them in the Bed, as if he were come to kill them. We fear more the Cure than the Disease ; the Surgeon, than the Pain ; the Stroke, than the Imposthume. We have more Sense of the Medicine's Bitterness, soon gone, than of a bitter long-continued Languishing : We have more Feeling of Death, the End of our Miseries, than the endless Misery of our Life. And whence proceedeth this Folly and Simplicity ? We neither know Life nor Death ; we fear what we ought to hope for, and wish for what we ought to fear ; we call Life a continual Death, and yet Death is the Entrance of a never-dying Life.

* Know thyself.

Now what Good, O my Soul, is there in Life, that thou shouldest so much desire it? Or what Evil is there in Death, that thou shouldst so much fear it? Nay, what Evil is there not in Life, and what Good is there not in Death?

Consider all the Periods of *this Life*; we enter it in *Tears*, we pass it in *Sweat*, we end it in *Sorrow*. Great and Little, Rich and Poor, not one in the whole World that can plead Immunity from this Condition. Man in this Point is worse than all other Creatures; he is born unable to support himself; neither receiving in his first Years any Pleasure, nor giving to others any Thing but Trouble; and before the Age of Discretion passing infinite Dangers. Only herein he is less unhappy than in other Ages, because in this he hath no Sense nor Apprehension of his Misery. Now can we think there is any so void of Reason, that, if it were granted him to live always a Child, would make Choice of such a Life?

So then it is evident, That not simply to live is desirable; but to live well and happy. But to proceed:

Grows he? His Troubles likewise grow up with him. Scarcely is he come out of his Nurse's Hands, and scarce knows what it is to play, but he falls under the Subjection of a Schoolmaster; I speak but of those which have the best Education, and are brought up with the greatest Care and Strictness. And then, if he studies, it is ever with Repining; and, if he plays, it is never but with Fear.

This whole Age, while he is under the Charge of another, is unto him no better than a Prison; and therefore he longs for, and only aspires to that Age, in which, freed from the Tutelage of another, he may become Master of himself; pushing Time forward, as it were, with his Shoulder, that he may the sooner enjoy his hoped-for Liberty. In short, he desires nothing more than to see the End of his Age, which he looks upon as Bondage and Slavery, and enter upon the Beginning of his Youth.

And what is the Beginning of Youth, but the Death of Infancy? And the Beginning of Manhood, but the Death of Youth? Or what is the Beginning of To-morrow, but the Death of the present Day?

And thus he implicitly desires his Death, and judges his Life miserable; and therefore cannot be reputed in a State of Happiness or Contentment.

Behold him now, according to his Wish, at Liberty; in that Age wherein he has his Choice,

to take the Way of Virtue or of Vice, and either to choose Reason or Passion for his Guide; his Passion entertains him with a thousand Delights, prepares for him a thousand Baits, and presents him with a thousand worldly Pleasures to surprise him; and these are so agreeable to headstrong and unbridled Youth, that there are very few that are not taken and beguiled by them; of which my own Example is too evident an Instance.

But, when the Reckoning comes to be made up, what Pleasures are they? They are but vicious and polluted Pleasures, which ever hold him in a restless Fever; Pleasures that at the best end in Repentance, and, like Sweet-meats, are of a hard Digestion; Pleasures that are bought with Pain, and in a Moment perish, but leave behind a lasting Guilt, and long Remorse of Conscience; all which I wish my own too dear Experience could not witness.

And yet this is the very Nature (if they be well examined) of all the Pleasures of *this World*; there is in none so much Sweetness, but there is more Bitterness; none so pleasant to the Mouth, but it leaves an unsavory Gusto after it. I will not speak here of the Mischiefs, Quarrels, Debates, Wounds, Murders, Banishments, Sicknes, and other Dangers, whereinto sometimes the Incontinency, and sometimes the Insolency of this ill-guided Age does plunge Men; for the Remembrance of my own Follies, upon this Occasion, stops my Mouth, and fills me with Remorse and Shame.

But if those that seem Pleasures be nothing else but Displeasure, if the Sweetness thereof be as an Infusion of Wormwood; What then must the Displeasure be which they feel? And how great the Bitterness that they taste?

Behold then, in short, the Life of a young Man, who, rid of the Government of his Parents and Masters, abandons himself to all the Exorbitancies of his unruly Passion; which, like an unclean Spirit possessing him, throws him sometimes into the Water, and then into the Fire; sometimes carries him clear over a Rock, and at other Times flings him headlong to the Bottom.

But, if he follows Reason for his Guide; (which is much the better Choice) yet, on this Hand, there are wonderful Difficulties: For he must resolve to fight in every Part of the Field, and at every Step to be in Conflict, as having his Enemy in Front, in Flank, and on the Rear, never leaving to assail him; and this Enemy is all that can delight him, all that he sees near, or far off. In short, the greatest Enemy,

in the World, is *the World* * itself, which he must therefore overcome. But, beside the World, he has a thousand treacherous Enemies *within* him, among whom his Passion is none of the least, which waits for an Occasion to surprise him, and betray him to his Lufts. It is God only that can make him choose the Path of Virtue, and it is God only that can keep him in it to the End, and make him victorious in all his Combats. But, alas, how few they are that enter into it! And, of those few, how many that retire again! So that, let a Man follow the one Way or the other, he must either subject himself to a tyrannical Passion, or undertake a weary and continual Combat; wilfully throw himself into the Arms of Destruction, or fetter himself, as it were, in the Stocks; easily carried away with the Current of the Water, or painfully stemming the impetuous Tide.

See here the Happiness of the young Man! Who, in his Youth, having drunk his full Draught of the World's vain and deceivable Pleasures, is overtaken by them with such a dull Heaviness and Astonishment, as Drunkards the Morrow after a Debauch, or Gluttons after a plentiful Feast; who are so over-pressed with the Excesses of the former Day, that the very Remembrance of it creates their Loathing. And even he, that has made the stoutest Resistance, feels himself so weary, and with this continual Conflict so bruised and broken, that he is either upon the Point to yield, or die. And this is all the Good, all the Contentment, of this flourishing Age, by Children, so earnestly desired, and, by those who have experienced it, so heartily lamented.

Next cometh that which is called *perfect Age*, in which Men have no other Thoughts, but to purchase themselves Wisdom and Rest. It is called *perfect*, indeed, but is herein only perfect, that all Imperfections of human Nature, hidden before under the Simplicity of Childhood, or the Lightness of Youth, appear in this Age in their Perfection. I speak of none in this Place, but those that are esteemed the wisest and most happy, in the Opinion of the World.

I have already shewed that we played in Fear; and that our short Pleasures were attended on with long Repentance: But now *Avarice* and *Ambition* present themselves to us, promising, if we will adore them, to give us perfect Contentment with the Goods and Honours of this

World: And surely none but those, who are restrained by a Divine Hand, can escape the Illusions of the one, or the other, and not cast themselves headlong from the Top of the Pinnacle.

But let us see what this Contentment is: The *Covetous Man* makes a thousand Voyages by Sea, and Journies by Land; runs a thousand Hazards, escapes a thousand Shipwrecks, and is in perpetual Fear and Travel; and yet oftentimes either loseth his Time, or gains nothing but Sickneses, Gouts, and Oppilations. In the Purchase of this goodly Repose, he bestoweth his true Rest; and to gain Wealth, loseth his Life. But suppose he hath gained much, and that he hath spoiled the whole *East* of its Pearls, and drawn dry all the Mines of the *West*; Will he then be at Quiet, and say, he is content? Nothing less: For, by all his Acquisitions, he gains but more Disquiet, both of Mind and Body; from one Travel falling into another, never ending, but only changing his Miseries: He desired to have them, and now fears to lose them; he got them with burning Ardour, and possesses them in trembling Cold; he adventured among Thieves to get them, and now fears by Thieves and Robbers to be deprived of them again; he laboured to dig them out of the Earth, and now, to secure them, he hides them therein. In short, coming from all his Voyages, he comes into a Prison: And the End of his bodily Travels is but the Beginning of the endless Labour of his Mind. Judge now what this Man has gained, after so many Miseries! This Devil of Covetousness persuades him he has some rare and excellent Thing; and so it fares with him, as with those poor Creatures whom the Devil seduceth, under Colour of relieving their Poverty; who find their Hands full of Leaves, when they thought to find them full of Crowns: He possesseth, or rather is possessed by, a Thing wherein is neither Power nor Vertue, more base and unprofitable, than the least Herb of the Earth. Yet hath he heaped together this vile Excrement, and so brutish is grown, as therewith to crown his Head, when he ought to tread it under his Feet.

But, however it be, is he therewith satisfied and contented? So far from that, that he is now more dissatisfied than ever. We commend most those Drinks that breed an Alteration, and soonest extinguish Thirst; and those Meats that

* The Corruptions of Nature in those that he converseth with, &c.

in least Quantity do longest resist Hunger: But now of this, the more a Man drinks, the more he is a-thirst; the more he eats, the more he is an hungry: It is a Dropsy that swells him till he bursts before he can be satisfied. And, which is worse, in some so extravagant is this Thirst, that it makes them dig the Pits, and carefully draw the Water, and, after all, won't suffer them to drink. In the Midst of a River, they are dry with Thirst; and, on a Heap of Corn, cry out of Famine: They have Goods, and dare not use them; Garments, but dare not put them on; And tho' they are possessed of that in which they joy, they don't enjoy it. The Sum of all which is, That, of all which they have, they have nothing.

Let us then return unto that, That the attaining of all these deceivable Goods is nothing else but Weariness of Body, and the Possession, for the most Part, Weariness of Mind; which certainly is so much the greater Evil, as the Mind is more sensible than the Body.

But the Complement of all their Misery is, when they come to lose them, either by Shipwreck, Fire, or any other Accident, then they cry, weep, and torment themselves; like little Children that have lost their Play-game, which yet is nothing worth. One cannot persuade them that mortal Men have any other Good in this World, but that which is mortal. They are, in their own Conceits, not only spoiled, but utterly undone: And forasmuch as in these vain Things they have fixed all their Hope, having lost them, they fall into Despair, out of which they are seldom recovered, many Times laying violent Hands upon themselves, and bringing their own Lives to an unhappy Period.

In short, the Recompence that Covetousness yields those that have served it all their Life, is like that of the Devil, who, after a small Time, having gratified his Votaries, either leaves them to the Hangman, or himself breaks their Necks.

I will not here discourse of the Wickedness to which covetous Men subject themselves to attain to these Goods, whereby their Conscience is filled with a perpetual Remorse, which never leaves them in Quiet. It is enough that in this immoderate Pursuit of Riches, which busieth and abuseth the greatest Part of the World, the Body is macerated, the Mind debilitated, and the Soul is lost, without any Pleasure or Contentment.

Let us then come to *Ambition*, which, by an over-eager aspiring to Honour, takes up the

Time and Thoughts of the greatest Persons: And, what! Do we there think to find more Content? Alas! 'tis rather less; and this, I am sure, I can witness to my Cost: For as the one deceives us, by giving us for all our Travel, but a vile Excrement of the Earth; so the other repays us but with Smoke and Wind: The Rewards of this being as vain, as those of that were gross. In both we fall into a bottomless Pit; but, into this, the Fall is by so much the more dangerous, as at the first Shew the Water is more clear and pleasant.

Of those Men that make their Court to *Ambition*, some are great about Princes, others Commanders of Armies; both Sorts, according to their Degree, you see saluted, revered, and adored of those that are under them: You see them apparelled in Purple, in Scarlet, and in Cloth of Gold; that, at the first Sight, one would think there is no Content to be found, but amongst them. But, alas! Men know not how heavy an Ounce of that vain Honour weighs; they know not what those Reverences cost them, nor how dearly they pay for an Ell of those rich Stuffs: They are so over-rated, that he, who knew them well, would never buy them at the Price. The one hath attained to this Degree, after a long and painful Service, hazarding his Life, upon every Occasion, with Loss, oftentimes of a Leg or an Arm; and that at the Pleasure of a Prince, that more regards a hundred Perches of Ground on his Neighbours Frontiers, than the Lives of a Hundred Thousand such as he; unfortunate to serve one who loves him not, and foolish to think himself in honour with him, that makes so little reckoning to lose him for a Thing of no Worth.

Others there are that aspire to Greatness by flattering a Prince; which is a Life so base and servile, that they can never say their very Souls are their own, any longer than their Prince is pleased to let them; for they must always have their Hands and Tongues ready to do, and say, whatever he would have them; and yet they must be content to suffer a thousand Injuries, and receive a thousand Disgraces: And, as near as they seem about the Prince, they are nevertheless always like the Lion's Keeper, who, when by long Patience, a thousand Feedings, and a thousand Clawings, he hath made a fierce Lion familiar, yet never gives him Meat, but with pulling back his Hand, always in Fear lest he should catch him; and, if once in a Year he bites him, he sets it so close, that he is paid for it

a long Time after. Such generally is the End of the Favourites of Princes.

When a Prince, after long Service, hath raised a Man to the highest Pitch of Honour, he sometimes makes it his Pastime to cast him down in an Instant; and when he hath filled him with Heaps of Wealth and Riches, he squeezes him afterwards like a Sponge; loving none but himself, and thinking every one born but to serve and please him.

These blind Courtiers make themselves believe that they have Friends, and many that honour them; never considering, that, as they make only a Shew to love and honour every Body, so others do to them: Their Superiors disdain them, and never, but with some Kind of Scorn, so much as salute them: Their Inferiors salute them, because they have no Need of them, (I mean, of their Fortune, their Food, their Apparel, not their Persons.) And for their Equals, between whom Friendship usually consists, they envy, accuse, and cross each other; being always troubled either at their own Harm, or at another's Good. Now, what greater Torment is there to a Man than Envy? Which is indeed nothing but a *Hellick Fever* of the Mind; by which they are utterly deprived of all Friendship, which was ever judged, by the wisest, the sovereign Good amongst Men.

But, to make this more evident, let but Fortune turn her Back, and every Man turns from them; let them but be disrobed of their triumphal Garment, and no body will know them any more. And then, suppose the most infamous and vilest Miscreant to be clothed in it, he shall, by Vertue of his Robe, inherit all the Honours of the other, and the same Respect shall be paid him; so that it is the Fortune which they carry that is honoured, and not themselves.

But you will say, At least so long as that Fortune endured, they were at Ease, and had Content; and he, who has three or four Years of happy Time, has not been all his Life unhappy. True, if it be to be at Ease, continually to fear to be cast down from that Degree unto which they are raised; and daily covet with great Labour to climb higher. But those whom thou lookest upon to be so much at Ease, because thou seest them but without, are within far otherwise; they are fair-built Prisons, but full within of deep Dungeons, Darkness, Serpents, and Torments: Thou supposest their Fortunes very large, but they think them very strait;

thou thinkest them very high, but they think themselves very low. Now, he is full as sick, who believes himself to be so, as he who indeed is so: Suppose them to be Kings, yet, if they think themselves Slaves, they are no better; for we are only what Opinion makes us. You see them well followed and attended, and yet even those, whom they have chose for their Guard, they distrust. Alone, or in Company, they are ever in Fear: Alone, they look behind them; in Company, they have an Eye on every Side: They drink in Gold and Silver; but it is in those, and not in Earth or Glass, that Poison is prepared: They have Beds, soft, and well made; yet, when they lie down to sleep, their Fears and Cares do often keep them waking, and turning from Side to Side, so that their very Rest is restless. And there's no other Difference between them and a poor fettered Prisoner, but only that the Prisoner's Fetters are of Iron, and the other's are of Gold; the one is fettered by the Body, the other by the Mind; the Prisoner draws his Fetters after him, the Courtier wear-eth his upon him: The Prisoner's Mind sometimes comforts the Pain of his Body, and he sings in the Midst of his Miseries; the Courtier is always troubled in Mind, wearying his Body, and can never give it Rest. And as for the Contentment you imagine they have, you are therein more deceived: You esteem them great, because they are raised high; but are therein as much mistaken, as they who shall judge a Dwarf to be tall, for being set on a Tower, or standing on the Top of the Monument. You measure (like one unskilled in Geometry) the Image with its Base; which you should measure by itself, if you would know its true Height. You imagine them to be great, but, could you look into their Minds, you would see they are neither great (true Greatness consisting in the Contempt of those vain Greatnesses unto which they are Slaves) nor seem unto themselves to be so; seeing they daily are aspiring higher, and yet never where they would be.

Some there are, that pretend to set Bounds to their Ambition; and to say, If I could attain to such a Degree, I should be contented, and sit down satisfied; but, alas! when he has once attained it, he scarce allows himself a Breathing-time, before he makes Advances towards something higher; and all he has attained he esteems as nothing, and still reputes himself low, because there is some one higher; instead of reputing himself high, because there are a Million

Million lower : And so high he climbs, at last, that either his Breath fails him by the Way, or he slides from the Top to the Bottom.

But if he should get up, by all his Toil and Labour, unto the utmost Height of his Desires, he would but find himself as on the Top of the *Alps*, not above the Clouds, but more obnoxious to the Winds and Storms; and so a fairer Mark for those Lightnings and Tempests which commonly take Pleasure to thunderbolt, and dash to Powder that proud Height of theirs.

It may be herein you will agree with me, compelled thereto by those many Examples that we find in the Histories of former Ages, and those more modern ones that are still recent in most Men's Memories; but my own sad Experience is, to me, more convincing than a thousand Instances; while, aiming at a higher Pitch of Honour, by a too forward Zeal for my Prince, I have only brought myself into a Prison; where the greatest Preferment I can hope for, is to mount a Scaffold; and, instead of having my Head circled with a Coronet, 'tis like to fall a Victim to my Enemies, by the Hands of an Executioner.

But, say you, such, at least, whom Nature hath sent into the World with Crowns on their Heads, and Scepters in their Hands; such as from their Birth are placed in that high Sphere, that they have nothing more to wish for; such are exempt from all the fore-mentioned Evils, and therefore may call themselves happy: It may be, indeed, they may be less sensible of them, having been born, bred, and brought up amongst them: As one born near the Downfalls of *Nilus*, becomes deaf to the Sound of those Waters; and he, that is born and brought up in Prison, laments not the Loss of Liberty; nor does he wish for Day that is brought up amongst the *Cimmerians* in perpetual Night. Yet even Persons of this high Quality are far from being free; for the Lightning often blasts a Flower of their Crowns, or breaks the Scepter in their Hands; sometimes their Crowns are made of Thorns, and the Scepter that they bear is but a Reed: And such Crowns and Scepters are so far from curing the Chagrine of the Mind, and from keeping off those Cares and Griefs that hover still about them, that, on the contrary, it is the Crown that brings them, and the Scepter that attracts them. O Crown, said the *Persian* Monarch, *He, that knew how heavy thou fittest on the Head, would not vouchsafe to take thee up tho' he should meet thee in his Way.* This Prince gave Law to the whole World, and each

Man's Fortune was what he pleased to make it; and therefore, to Appearance, could give to every Man Content; and yet you see himself confessing, That in the whole World, which he held in his Hand, there was nothing but Grief and Unhappiness.

And what better Account can the rest give us, if they would speak impartially what they found? We will not ask them who have concluded a miserable Life with a dishonourable Death; who have beheld their Kingdoms buried before them, and have in great Misery long over-lived their Greatness. Neither will we enquire of *Dionysius* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, who was more content with a Handful of Twigs to whip the little Children of *Corinth* in a School, than with the Scepter wherewith he had beaten all *Sicily*: Nor will we ask of *Sylla*, who having robbed the Common-wealth of *Rome*, which had herself before robbed the whole World, never found Means of Rest in himself, but by robbing himself of his own Estate, with incredible Hazard of his Power and Authority. Nor (to come nearer Home) will we enquire of *Charles*, the Royal Martyr, the Lustre of whose Crown did only serve to tempt his Enemies, not only to take it from his Head, but to take his Head off too; and whose Scepter was too weak to overcome the Force of armed Rebels. Nor will we ask of his two exiled Sons, the first of which endured twelve Years of Banishment ere he enjoyed his Crown; and the last, in less than a *Quinque Neronem*, was forced to leave his Crown and Kingdoms, and fly for Refuge to a neighbouring Monarch, whose generous Goodness has ever since supported him; whose sad Misfortunes I the more regret, because they both include my own, and are their Source and Fountain. It is of none of these unhappy Princes that we will make Enquiry after Happiness: But let us ask the Opinion of the most opulent and flourishing of Princes, even of the great King *Solomon*, a Man endowed with singular Wisdom from above, beyond the rest of Men; and whose immense Riches was so great, that Gold and Silver were as plentiful as the Stones in the Street; and the sacred History tells us, There was such Plenty of Gold, that Silver was nothing accounted of, in the Days of *Solomon*; and, as he wanted not Treasure, so neither did he want for Largeness of Heart to make use of it: And, after he had tried all the Felicities that the World could afford him, this is the Account that he gives of it, *All is Vanity and Vexation of Spirit.*

If we ask of the Emperor *Augustus*, who peaceably possessed the whole World; he will bewail his Life past, and, among infinite Toils, wish for the Rest of the meanest of his Subjects; esteeming that a happy Day that would ease him of his insupportable Greatness, and suffer him to live quietly among the least.

If of *Tiberius*, his Successor, he will tell us, That he holds the Empire as a Wolf by the Ears, and that if he could do it without Danger of being bitten, he would gladly let it go; complaining on Fortune for lifting him so high, and then taking away the Ladder, that he could not get down.

If of *Dioclesian*, a Prince of great Wisdom and Virtue in the Opinion of the World; he will prefer his voluntary Banishment at *Solona*, before all the Roman Empire.

And lastly, If of the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, esteemed the most happy that hath lived these many Ages, he will curse his Conquests, Victories, and Triumphs; and not be ashamed to own, that he hath felt more Good in one Day of his Monkish * Solitude, than in all his triumphant Life.

Nor can we imagine those happy in this imaginary Greatness, who think themselves unhappy in it? And do profess that Happiness consists in being lesser and not greater. In a Word, whatever Happiness *Ambition* promiseth, it is nothing else, but suffering of much Evil to get more. Men think by daily climbing higher, to pluck themselves out of this Evil; and yet the Height, whereunto they so plainly aspire, is the Height of Misery itself.

I speak not here of the Wretchedness of them, who all their Lives have been holding out their Caps to Fortune for the Alms of Court-Favour, and can get nothing; nor of them who, jostling one another for it, cast it into the Hands of a third; nor of those who having it, and seeking to hold it faster, drop it through their Fingers, which often happens. Such, by all Men, are esteemed unhappy; and are so indeed, because, they judge themselves so.

Well, you will now say, the *Covetous*, in all his Goods, hath no good; the *Ambitious*, at the best he can be, is but ill: But may there not be some, who supplying the Place of Justice, or being near about a Prince, may without fol-

lowing such unbridled Passions, enjoy their Goods with Innocence and Pleasure, joining Honour with Rest, and Contentment of Mind?

Perhaps, in former Ages (when there remained among Men some Sparks of Sincerity) it might in some Sort be so; but, being of that Composition they now are, it is in a Manner impossible: For, if you deal in Affairs of State, you shall either do well or ill; if ill, you have God for your Enemy, and your own Conscience for a perpetual tormenting Executioner; If well, you have Men for your Enemies, and of Men the greatest; whose Envy and Malice will espy you out, and whose Cruelty and Tyranny will evermore threaten you. Please the People, you please a Beast; and pleasing such ought to be displeasing to yourself. Please yourself, you displease God; Please him, you incur a thousand Dangers in the World, with the Purchase of a thousand Displeasures. The Sum of all therefore is this, there are none contented with their present Stations; for, if you could hear the Talk of the wisest and least contented of Men, whether they speak advisedly, or their Words pass them by Force of Truth, one would gladly change Garments with his Tenant: Another preacheth, how goodly an Estate it is to have nothing: A third, complaining that his Brains are broken with the Noise of a Court, or Palace, hath no other Thought, but as soon as he can to retire himself thence. So that you shall not see any but is displeased with his own Calling, and envieth that of another: And yet ready to recoil, if a Man should take him at his Word. None but is weary of the Inconveniencies whereunto his Age is subject, and yet wishes not to be older, to free himself of them, though otherwise he keeps off old Age as much as in him lieth.

What must we then do in so great a Contrariety and Confusion of Minds? Must we, to find true Contentment, fly the Society of Men, hide us in Forests among wild Beasts, and sequester ourselves from all Conversation, to preserve ourselves from the Evil of the World? Could we, in so doing, live at Rest, it were something, but alas! Men cannot take herein what Part they would; and even they, which do, find not there all the Rest they sought for.

* *Charles the Fifth*, according to some Authors, being grown very infirm in Body, resigned his Crown to his Son, and became a Monk in the Cloister of the *Hieronymites*, at *St. Justus*, near *Placentia*, on the Frontiers of *Castile* and *Portugal*, Anno 1557.

But where can he fly, that carries his Enemy in his Bosom? And since, as the wise Man says, the World is in our Hearts, hardly can we find a Place in this World, where the World will not find us. And as some make Profession to fly the World, who thereby seek Nothing but the Praise of the World; and as some hide themselves from Men, to no other End but that Men should seek them; so the World often harbours in disguised Attire, among them that fly the World. It is not, therefore, Solitude and Retirement can give us Contentment, but, only the Subduing of our unruly Lusts and Passions.

Now, as touching that Contentment, that may be found in Solitude, by wise Men, in the Exercise of Reading divers Books, of both divine and prophane Authors, in order to the Acquiring of Knowledge and Learning, it is indeed a very commendable Thing; but, if we will take *Solomon's* Judgment in the Case, it is all but *Vanity and Vexation of Spirit*: For some are ever learning to correct their Speech, and never think of correcting their Life. Others, by Logical Discourses of the Art of Reason, dispute many Times so long, till they lose thereby their natural Reason. One learns by Arithmetick to divide into the smallest Fractions, and yet hath not Skill to part one Shilling with his Brother. Another, by Geometry, can measure Fields, and Towns, and Countries, but cannot measure himself. The Musician can accord his Voices, and Sounds, and Times together, having Nothing in his Heart, but Discords; nor one Passion in his Soul, but what is out of Tune. The Astrologer looks up to the Stars, and falls in the next Ditch: Foreknows the future, and is careless for the present; hath often his Eye on the Heavens, though his Heart be buried on the Earth. The Philosopher discourseth of the Nature of all other Things, and yet knows not himself. The Historian can tell of the Wars of *Thebes* and of *Troy*, but is ignorant of what is done in his own House. The Lawyer will make Laws for all the World, and yet observe none himself. The Physician cures others, but languishes himself under his own Malady: He can find the least Alteration in his Pulse, but takes no Notice of the burning Fever of his Mind. Lastly, the Divine will spend the greatest Part of his Time in Disputing of Faith, and yet cares not to hear of Charity: Will talk of God, but has no Regard to succour Men. These Knowledges bring on the Mind

an endless Labour, but no Contentment; for, the more he knows, the more he desires to know.

They pacify not the Debates a Man feels in himself, they cure not the Diseases of his Mind. They make him learned, but they make him not good; cunning, but not wise. The more a Man knows, the more he knows that he knows not; the fuller the Mind is, the emptier it finds itself: Forasmuch as whatsoever a Man can know of any Science, in this World, is but the least Part of what he is ignorant of: All his Knowledge consisting in knowing his Ignorance, all his Perfection in seeing his Imperfections, which who best knows and notes is, in Truth, among Men the most wise and perfect. In short, we must conclude with *Solomon*, that the Beginning and End of Wisdom is the Fear of God; yet this Wisdom, nevertheless, is taken by the World for meer Folly, and persecuted by the World as a deadly Enemy; and therefore, as he that fears God ought to fear no Evil, for that all his Evils are converted to his Good: So neither ought he to hope for Good in the World, having there the Devil his professed Enemy, whom the Scripture termeth the Prince of this World.

But, with what Exercise soever we pass the Time, old Age unawares comes upon us, which never fails to find us out. Every Man makes Account in that Age to repose himself without further Care, and to keep himself at Ease in Health. But, on the contrary, in this Age, there is nothing but an After-taste of all the foregoing Evils; and most commonly a plentiful Harvest of all such Vices as, in the whole Course of their Life, hath held and possessed them. There you have the Imbecillity and Weakness of Infancy, and (which is worse) many Times accompanied with Authority: There you are paid for the Excess and Riot of your Youth, with Gouts, Palsies, and such like Diseases, which take from you Limb after Limb, with Pain and Torment. There you are recompensed for the Anxieties of Mind, the Watchings and Cares of Manhood, with Loss of Sight, Loss of Hearing, and all the Senses one after another, except only the Sense of Pain. Not one Part in us, but Death takes hold of, to be assured of us, as of bad Pay-masters, which seldom keep Days of Payment: There is nothing in us, which is not visibly declining, except our Vices; and they not only live, but, in Despite of Nature, grow young again. The covetous Man hath one

Foot

Foot in his Grave, and is yet burying his Money, as if he had Hopes to find it again another Day. The *Ambitious* in his Will provides for a pompous Funeral, making his Vice to triumph, even after his Death. The *Riotous*, no longer able to dance on his Feet, danceth with his Shoulders, all Vices having left him, and he not able to leave them. The *Child* wishes for Youth, and this Man laments it. The *young Man* lives in Hope of the future, and this feels the Evil present, laments the false Pleasures past, and sees for the Time to come nothing to hope for; and the *old Man* is more foolish than the Child, in bewailing the Time he cannot recal, and remembers not the Evil that he suffered in it; and more wretched than the young Man, in that, after a vicious Life, and not being able any longer to live, he must miserably die, seeing nothing round about him but Matter of Despair.

As for him that, from his Youth, hath undertaken to combat against the Flesh and the World, who hath used to mortify himself, and leave the World, whilst he continues in it; who, besides those ordinary Evils, finds himself vexed with this great and incurable Disease of old Age; and yet feels his Flesh, how weak soever, often stronger than his Spirit; what Satisfaction can he take, but only in this, that he sees his Death is at Hand; that his Warfare is accomplished, and that he is ready to depart by Death out of this loathsome Prison, wherein he has been all along racked and tormented?

I forbear to mention the almost infinite Evils wherewith Men in all Ages are afflicted, as Loss of Friends and Parents, Banishments, Exiles, Disgraces, and other Accidents, common and ordinary in the World; one complaining of losing his Children, another of having them: one lamenting for his Wife's Death, another for her Life; one finding Fault that he is too high in Court, and others more often that they are not high enough. The World is so full of Evils, that it would require a World of Time to write them in. And, if the most happy Man in the World should set his Felicities against each other, he would see Cause enough to judge himself unhappy: And yet perhaps another Man might judge him happy, who yet, if he had been but three Days in his Place, would give it over to him that should come next. And he that shall consider, in all the Goods that ever he hath had, the Evils he hath suffered to get them, and,

having got them, to retain and keep them (I speak of Pleasures that may be kept, and not of those that wither in a Moment) he will soon judge, that Keeping itself of the greatest Felicity, in this World, is full of Unhappiness and Infelicity.

We may well conclude, then, that Childhood is but a foolish Simplicity; Youth, a vain Heat; Manhood, a painful Carefulness; and old Age, an uneasy Languishing: That our Plays are but Tears; our Pleasures, Fevers of the Mind; our Goods, Racks and Torments; our Honours, gilded Vanities; our Rest, Inquietude: That Passing from Age to Age is but Passing from Evil to Evil, and from the less unto the greater; and that always it is but one Wave driving on another, until we be arrived at the Haven of Death.

In short, Life is but a Wishing for the future, and a Bewailing of what is past; a Loathing of what we have tasted, and a Longing for what is yet to taste; a vain Memory of the State past, and a doubtful Expectation of the State to come: And, to conclude, in all our Life, there is nothing certain, but the Certainty and Uncertainty of Death.

And now we are come to the End of all the Living, even to the House of Death: Behold this King of Terrors, O my Soul, and see, whether or no he be so terrible as he is represented: It is high Time, methinks, for Death and I to be acquainted, since I expect in a very few Days, not to say Hours, to be taken into his Arms, and conducted by him to the bright Mansions of Eternity.

Let us now consider, then, whether Death be such as we are generally made to believe; and whether we ought to fly from him as we do: We are afraid of Death, like little Children of a Vizard, or of the Images of *Hecate*: We have a Horror for Death, because we conceive him not such as he is, but ugly, terrible, and hideous; such as the Painters please to represent him: We fly before him, because prepossessed with such vain Imaginations, and care not to inform ourselves better. But, if we dare stand and look Death in the Face, we shall find him quite another Thing, than he is represented to us, and altogether of a more amiable Countenance than our miserable Life. Death makes an End of this Life, and this Life is nothing but a perpetual Scene of Misery and Trouble; Death then is the Period of our Miseries, and safe Conduct into that desired Haven, where
we

we shall ride in Safety from all Winds and Storms: And shall we be afraid of that which delivers us from all our Fears, and brings us safe into the Port of Happiness?

But, you will say, It is a Pain to die: Admit it be, and so there is Pain in curing of a Wound: Such is the World, that one Evil cannot be cured but by another; to heal a Contusion, must be made an Incision.

You will say, There is Difficulty in the Passage: But, if this be an Objection, the Mariner must always keep at Sea, and not come into Port, because there is no Harbour whose Entrance is not strait and difficult. There is nothing of Value or Worth to be had in this World, without the Coin of Labour and Pain. The Entrance may indeed be hard, but then it is ourselves that make it so, by carrying thither self-tormenting Spirits, anxious Minds, accusing Consciences, and fearful Expectations of meeting with the just Reward of a debauched and vicious Life: But let us carry with us Calmness and Serenity of Mind, with the comfortable Remembrance of a virtuous and well-spent Life, and the lively Hope and Expectation of approaching Happiness, and we shall find no Danger nor Difficulty at all.

But what are the Pains that Death brings us? And why should Death be charged with those Pains we feel, when we come to die? We accuse Death of all the Evils we suffer in ending our Lives, and consider not, how many more grievous and cruciating Pains and Sickneses we have suffered in this Life, in which we have even called upon Death to deliver us; and yet all the Pains of our Life, to our last Moment, we impute to Death, whereas it ought to be ascribed to Life; for it is but reasonable to believe that a Life, begun and continued in all Sorts of Pain, must of Necessity end so: And, therefore, it is only the Remainder of our Life that pains us, and not Death; the End of our Navigation that troubles us, and not the Haven that we are to enter, which is nothing else but a Safe-guard against all Winds. We complain of Death, when we should complain of Life, just as if one that had been long sick, and beginning to be well, should accuse his Health of his last Pains, and not the Relicks of his Disease.

Tell me then, what is it else to be dead, but to be no more living in the World? And is it any Pain not to be in the World? Did we then feel Pain, when as yet we were not? Have we ever more Resemblance of Death, than when

we are asleep? Or ever more Rest, than at that Time? Now, if this be no Pain, why accuse we Death of the Pains our Lives gives us at our Departure? Unless also we will fondly accuse the Time wherein we were not, of the Pains we felt at our Birth. If our Coming in be with Tears, what Wonder is it that our Going out be such? If the Beginning of our Being be the Beginning of our Pain, no Marvel that such is the Ending. But if our Not-being, in Times past, hath been without Pain, and all our Being here full of Pain; whom ought we in Reason to accuse of our last Pains, the Not-being to come, or the Remnant of the present Being?

We generally think we die not, until we fetch our last Gasp; but, if we mind it well, we shall find that we die every *Day*, every *Hour*, every *Moment*. We apprehend Death as a Thing unusual to us, and yet have nothing so common in us: Our Living is but a continual Dying; and look how much we live, so much we die; how much we increase, our Life decreases: We cannot enter a Step into Life, but we are upon the Borders of Death. Who has lived, a third Part of his Years, is a third Part dead; who, half his Years, is already half dead. Of our Life, all the Time past is dead, the present lives and dies at once, and the future likewise shall die.

The past Time of our Lives is no more, the future is not yet, the present is, and no more is.

Briefly, *This whole Life is but a Death*: It is as a Candle lighted in our Bodies; in one, the Wind makes it melt away; in another, it blows it quite out, many Times, before it be half burned; in others, it endures to the End: Howsoever it be, look how much the Candle shines, so much it burns; for its shining is its Burning, its Light is but a vanishing Smoke, and its last Fire but its last Wick, and its last Drop of Moisture.

So is it in the Life of Man; *Life and Death, in Man, is all one*: If we call the last Breath by the Name of *Death*, so we must all the rest; all proceeding from one Place, and all in the same Manner.

One only Difference there is between this Life and that which we call Death: That, during the one, we are always dying, but, after the other, we shall always live.

In short, as he, that thinketh Death, simply, to be the End of Man, ought not to fear it, inasmuch as he, who desires to live long, desires

to die longer; and so he, who fears to die quickly, does, to speak properly, fear lest he may not die longer.

But to us, who profess the *Christian* Religion, and are brought up in a more holy School, Death is a far other Thing; neither do we need (as heretofore the *Pagans* did) Consolations against Death: For Death itself ought to be, to us, a Consolation against other Afflictions; so that we must not only strengthen ourselves, as they did, not to fear it, but we ought also to hope for it; for, unto us, it is not only a Departing from Pain and Evil, but an Access unto all Good; not the End of Life, but the End of Death, Pain, and Sorrow, and the Beginning of a Life that shall never have an End.

Better, saith Solomon, is the Day of Death, than the Day of Birth. But for what Reason? Why because it is not to us a *last Day*, but the Dawning of an *everlasting Day*.

No more shall we have, in that glorious Light, either Sorrow for the Past, or Expectation for the Future; for all shall be there present to us, and that Present shall be present *for ever*. No more shall we spend our Strength in seeking after vain and painful Pleasures, for there we shall be filled with true and substantial Delights. No more shall we weary ourselves in heaping together these shining Exhalations of the Earth, for the inexpressible Glory of Heaven shall be ours; and this Mass of Earth, which ever draws us towards the Earth, shall be then buried in it, and consumed with it.

No more shall we then be Votaries to that gaudy Idol, *Honour*, nor put our Wits upon the Rack, that so we may be decked with finer Feathers than our Neighbours. *Ambition* will have there no Place; for we shall there be raised to that excelling Glory, and be possessed of all those Heights of Greatness, that we shall look with Scorn and with Contempt upon an earthly Diadem, and smile at all the Follies of poor groveling Mortals, who fight and quarrel with each other for a small Spot of Earth, like Children for an Apple.

And, which is better still, no more shall we have Combates in ourselves; our sinful Flesh, that, here, was our worst Enemy, will cease from troubling, there; and our renewed Spirits shall be filled with Life and Vigour: Our Passion shall be buried, and our Reason be restored to perfect Liberty: The Soul, delivered out of this foul and filthy Prison, where, by its long

Continuing, it is grown into a Habit of Crookedness, shall again draw its own Breath, recognise its ancient Dwelling, and again remember its former Glory and Dignity.

This Flesh which thou feelest, this Body which thou touchest, is not Man: *Man is a Spark of the Divinity shot down from Heaven*; Heaven is his Country, and his native Air; that he is in this Body, is but by Way of Exile and Confinement.

Man, indeed, is Soul and Spirit, and is of a divine and heavenly Quality, wherein there is nothing gross, nothing material. This Body, such as now it is, is but the Bark and Shell of the Soul, which must necessarily be broke, before we can be hatched, before we can live and see the Light.

We have, it seems, some Life and some Sense in us, but are so very crooked and contracted, that we cannot so much as stretch out our Wings, much less take our Flight towards Heaven, until we be disburthened and separated from this Lump of Earth. We look, but it is through false Spectacles; we have Eyes, but they are overgrown with Pearls; we think we see, but it is but in a Dream, wherein all that we see is nothing but a vain Illusion: All that we seem to have, and all that we seem to know, is but Deceit and Vanity.

Death only can awake us from our Dream, and restore us to true Life and Light; and yet we think, so blockish are we! that he comes to rob us of them.

We profess ourselves *Christians*, and that we believe, after this mortal Life, a Life of Immortality; that Death is nothing but a Separation of Soul and Body, and that the Soul returns to its former happy Abode, there to joy in, and enjoy the Fountain of all Bliss; and that, at the last Day, it shall re-assume its Body, which shall no more be subject to Corruption. With these goodly Discourses we fill our Books; and, in the mean While, when it comes to the Point, and that we are ready to enter in at this Portcullis of seraphical Glory, the very Name of Death, as of some dreadful *Gorgon*, makes us quake and tremble.

If we believe as we speak, pray, what is it that we fear? To be happy, To be perfectly at Ease? To enjoy more Content, in one Moment, than ever was enjoyed, even by *Methuselah* himself, in all his *Nine Hundred sixty-nine Years*; which was the longest mortal Life

I ever

I ever read of? If this be nothing that we fear, then we must of Necessity confess, that we believe it but in Part; that all, that we have said, are only Words; that all our Discourses, as of those hardy Trencher-Knights, are nothing but Vaunting and Vanity.

Some there are, that will confidently tell you, I know very well that I shall pass out of this Life into a better; I make no Doubt of that, only I fear the mid-way Step.

Weak-hearted Creatures! They will kill themselves to get their miserable Living; they willingly suffer almost infinite Pains, and infinite Wounds, at another Man's Pleasure; and, fearless, go through infinite Deaths without Dying, and all this for Things of Nought, for Things that perish, and that, oft-times, cause them to perish with them: But, when they have but one Step to make to be at Rest, and that not for a Day, but for ever; and not barely Rest, but a Rest of that exalted Nature, that Man's natural Mind can never comprehend, they tremble, their Hearts fail them, they are afraid; and yet it is nothing but Fear that hurts them. Let them never tell me they apprehend the Pain; it is but an Abuse, on Purpose to conceal the little Faith they have. No, no; they would rather languish of the Gout, the Sciatica, or any Disease whatsoever, than die one sweet Death with the least Pain possible; rather piningly die, Limb after Limb, out living, as it were, all their Senses, Motions, and Actions, than speedily die, though immediately to live for ever. Let them tell me no more, that they would, in this World, learn to live; for every one is thereunto sufficiently instructed in himself, and not one but is cunning in the Trade. Nay, rather they should learn, in this World, to die, and, that they may once die well, to die daily in themselves, so prepared, as if the End of every Day's Work were the End of our Life.

Now, contrariwise, there is nothing, to their Ears, more *offensive*, than to hear of Death. Senseless People! we abandon our Life to the ordinary Hazards of War for *Six-Pence a Day**, and are foremost in Assaults, for a little Booty; go into Places, whence there is no Hope of returning, with Danger, many Times, both of Bodies and Souls. But, to free us from all Hazards, to win the precious Prize of Things inestimable, to enter into eternal Life, we

faint in the Passage of one Place, wherein is no Difficulty but in Opinion; yea, we so faint, that, were it not of Necessity that we must pass, and that God's Ordination, that All must die, compels us, hardly should we find in all the World one, how unhappy or wretched soever, that would ever shoot that Gulph. Another will say, Had I lived till *fifty* or *sixty* Years, I should have been *contented*, I should not have cared to live longer; but to die *so young* is that which troubles me: I would willingly have *known* the World, before I had left it. Simple Soul! In this World there is neither Young nor Old. The longest Age, in Comparison of all that is past, or all that is to come, is nothing; and, when thou hast lived to the Age thou now desirest, all that is past will be nothing; thou wilt still gape for that which is to come. The Past will yield thee but Sorrow, the Future but Expectation, the Present no Contentment; and thou wilt be as unwilling to die then, as ever thou wast. Thou fleest thy Creditor from Month to Month, and Time to Time, as unwilling to pay the last Day, as the first; thou seekest but to be acquitted. Thou hast tasted all which the World esteemeth Pleasures, not one of them is new unto thee. By drinking oftener, thou shalt be never a whit the more satisfied; for the Body thou carriest, like the Pail of *Danaus's* Daughter, which was bored full of Holes, will never be full. Thou mayest sooner wear it out, than weary thyself with using, or rather abusing it. Thou desirest long Life to cast it away, to spend it on worthless Delights, to mis-spend it on Vanities. Thou art covetous in Desiring, and prodigal in Spending. Say not thou findest Fault with the Court, or the Palace; but that thou desirest longer to serve the Commonwealth, to serve thy Country, to serve God. He that set thee on Work knows until what Day, and what Hour, thou shouldst be at it; he well knows how to direct his Work. Should he leave thee there longer, perhaps, thou wouldst spoil all. But, if he will pay thee liberally for thy Labour, as much for half a Day's Work as for a whole; as much for having wrought till Noon, as for having borne all the Heat of the Day; oughtest thou not so much the more to thank and praise him? But, if thou examine thine own Conscience, thou lamentest not the Cause of the Widow and the Orphan, which thou

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* The Pay of a common Soldier.

hast left depending in Judgment; not the Duty of a Son, of a Father, or of a Friend, which thou pretendest thou wouldst perform; not the Ambassage for the Commonwealth, which thou wert ever ready to undertake; not the Service thou desirest to do unto God, who knows much better how to serve himself of thee, than thou of thyself. It is thy Houses and Gardens thou lamentest, thy imperfect Plots and Purposes, and thy imperfect Life; which, yet, no Days, nor Years, nor Ages can make perfect, although thyself mightest do it in a Moment, couldst thou but think in earnest, that where, or when it ends, it matters not, provided that it ends but well.

Now the *only* Way to end this Life *well* is to end it *willingly*, devoting ourselves, with an entire Resignation, to the Will of GOD, and not suffering ourselves to be constrained and drawn by the Force of unavoidable Destiny.

And, then, to end this Life willingly, we must *hope* for Death, *not* fear it.

To hope for Death, we must *certainly look*, after this Life, for a better.

To look for a better Life, we must *fear* GOD; and he, that truly fears GOD, has nothing else, he ought to fear, in this World, and has Reason to hope for all Things in the World to come.

To one well resolved in these Points Death must needs be sweet and agreeable, knowing that, through it, he is to enter into the Fulness of Joy.

The Bitterness we may find, by the Straitness of the Passage, will be allayed by the Sweetness we shall find, when we are entered in; our Suffering of Ill shall be swallowed up in the Enjoyment of Good; and the Sting of Death itself, which is nothing but Fear, shall be dead.

Nay, I will say more; he shall not only triumph over all those Evils supposed to be in Death, but he shall also scorn all those Evils Men fear to meet with in this Life, and look upon them as unconcerned.

For what can he fear, whose *Death* is his *Hope*? If you think to *banish* him his Country, he knows he has a Country, from whence you cannot banish him; and that all these Countries are but Inns, from which he must part in a little Time. If to put him in a *Prison*, he can have none more strait than his own Body; nor any more filthy or dark, or more replete of Racks and Torments: Or, if you think to *kill* him, you only then compleat his Hopes; for Death

is what he desires. And, for the Manner of it, be it by *Fire*, by *Sword*, by *Halter*, or by *Ax*; within three *Years*, within three *Days*, within three *Hours*, it is all one to him; he matters not the Time, nor minds the Way, by which he passes from this miserable Life; for his Work is ended, his Affairs dispatched, and by the self-same Way, that he goes out, he hopes to enter into a most happy and everlasting Life. Men can but threaten him with Death, and Death is all he promiseth himself; the worst, that they do, is but to make him die; and Death is the best Thing, in his Account, that he can hope for.

The Threatenings of a Tyrant, to him, are Promises; the Swords of his greatest Enemies, against him, he reckons drawn in his Favour; forasmuch as he knows, That, threatening him Death, they threaten him Life; and the most mortal Wounds can make him but immortal.

The Sum of all is, He, that fears *God*, fears not *Death*; and he, that fears not *Death*, fears not the worst of this Life.

By this Reckoning, perhaps, some Men may say, *Death* is a Thing to be wished for: And to pass from so much Evil, to so much Good, a Man would be ready to cast away his Life, and make away himself.

In Answer to this, we may take Notice, *First*, That, though the Spirit aspires towards Heaven, the Body draws towards the Earth, and the Soul is too often drawn by the Body. But, in the *second* Place; We must, indeed, seek to mortify our Flesh in us, and to cast the World out of us; but to cast ourselves out of this World is, in no Case, lawful.

The *Christian* ought willingly to depart out of this Life, but not cowardly to run away. His Work is to fight against the World, and he cannot leave his Post, without Reproach and Infamy. But, if his great Captain be pleased to call him, let him willingly obey: For he is not born for himself, but for *God*, of whom he holds his Life at Farm, as Tenant at Will, to yield him the Profits. It is in the Landlord to take it from him, not in him to surrender it, when a Conceit takes him.

Diest thou young? Praise *God*; as the Mariner that hath a good Wind, soon to bring him to the Port.

Diest thou old? Praise *God* likewise: For, if thou hast had less Wind, it may be thou hast also had less Waves.

But

But think not, at thy Pleasure, to go faster or slower, for the Wind is not in thy Power; and, instead of taking the shortest Way to the Haven, thou mayst suffer Shipwreck.

Let us, then, neither fly from *Death*, when we are called to die, whether it be in a more natural Way, as by old Age, or Sickness; or, by a more violent Way, as by the Sword in Battle, or by the Hand of an Executioner; nor fly to it, not being called: Which both argues the greatest Baseness and Pusillanimity of Spirit, and will also bring the Guilt of our own Blood upon our own Heads: But let us meet *Death*, whenever, or however, it comes, with that

Magnanimity and Greatness of Mind, that becomes both a Man and a *Christian*.

And now having beguiled my solitary Hours in Contemplating the Miseries of Life, and Happiness of *Death*, to me so much the more necessary, by how much it is, nearer approaching; I will conclude with a Valediction to the World, and all its vain Delights, written by a very great Man, and Prime Minister of State, in the Reign of *Charles the First*, whilst under my unhappy Circumstances, and but a little before his Execution.

GO empty Joys, with all your Noise,
And leave me here alone,
In sad sweet Silence, to bemoan
Your vain and fond Delight,
Whose Dangers none can see aright,
Whilst too much Sunshine blinds his Sight:
Go, and ensnare, with your false Ware,
Some other easy Wight,
And cheat him with your flattering Light:
Rain on his Head a Show'r, of Honour, Greatness, Wealth, and Pow'r,
Then snatch it from him in an Hour!
Fill his big Mind with the vain Wind of flattering Applause,
Let him not fear all curbing Laws,
Nor King nor People's Frown;
But dream of something like a Crown,
And, climbing tow'rs it, tumble down.

A true Copy of the Paper delivered to the Sheriffs upon the Scaffold at Tower-Hill, on Thursday, January the 28th, 1696-7. by Sir JOHN FENWICK, Baronet.

Speaking nor Writing was never my Talent; I shall therefore give a short, but faithful Account, first, of my Religion; and next, what I suffer most innocently for, to avoid the Calumnies I may reasonably expect my Enemies will cast upon me, when dead, since they have most falsely and maliciously aspersed me, whilst under my Misfortunes.

As for my Religion, I was brought up in the Church of *England*, as it is established by Law, and have ever professed it; though, I confess, I have been an unworthy Member of it, in not living up to the strict and excellent Rules thereof, for which I take Shame to myself, and humbly ask Forgiveness of God. I come now to die in that Communion, trusting, as an humble and hearty Penitent, to be received by the Mer-

cy of God, through the Merits of *Jesus Christ* my Saviour.

My Religion taught me my Loyalty, which, I bless God, is untainted: And I have ever endeavoured, in the Station wherein I have been placed, to the utmost of my Power, to support the Crown of *England*, in the true and lineal Course of Descent, without Interruption.

As for what I am now to die; I call God to Witness, I went not to that Meeting in *Leadenhall-street*, with any such Intention, as to invite King *James* by Force to invade this Nation; nor was I, myself, provided with either Horse or Arms, or engaged for any Number of Men, or gave particular Consent for any such Invasion, as is most falsely sworn against me.

I do

I do also declare, in the Presence of God, That I knew nothing of King *James's* Coming to *Calais*, nor of any Invasion intended from thence, till it was publickly known: And the only Notion I had, that something might be attempted, was from the *Thoulon* Fleet coming to *Brest*.

I also call God to Witness, that I received the Knowledge of what is contained in those Papers that I gave to a great Man that came to me in the *Tower*, both from Letters and Messages that came from *France*; and he told me, when I read them to him, That the Prince of *Orange* had been acquainted with most of those Things before.

I might have expected Mercy from that Prince, because I was instrumental in saving his Life: For when, about *April* 1695, an Attempt formed against him came to my Knowledge, I did, partly by Dissuasions, and partly by Delays, prevent that Design; which, I suppose, was the Reason that the last villainous Project was concealed from me.

If there be any Persons whom I have injured in Word or Deed, I heartily pray their Pardon, and beg of God to pardon those who have injured me, particularly those, who, with great

Zeal, have sought my Life, and brought the Guilt of my innocent Blood upon this Nation, no Treason being proved upon me.

I return my most hearty Thanks to those noble and worthy Persons who gave me their Assistance, by opposing this Bill of Attainder, without which it had been impossible I could have fallen under the Sentence of *Death*: God bless them and their Posterity, though I am fully satisfied they pleaded their own Cause, while they defended mine.

I pray God to bless my true and lawful Sovereign King *James*, the Queen, and the Prince of *Wales*, and restore him and his Posterity to this Throne again, for the Peace and Prosperity of this Nation, which is impossible to prosper, till the Government is settled upon a right Foot.

And now, O GOD, I do, with all humble Devotion, commend my Soul into thy Hands, the great Maker and Preserver of Men, and Lover of Souls, beseeching thee, that it may be always dear and precious in thy Sight, through the Merits of my Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.

J. FENWICK.

The Manner of creating the Knights of the antient and honourable Order of the Bath, according to the Custom used in *England*, in Time of Peace; with a List of those honourable Persons, who are to be created Knights of the Bath at his Majesty's Coronation, the Twenty-third of *April*, 1661.

[From a *Quarto*, containing ten Pages, printed at *London*, for *Philip Stephens*, at the *King's Arms*, over-against the *Middle Temple*, 1661.]

1. **W**HEN an Esquire comes to Court, to receive the Order of Knighthood, in the Time of Peace according to the Custom of *England*, he shall be honourably received by the Officers of the Court; *sc.* the Steward, or the Chamberlain, if they be pre-

sent; but otherwise, by the Marshals and Ushers. Then there shall be provided two Esquires of Honour, grave, and well seen in Courtship and Nurture; as also in the Feats of Chivalry; and they shall be Esquires, and Governors in all Things relating to him, who shall take the Order abovesaid.

2. And,

2. And, if the Esquire do come before Dinner, he shall carry up one Dish of the first Course to the King's Table.

3. And, after this, the Esquire's Governors shall conduct the Esquire that is to receive the Order, into his Chamber, without any more being seen that Day.

4. And, in the Evening, the Esquire's Governors shall send for the Barber, and they shall make ready a Bath, handsomely hung with Linnen, both within and without the Vessel, taking Care that it be covered with Tapestry, and Blankets, in Respect of the Coldness of the Night. And then shall the Esquire be shaven, and his Hair cut round. After which, the Esquire's Governors shall go to the King, and say, *Sir, it is now in the Evening, and the Esquire is fitted for the Bath, when you please*; whereupon the King shall command his Chamberlain, that he shall take along with him, unto the Esquire's Chamber, the most gentle and grave Knights that are present, to inform, counsel, and instruct him, touching the Order, and Feats of Chivalry: And in like Manner, that the other Esquires of the Household, with the Minstrels, shall proceed before the Knights, singing, dancing, and sporting, even to the Chamber-door of the said Esquire.

5. And, when the Esquire's Governors shall hear the Noise of the Minstrels, they shall undress the said Esquire, and put him naked into the Bath; but, at the Entrance into the Chamber, the Esquire's Governors shall cause the Musick to cease, and the Esquires also for a While. And, this being done, the grave Knights shall enter into the Chamber, without making any Noise, and, doing Reverence to each other, shall consider which of themselves it shall be that is to instruct the Esquire in the Order and Course of the Bath. And when they are agreed, then shall the chief of them go to the Bath, and, kneeling down before it, say with a soft Voice: *Sir! Be this Bath of great Honour to you*; and then he shall declare unto him the Feats of the Order, as far as he can, putting Part of the Water of the Bath upon the Shoulder of the Esquire; and, having so done, take his Leave. And the Esquire's Governors shall attend at the Sides of the Bath, and so likewise the other Knights, the one after the other, till all be done.

6. Then shall these Knights go out of the Chamber, for a While; and the Esquire's Governors shall take the Esquire out of the Bath,

and help him to his Bed, there to continue till his Body be dry; which Bed shall be plain, and without Curtains. And, as soon as he is dry, they shall help him out of Bed; they shall cloath him very warm, in Respect of the Cold of the Night; and over his inner Garments shall put on a Robe of Ruffet with long Sleeves, having a Hood thereto, like unto that of an Hermit. And the Esquire being out of the Bath, the Barber shall take away the Bath, with whatsoever appertaineth thereto, both within and without for his Fee; and likewise for the Collar (about his Neck) be he Earl, Baron, Banneret or Batchelor, according to the Custom of the Court.

7. And then shall the Esquire's Governors open the Door of the Chamber, and shall cause the antient and grave Knights to enter, to conduct the Esquire to the Chapel: And, when they are come in, the Esquires, sporting and dancing, shall go before the Esquire, with the Minstrels, making Melody to the Chapel.

8. And, being entered the Chapel, there shall be Wine and Spices ready to give to the Knights and Esquires. And then the Esquire's Governors shall bring the said Knights before the Esquire, to take their Leave of him; and he shall give them Thanks all together, for the Pains, Favour, and Courtesy, which they have done him; and, this being performed, they shall depart out of the Chapel.

9. Then shall the Esquire's Governors shut the Door of the Chapel, none staying therein except themselves, the Priest, the Chandler, and the Watch. And in this Manner shall the Esquire stay in the Chapel all Night, till it be Day, bestowing himself in Orisons and Prayers, beseeching Almighty God, and his blessed Mother, that of their good Grace they will give him Ability to receive this high temporal Dignity, to the Honour, Praise, and Service of them; as also of the holy Church, and the Order of Knighthood. And, at Day-break, one shall call the Priest to confess him of all his Sins, and, having heard Mattins and Mass, shall afterwards be commended, if he please.

10. And after his Entrance into the Chapel, there shall be a Taper burning before him; and, as soon as Mass is begun, one of the Governors shall hold the Taper, until the Reading of the Gospel; and then shall the Governor deliver it into his Hands, who shall hold it himself, till the Gospel be ended; but then he shall receive it again from him, and set it before him, there to stand, during the whole Time of Mass.

11. And,

11. And, at the Elevation of the Host, one of the Governors shall take the Hood from the Esquire, and afterwards deliver it to him again, until the Gospel in *Principio*; and, at the Beginning thereof, the Governor shall take the same Hood again, and cause it to be carried away, and shall give him the Taper again into his own Hands.

12. And then having a Penny, or more, in Readiness, near to the Candlestick, at the Words *verbum caro factum est*, the Esquire, kneeling, shall offer the Taper and the Penny; that is to say, the Taper to the Honour of God, and the Penny to the Honour of the Person that makes him a Knight. All which being performed, the Esquire's Governors shall conduct the Esquire to his Chamber, and shall lay him again in Bed, till it be full Day-light. And when he shall be thus in Bed, till the Time of his Rising, he shall be cloathed with a Covering of Gold, called *Singleton*, and this shall be lined with blue Cardene. And when the Governors shall see it fit Time, they shall go to the King, and say to him, *Sir! When doth it please you, that our Master shall rise?* Whereupon the King shall command the grave Knights, Esquires, and Minstrels, to go to the Chamber of the said Esquire, for to raise him, and to attire and dress him, and to bring him before him, into the Hall. But, before their Entrance, and the Noise of the Minstrels heard, the Esquire's Governors shall provide all Necessaries ready for the Order, to deliver to the Knights, for to attire and dress the Esquire.

And when the Knights are come to the Esquire's Chamber, they shall enter with Leave, and say to him; *Sir! Good Morrow to you, it is Time to get up, and make yourself ready*; and thereupon they shall take him by the Arm to be dressed, the most antient of the said Knights reaching him his Shirt, another giving him his Breeches, the third his Doublet; and another putting upon him a Kirtle of red Tartarin; two others shall raise him from the Bed; and two others put on his nether Stockings, with Soles of Leather sewed to them; two others shall lace his Sleeves, and another shall gird him with a Girdle of white Leather, without any Buckles thereon: Another shall comb his Head; another shall put on his Coif; another shall give him his Mantle of Silk (over the Bases or Kirtle of red Tartarin) tied with a Lace of white Silk, with a Pair of white Gloves hanging at the End of the Lace. And the Chandler shall

take, for his Fees, all the Garments, with the whole Array and Necessaries, wherewith the Esquire shall be apparelled and clothed on the Day that he comes into the Court to receive Order: As also the Bed, wherein he first lay, after his Bathing, together with the Singleton and other Necessaries: In Consideration of which Fees, the same Chandler shall find, at his proper Costs, the said Coif, the Gloves, the Girdle, and the Lace.

13. And, when all this is done, the grave Knights shall get on Horseback, and conduct the Esquire to the Hall, the Minstrels going before, making Musick; but the Horse must be accoutred as followeth: The Saddle having a Cover of black Leather, the Bow of the Saddle being of white Wood, quartered; the Stirrop-leathers black, the Stirrops gilt; the Paitrel of black Leather, gilt, with a Cross-pate, gilt, hanging before the Breast of the Horse, but without any Crupper: The Bridle black, with long notched Reins, after the *Spanish* Fashion, and a Cross-pate on the Front. And there must be provided a young Esquire, courteous, who shall ride before the Esquire bare-headed, and carry the Esquire's Sword, with the Spurs hanging at the Handle of the Sword; and the Scabbard of the Sword shall be of white Leather, and the Girdle of white Leather, without Buckles. And the Youth shall hold the Sword by the Point, and after this Manner must they ride to the King's Hall, the Governors being ready at Hand.

14. And the grave Knights shall conduct the said Esquire; and, as soon as they come before the Hall-Door, the Marshals and Ushers are to be ready to meet him, and desire him to alight; and, being alighted, the Marshal shall take the Horse for his Fee, or else *C. s.* Then shall the Knights conduct him into the Hall, up to the high Table, and afterwards up the End of the second Table, until the King's Coming, the Knights standing on each Side of him, and the Youth holding the Sword upright before him, between the two Governors.

15. And when the King is come into the Hall, and beholdeth the Esquire ready to receive his high Order, and temporal Dignity, he shall ask for the Sword and Spurs, which the Chamberlain shall take from the Youth, and shew to the King. And, thereupon, the King, taking the right Spur, shall deliver it to the most noble and gentle Person there, and shall say to him, Put this upon the Esquire's Heel; and he, kneeling

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on one Knee, must take the Esquire by the right Leg, and, putting his Foot on his own Knee, is to fasten the Spur upon the right Heel of the Esquire; and then, making a Cross upon the Esquire's Knee, shall kiss him: Which being done, another Knight must come, and put on his left Spur, in like Manner. And then shall the King, of his great Favour, take the Sword, and gird the Esquire therewith: Whereupon the Esquire is to lift up his Arms, holding his Hands together, and the Gloves betwixt his Thumbs and Fingers.

16. And the King, putting his own Arms about the Esquire's Neck, shall say, *Be thou a good Knight*, and afterwards kiss him. Then are the antient Knights to conduct this new Knight to the Chapel, with much Musick, even to the high Altar, and there he shall kneel; and, putting his right Hand upon the Altar, is to promise to maintain the Rights of holy Church, during his whole Life.

17. And then he shall ungird himself of his Sword, and, with great Devotion to God and holy Church, offer it there; praying unto God, and all his Saints, that he may keep that Order, which he hath so taken, even to the End: All which being accomplished, he is to take a Draught of Wine.

18. And, at his Going out of the Chapel, the King's Master-Cook, being ready to take off his Spurs for his own Fee, shall say, *I, the King's Master-Cook, am come to receive your Spurs for my Fee; and if you do any Thing contrary to the Order of Knighthood (which, God forbid) I shall back your Spurs from your Heels.*

19. After this, the Knights must conduct him again into the Hall, where he shall sit the first at the Knights Table, and the Knights about him, himself to be served as the other Knights are; but he must neither eat nor drink at the Table, nor spit, nor look about him, upwards nor downwards, more than a Bride. And this being done, one of his Governors, having a Handkerchief in his Hand, shall hold it before his Face when he is to spit. And when the King is risen from his Table, and gone into his Chamber, then shall the new Knight be conducted, with great Store of Knights and Minstrels proceeding before him, unto his own Chamber; and, at his Entrance, the Knights and Minstrels shall take Leave of him, and go to Dinner.

20. And, the Knights being thus gone, the Chamber-door shall be fastened, and the new Knight disrobed of his Attire, which is to be given to the Kings of Arms, in Case they be there present; and if not, then to the other Heralds, if they be there; otherwise, to the Minstrels, together with a Mark of Silver, if he be a Knight-Bachelor; if a Baron, double to that; if an Earl, or of a superior Rank, double thereto. And the russet Night-cap must be given to the Watch, or else a Noble.

21. Then he is to be cloathed again with a blue Robe, the Sleeves whereof to be streight, shaped after the Fashion of a Priest's; and, upon his left Shoulder, to have a Lace of white Silk, hanging: And he shall wear that Lace upon all his Garments, from that Day forwards, until he hath gained some Honour or Renown by Arms, and is registered of as high Record, as the Nobles, Knights, Esquires, and Heralds of Arms; and be renowned for some Feats of Arms, as aforesaid, or that some great Prince, or most noble Lady, can cut that Lace from his Shoulder, saying; *Sir! we have heard so much of the true Renown concerning your Honour, which you have done in divers Parts, to the great Fame of Chivalry, as to yourself, and of him that made you a Knight, that it is meet this Lace be taken from you.*

22. After Dinner, the Knights of Honour and Gentlemen must come to the Knight, and conduct him into the Presence of the King, the Esquire's Governors going before him; where he is to say, *Right noble and renowned Sir! I do, in all that I can, give you Thanks for these Honours, Courtesies, and Bounty, which you have vouchsafed to me: And, having so said, shall take his Leave of the King.*

23. Then are the Esquire's Governors to take Leave of this their Master, saying; *Sir, we have, according to the King's Command, and, as we were obliged, done what we can; but, if through Negligence, we have in ought displeased you, or by any Thing we have done amiss at this Time, we desire Pardon of you for it. And, on the other Side, Sir, as Right is, and according to the Customs of the Court, and antient Kingdoms, we do require our Robes and Fees, as the King's Esquires, Companions to Bachelors, and other Lords.*

The Form of his Majesty's Summons, in a Letter from the Lord Chamberlain, to the several Persons of Honour, who are to be created Knights of the Bath.

SIR,

After my hearty Commendation to you,
WHereas his Majesty hath appointed the
 Twenty-third Day of *April* next, for
 his solemn Coronation at *Westminster*, and the
 Day before, to proceed publicly through the
 City of *London*, to his Palace at *Whitehall*;
 and, according to the antient Custom used
 by his Royal Predecessors, his Majesty is gra-
 ciously pleased to advance certain of his No-
 bility, and principal Gentry, into the Noble
 Order of the *Bath*, to attend him in those great
 Solemnities, and, amongst others, hath vouch-
 safed to nominate you to be one of that Num-

ber: These are, therefore, to will and require
 you, in his Majesty's Name, to make your Ap-
 pearance at his Majesty's Palace at *Westminster*,
 upon *Thursday* in the Afternoon, being the
 Eighteenth of *April* next, furnished and appoint-
 ed, as in such Cases appertaineth, there to be-
 gin the usual Ceremony, and the next Day to
 receive the said Order of Knighthood of the
Bath, from his Majesty's Hands. Hereof you
 are not to fail. And so I bid you heartily
 Farewell.

Your very affectionate Friend,

Whitehall,

March 1, 1660.

MANCHESTER.

The Names of some of those honourable Persons, who are to be created
 Knights of the *Bath*, at the Coronation of his Majesty, *April* 23, 1661.

THE Lord *Richard Butler*, Son to the
 Lord Marquis of *Ormond*.

Mr. *Hyde*, Son to the Lord Chancellor.

Mr. *Egerton*, Son to the Earl of *Bridgewater*.

Mr. *Berkley*, Son to the Lord *Berkley*.

Mr. *Peregrin Bertie*, second Son to the Earl of
Lindsey.

Mr. *Vere Vane*, second Son to the Earl of *West-*
moreland.

Mr. *Bellasis*, Son of the Lord *Bellasis*.

Mr. *Capell*, Brother to the Earl of *Essex*.

Mr. *Francis Vane*, Son of Sir *Francis Vane*.

Mr. *Henry Vane*, Son of *George Vane*, Esq;

Mr. *Edward Hungerford*, of *Earley Castle*.

Mr. *Monson*, Son of Sir *John Monson*, Knight
 of the *Bath*.

Mr. *Charles Frenaman*, whose noble Father was
 slain at *Bevis*.

Mr. *Nicholas Slannyng*, Son of that loyal Sub-
 ject, Sir *Nicholas Slannyng*, slain at *Bristol*,
 26 July, 1643.

Mr. *Thomas Fanshawe*, Son of Sir *Thomas Fan-*
shaw.

Mr. *Edward Wise*.

Mr. *Carr Scroop*, Grandson to the valiant Sir
George Scroop, who received so many
 Wounds in the Royal Cause at *Edge-Hill*.

Mr. *Butler*.

Colonel *Edward Harley*, Governor of *Dunkirk*,
 eldest Son of Sir *Robert Harley*, late Knight
 of the *Bath*.

Mr. *Alexander Popham*.

Colonel *Richard Ingoldsby*.

Mr. *George Browne*.

Mr. *Bourchier Wray*, Son of Sir *Chichester Wray*.

Mr. *Francis Godolphin*.

Sir *Thomas Trevor*.

Mr. *Simon Leech*.

Mr. *John Bramston*, Son of Sir *John Bramston*,
 late Lord Chief Justice.

Mr. *Wise*.

Mr. *George Freeman*, Son of Sir *Ralph Freeman*.

An Inquiry into the Causes of our Naval Miscarriages: With some Thoughts on the Interest of this Nation, as to a Naval War, and of the only true Way of Manning the Fleet. Dedicated to the Parliament of Great-Britain.

[From the second Edition in Quarto, containing Thirty-seven Pages, printed at London. MDCCVII.]

May it please your Honours :

If Cræsus's dumb Son could speak, when he saw the Knife at his Father's Throat, I hope I may be justified, when I plead in Behalf of my Country, our common Mother, whose Reputation, Wealth, and Security are now so highly concerned.

How it comes to pass, I need not say ; but it is a melancholy Reflexion to consider, that from the Beginning of the War with France in King William's Reign, to this Day, a Naval War seems to have been neglected, and accounted a Thing only by the bye ; and a War by Land, carried on in foreign Countries, has been regarded as our principal Business, though Nature and Reason plainly dictate the contrary.

Nature has assigned us an Island, and kind Providence furnished us with Materials to build Ships, and with Men of able Bodies and stout Hearts to man them ; nor has the Divine Goodness been wanting to supply us with navigable Rivers, and safe Harbours ; by which we may be enabled to defend ourselves, and annoy our Enemies.

By all this it is plain, we have had it in our Power, by a right Management of our Fleet, to reduce our common Enemy of France, and to have had the whole Trade of the Spanish West-Indies, as the Reward of the Blood and Treasure we have expended in Defence of our own, and the Liberties of Christendom. It has been in our Power, not only to seize the French Colonies in North and South America, but to establish our Trade in the Spanish West Indies, beyond whatever our Ancestors could do. We have been engaged in Defence of the Monarchy of Spain, from the Usurpations of France ; and this intitled us to fix a Place of Arms in any Part of their Dominions, as would best suit such a Design. It is therefore strange, that when our Attempt upon Calés miscarried (the Reason of which is still a Mystery) we did not immediately sail up the Streights, and take Possession of Port Mahone in Minorca, and make it a Harbour for our Fleet, a Magazine for our Naval Stores, for Careening and Refitting our Men of War, as we did in the Reign of King Charles the Second, during our War against Algiers.

This Neglect deserves so much the more Inquiry, that it is common for those, who design an Invasion, to secure a Place of Arms and Retreat in the Country they invade, without which an Invasion seldom proves successful ; for, if there be no such Place, the Invaders by a cross Accident may be left to the Mercy of the Invaded, or obliged to return Home in Winter, and lose all the Advantages gained during the Summer.

Had we possessed Port-Mahone, and kept a Fleet there superior to the French, it would naturally have had the following Consequences.

1. *We might have prevented their sending Forces to Italy by Sea, which would soon have put an End to the War in that Country; and, having no Way to recruit their Troops there, they must have surrendered Prisoners of War.*
2. *We should have ruined the Trade of Marfeilles, with the Italians, Spaniards, and Turks; and not only have secured, but considerably advanced our own Trade in the Mediterranean.*
3. *The Isle of Majorca would have declared immediately for the Emperor, as they have since; and the Inhabitants, who are accounted the best Seamen, for Privateers, of any in the Streights, would have been of considerable Use to us, having a natural Aversion to the French and Castilians.*
4. *When Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia had seen us Masters of the Mediterranean, in Winter as well as Summer, they would have cast off the French Yoke, on our sending a Squadron to visit their Coasts, whereby King Charles might easily have taken Possession by Land; and, consequently, the Charge and Hazard of this Voyage, which we were put to, had been prevented.*
5. *We should have had a considerable Trade with the Spaniards, even before they had been reduced, by Means of neutral Ships fetching our Goods from Port-Mahone, and bringing Spanish Goods thither for us to carry Home.*
6. *When the Rovers of Barbary had once found us Masters of those Seas, they must have given over their Piracies, and applied to a fair Way of Trading; by which we should have enlarged our Trade to Barbary, to our great Advantage.*
7. *By being Masters of Port Mahone, we should naturally become Guarantees of all Treaties betwixt the Turks and any Christian Nation: For the Turks, seeing us Sovereigns in those Seas, would never find it their Interest to break Treaties. The French first acquired their Reputation at the Ottoman Porte, by pretending to be Sovereigns of the Mediterranean: But, since the Turks have been partly undeceived, by seeing us Masters of that Sea in the Summer Season, the French have sunk at least one half at the Ottoman Court; which clearly proves they must have sunk intirely, had we kept a Fleet all the Year in the Streights.*
8. *We should have saved the Lives and Ships lost in the great Storm, had we wintered in Port-Mahone; and, likewise, prevented the vast Charge of making good those Ships, and repairing the Damage others have sustained, by coming Home late in tempestuous Seasons; to say nothing of our great Loss of Seamen, occasioned by want of good Provisions, and particularly of Cloaths, on returning Home from a hot Country in the Winter Season. How it may fare with Sir Cloudesly Shovel *, God only knows; but a great many Hearts ache for him, considering how indifferently he was provided when he came from before Thoulon, and that it is now a Season of long Nights, subject to stormy and foggy Weather; whereas, had Port-Mahone been in our Hands, we might have been supplied with all necessary Stores, both from Africa and Europe.*
9. *To mention no more, had we been Masters of Port-Mahone, we might have maintained our Fleet in the Streights with little or no Expence to ourselves, by obliging the Pope, Princes, and States of Italy to contribute towards their Maintenance. This would have been but reasonable, considering we prevented their Falling under the French Yoke, which all of them in their Turns have found insupportable. In this Case, it had been just, that the Court of Rome, who have fomented all the Wars, which now destroy Christendom, should have borne the greatest Share. And, had the Pope pretended his Apostolical Treas-*

* He was lost on the Banks of Scilly, near the Land's-End, on his Return to England.

sure was low, it is known he can raise Money to carry on a War against us, whom he calls Hereticks, and for that End can suppress Monasteries; which therefore would be more reasonable he should do now, to help to maintain those who preserve his Dominions from being swallowed up by the Power of France. But, had he proved stubborn, we could soon have made him comply, by blocking up the Mouth of the Tiber, and bombarding Ancona and Civita Vecchia: For, as * Algernon Sidney says, Rome was more afraid of Blake and his Fleet, than they had been of the great King of Sweden, when ready to invade Italy with a Hundred-thousand Men. About which Time, the Duke of Florence, by Blake's Means, was glad to pay Six-hundred Thousand Scudi's for our Friendship.

Another Omission, in the Beginning of the War, was our not having ten or twelve Men of War constantly cruising in the Latitude of Martinico, and Guardalupa, which would have cut off their Communication of Supplies from France, and soon have obliged those Islands to surrender to us.

We might likewise with five or six Men of War, two or three Bomb Vessels, and two or three thousand Men, not only have recovered Placentia, which is our own by Right, and have seized the great Fleet of Ships, commonly there to catch Fish in the Summer; but likewise by the Assistance of New England, and New York, have subdued Canada, the Advantage of which is inexpressible; for, by this Means all North America, the Fishery and Fur Trade, must have intirely come into our Hands; and this would have occasioned a vast Consumption of our own Manufactures and Product, especially of our coarsest Woollen Cloth, which takes up the greatest Part of our Wool. On the whole, this must soon have occasioned Business for two or three hundred Sail of Ships more than ever we had to that Part of the World, the Profit and Advantage of which would much exceed that of our East India Trade, and be a peculiar Advantage to the Western Parts of this Nation.

Another Omission, at the Beginning of this War, was our neglecting to send a strong Squadron to the Bahama Islands, to intercept the Spanish Galleons, and prevent the Landing the Plate at Vigo; which would have been twenty Times more advantageous, than our accidental Rencounter at that Place.

The happy Situation of Jamaica, and our noble Settlement upon it, enables us to make ourselves Sovereigns of those Seas; which would soon put an End to our Enemy's Trade with New Spain, and make all that profitable Trade our own.

The last Omission I shall take Notice of is, was our not sending two or three Men of War, with some Merchant Ships into the South Seas, at the Beginning of the War; by which we had made ourselves Masters of those Seas, and put the Spaniards there on a willing Necessity of Trading with us, and consequently have brought several Millions of Gold and Silver into this Nation, which have been carried into France.

Whatever might have been said against our making War with Spain at first, when they had done us no Harm, and of the Provocation they had received by the Treaty of Partition, which was a direct Breach of the Grand Alliance in 1689, and declared by the Commons of England to be in its Nature unjust: Or whatever the Spaniards might then plead, from natural Right, to chuse what Prince they please upon the Failure of a Royal Family; it is plain now, that our assisting the House of Austria to maintain King Charles in the Possession of those Dominions, to which he has been legally called by the Lords of the Soil, is just and equitable, on that Consideration, as well as by Vertue of the said Grand Alliance.

* Discourses of Government, second Edit. p. 199.

It is upon your most august Assembly, that the Eyes not only of Great Britain, but of all Europe are fixed, as from whom they must expect their Fate; for it is in your Power, by God's Blessing, in Conjunction with her Majesty, to recover this Nation, and the whole Confederacy, from their weak and languishing State, and to restore them to perfect Health and Vigour, by a strong offensive Naval War.

The radicated Distempers, under which our Strength is consumed, proceed chiefly from these two Causes:

1. That, in some late Reigns, our Parliaments were influenced by Places and Pensions. By this Means, in Charles the Second's Reign, they sat still, and suffered that luxurious Monarch to assist France, in enslaving the rest of Europe; and in a later Reign were taken off from that natural Affection and Duty they owed to their Country, and wholly drowned in Covetousness; so that, instead of contriving how to better the Nation by the happy Revolution, their chief Care was to get Money for themselves, and to bring in others to share in the Bribery, that they might form a Party strong enough to prevent the Root of all Evils being punished as a Crime. Thus our Naval Affairs lay neglected, and nothing was done concerning them, but taking away Six-pence per Month from the poor Seamen who had too little before. However, it had this Effect, that it occasioned the erecting a new Office, which gave Rise to several new Places, to gratify those who would blindly pursue the Measures of the Court. What great Debts, the Managers then run the Nation into, are too sensibly felt to be denied; and the scandalous Peace, they suffered to be made, ought not to be mentioned, were it known only to ourselves. From all which it is plain, that it is impossible for us to thrive when our Parliaments are influenced by Places and Pensions; for, in that Case, be the Ministry and the Power of the Parliament in the Hands of what Party soever, it is all one. It was a Blessing more peculiar to Queen Elizabeth's Reign, than to any other we can find almost in our History: That her Ministry and Court pursued the Interest of their Country, as knowing their own was thereby best secured.

The second Cause of our Distempers was the Cramping of the executive Power, and not allowing it the inherent Right of all Government to employ whom they think fit to serve them. Thus the Administration is ingrossed by a Party, and the Subjects as well as the Prince deprived of their natural Right. This has been the Effect of excluding Men from Civil Employments by religious Tests, and making the Conscience accountable to Man, which has no Sovereign but God; and is such a Hardship upon the Dissenters in this Nation, as some Popish Countries are not guilty of, where Protestants enjoy this Right. It is well known, that, in the arbitrary Government of France, the Protestants of that Nation were capable of the greatest Posts, till the Edict of Nants was revoked. And, according to the Treaty of Westphalia, in those Popish Parts of the * Empire, where the Protestants had the Liberty of their Religion, they were made capable of publick Employments; and what the Papists Abroad, and the High Flyers at Home, have got by pursuing the contrary Measures, is of so little Value, that they have no Need to boast of it.

Besides the Example of most other Nations, which is against us, it is a Prostitution of the most sacred Ordinance of Religion to a worldly End, for which Christ never appointed it. His Command was, To do it in Remembrance of him, and we nowhere find he has required it to be done, in order to get Money or a Place. I think, upon casting up our Accounts, it will not appear our Affairs have prospered better, than they did before the

* Vid. the Elector of Palatine's Declaration in Favour of his Protestant Subjects, lately published by A. Baldwin; and the King of Sweden's late Proceedings in Relation to Silesia.

Enabling that Test; and I wish the Profanation of so solemn an Ordinance be not one of the procuring Causes of our great Losses, by an Infatuation which seems to be judicial. The Design of the following Sheets is to propose an easy, safe, and speedy Method for redressing such Disorders in our Naval Management, and to prevent the like for Time to come. And, since they have all been approved by Experience, it is hoped they will be the more taken Notice of. Nothing but Integrity, Courage, and Diligence, with the Blessing of God, can recover our Naval Glory, and make it the Terror of other Nations, and the Security of our own, as formerly. Then we should quickly be able to reduce France to Reason, which can never be effected without destroying its Naval Force; and, how that can be done by a Land War only, I am no more able to comprehend, than how the Sea Officers in a late Reign, voting for a Standing Army, were like to maintain the Dominion of the Sea. And, that God may direct your august Assembly in the Prosecution of that noble Design, shall ever be my Desire, as it is that of all the honest People of Great Britain.

24th October, 1707.

The Way to retrieve the Glory of the English Arms by Sea, as it is done by Land, &c.

SIR, SINCE her * Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, the Reputation of the English Arms, by Land, is advanced to so high a Pitch in the World, by the Conduct of her wise and brave Generals, who have revived the old English Way of Fighting; that there seems to be Nothing wanting to compleat our Military Glory, and to make it equal to that of the Greeks and Romans, but a Rectification of those Things, which have hitherto obstructed our being equally glorious in our Naval Achievements, for which our Situation, Genius, and Materials give us the Advantage over all the People of the World.

Therefore, Sir, in Order to retrieve our Honour that Way as effectually as we have done the Honour of our Arms by Land, I presume to solicit your Advice, whom I know to be a Person of consummate Experience in those Matters, and of unquestionable Zeal and Affection for your Queen and Country. The Occasion of my giving you the Trouble is this: Some worthy Gentlemen of our House have under Consideration, how to man our Fleet with less Trouble and Inconvenience than has been done, since the Year 1660. As to which our most sensible Members are at some Loss, considering that the Methods taken for this End, since that Period, have most of them proved ineffectual, and particularly that the barbarous Method of

Pressing has been as far from answering the End, as it is arbitrary, illegal, and inconsistent with the Liberty of the Subject, upon which, we in England have always valued ourselves. Besides, it is no inconsiderable Objection to this Method, that it exposes us, of Revolution Principles, to the Reproach of those who are Enemies to our Constitution. An Instance of which be pleased to take, as follows:

Being the other Day at the Water-side, I saw a Press-gang hauling and dragging a Man, in a most barbarous Manner, in Order to send him on board a Press-ketch. When I came up, I found him to be a Citizen of Substance, and interposed in his Behalf, for which, the inhuman Crew threatened to hew me in Pieces with their Cutlasses, and had certainly done it, but that a Gentleman of my Acquaintance stepped in, and told them, I was a Parliament-Man. Being thus happily rescued, my Friend and I retired a little from the Crowd; and while we were discoursing upon the Subject, and bewailing that free-born Englishmen should be thus treated like Slaves, a Non-juring Parson, and one of his high-flying Disciples, who knew us, accosted us thus, with all the Bitterness that their Resentments against our present Establishment could suggest: 'Ha! Gentlemen, this is one of the Fruits of your Revolution, wherein your Managers outdo the Barbarity of Oliver, and the other Usurpers; and we

* Queen Anne.

‘ must tell you, Gentlemen, that you Revolutioners are but mere Bunglers at Rebellion in Comparison of them, for they ordered their Matters so, that they were feared and dreaded Abroad, and became popular at Home; and, had they not fallen out among themselves after *Oliver's* Death, we had never been blessed with the happy Restoration; but the Conduct of your Party is such, that of its own Nature it must bring about another of the like Sort.’ I was about to reply, that the *Revolution* was not to blame, for the Instance they upbraided us with, since it was directly contrary to the Principles of it: But they satisfied themselves with having thus vented their Malice, and immediately marched off.

But to return to my Subject, I am heartily sorry that, notwithstanding those Acts of Violence, and that arbitrary Method of manning our Fleet, it is seldom or never manned so well, and so seasonably as it ought to be; and, when any one enquires, why our Naval Preparations neither answer the *End* they are designed for, nor the *Charge* of the Nation about them, the common Answer is, that they cannot get Men, and it is every Year worse and worse, in this Respect. Therefore, Sir, I am of Opinion, that there is some other Method to be taken for Redressing that Grievance, which has not been hit upon since the Restoration; for, it is evident, we do not want Men in the Kingdom, that are fit, and would be willing to serve their Country as cheerfully by Sea, as our Soldiers do by Land. Were the Affairs of the Fleet as well managed as those of our Army, we might have our Navy in as good Season at Sea, as we have had our Armies in the Field, by which we have prevented the *French*, and had the Advantage of them in this Reign, as they had the Advantage of us, for the most Part, in the last.

I must then beg of you to help us with your Advice in a Matter of so great a Concern, not only to *England*, but to the whole Confederacy: And in Order to this, I take the Liberty to put you in Mind of some Discourses we have had together about the Method of breeding and managing Seamen in the Parliament-times, when you had the Command of a Ship. I remember, particularly, you told me, that, in 1632, you was bound Apprentice to a Captain that used the *Turky* Trade; that when your Time was out, and you had gone two or three Voyages as a Commander for yourself, you had a Captain's

Commission to serve the Parliament by Land, as had several others, among whom were *Bourn* and *Dean*, who were afterwards Admirals; and that you was at last made Captain of a Man of War, and served your Country in that Station, till a Year or two after *Oliver's* Death, when, Matters falling into Disorder, you threw up your Commission, and returned again to the Merchants Service. I have heard many Things, from you, relating to the Management of our Fleet in those Days, which I am confident might be serviceable now, if you would be at the Pains to recollect and set them down in Writing.

I do further remember your frequent Complaints, how the Altering of those Measures in King *Charles the Second's* Reign, when our Parliaments as well as Courts, being engaged in an Interest opposite to that of their Country, by Bribes, Pensions, and Places, contributed to raise *France* to that formidable Height, she since arrived to: By this Means it was, that we were brought to join with that ambitious Prince in a War against the *Dutch*, and were made deaf to the earnest Sollicitations of the *Spaniards*, *Germans*, and *Hollanders*, to engage with them in a War against *France*, though the *Spaniards* made us very advantageous Proffers; particularly, that they would for ever prohibit all *French* Manufactures and Product from coming into their Dominions in *Europe* or *America*, and offered us the beneficial Trade of supplying them, with what of our Product they wanted in both. The Refusal of this made the Duke of *Bergammonero*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, reflect upon our then Court in the severest Terms, while he spoke with the greatest Honour of our Nation, who contributed largely towards a War with *France*, but were frustrated of their Design, and cheated of their Money, by the Managers of that Time. But this was not all, the *French* became so insolent as to rob us of our *Newfoundland* Fishery, to insult our Ships in our own Seas, on Pretence of Want of Passes, and carried some Scores of them into *France*, though they had such Passports as our Court did then ignominiously submit to.

In this Manner was *France* suffered to aggrandise her Naval Power, without any remarkable Controul from us till the late happy Revolution, since which, we have felt the dismal Effects of it, and have seen that Monarch in a Condition to outbrave us and the *Dutch* both at Sea. But now, Sir, we have Reason to hope that the mis-

mischievous Practices of that luxurious Reign, are the just Abhorrence of this, though we have not yet been so happy as to fall upon proper Methods compleatly to retrieve the Glory of our Naval Arms: And since we are now in Alliance with the House of *Austria*, and have advantageous Articles for making ourselves capable of Enlarging our Trade in the *Spanish West-Indies*, I hope you will freely impart your Mind on the Subject desired, since Nothing can be more acceptable to Court and Country; an Advantage we could not promise ourselves in some of the late Reigns, when you and I were forced to whisper our Complaints about the Decay of our Shipping and Trade, and our inglorious Loss of the Dominion of the Seas.

Nor can you have forgot, that, even since the Revolution, you and I have frequently bewailed the Nation's Disappointment, in having those Things redressed; because some, who were then in the Management, designed their own Interest, more than that of the Country, which occasioned a bungling War, which concluded (to speak in the softest Terms that Matter will allow of) in a defective Peace.

We are now, Sir, blessed with a Reign, when our *House of Commons* is not managed with a Prospect of *Pensions* and *Places*, split and divided to procure Votes for carrying on the Designs of *factious* and *covetous* Ministers: And, therefore, it is to be hoped, that a *Naval War*, which, as it suits our Genius best, is also most for our Advantage, will be fully encouraged, in order to a speedy Reduction of *France*, and to the Recovery and Enlargement of our *West-India* Plantations and Trade. I beg your Answer, Sir, with all possible Speed. Feb. 12. 1705.

S I R,

I Have received yours, and, tho' I have no Opinion of my own Capacity, I will answer it the best I can, rather than be wanting in any Thing that may cultivate our Friendship, or serve my Country: I very well remember our former Discourses, you speak of about our *Naval* Affairs, and am very sensible, that our Want of Seamen is one of the great Causes why our Naval Preparations come so far short of answering the Design and Expence of the Nation: and, in order to redress this Grievance, I will recapitulate such of the Methods we took to

prevent that Mischief in the *Parliament Times* *, as I think may suit the present Occasion.

1. Particular Care was taken to *punish* and *suppress* those abominable Habits of *Cursing* and *Swearing*, *Drunkenness* and *Uncleaness*, so common among our Seamen, that they can scarcely speak, without such horrid Imprecations, and blasphemous Oaths, as no *Christian* can hear without Horror; and wherever they come, they bring such a Contagion of Vice along with them, as makes all People, of any Morality, to detest them: So that none, who have any Regard to the present or future State of their Sons and other Relations, care for having them on board the Fleet, but rather dissuade them from it, which is none of the least Causes why we are in such Want of Seamen. For you may believe me, Sir, that tho' these Crimes, I speak of, seem to have lost much of that Odiousness which attends them, by their *Frequency* in the great City, it is not so with the Generality of People in the Country, they abhor such profligate Fellows, and neither care that they should keep Company, or match with their Children or Servants; for, besides the Hatredness of their Crimes, when once they are so debauched, they are generally good for nothing after, but bring such Women as they marry to Want, and make them and their Children as dissolute as themselves, which contributes to fill the Nation with the worst Sort of Beggars. Had this commendable Practice been continued, we should not have had such a late scandalous Instance of an *Admiral* prosecuted, when he ought to have been pursuing the Service of her Majesty, and his Country, in so critical a Juncture, for basely assaulting a Justice of the Peace, who had the Courage and Honesty to put the Law against *Swearing* in Execution upon him.

2. In order to give our Seamen a true Taste of Religion, we chose the *soberest* and *most religious* Men we could get for *Commanders*, provided they were otherwise well qualified, as I told you before, and instanced in *Bourn*, *Dean*, and others: We generally chose such as had been bred to *Navigation* and *Trade*, who, knowing the Sweets of it, were not for prolonging a War for the Sake of their Commands, but endeavoured all they could to bring it to a speedy Conclusion; because they knew a *long War* to be *destructive* to *Commerce*, which is the great

* Viz. The Parliament that began in 1640.

Support of our Country; and, when the War was over, they did not think it below them to return to Trade again, as I instanced in myself: and, by that Means, our Sea-Commanders, in Time of Peace, had no Need of Pensions, or Half-pay, &c. except they were disabled; and by Consequence were no Burden to themselves, or the Government. Besides, you know, that a Man, who would make any Thing of Trade, must be frugal and sober; and being accustomed to that Way of Living, they not only set their Crew a good Example, but obliged them to follow it. But this is scarcely to be expected from *poor* and *decayed* Gentlemen, *Pages*, *Valets*, and others of *that Sort*, who, in the *late* Reigns, purchased Commands by *Interest*, or the *Money* of their Friends; not but that I think it the Interest of *England*, to breed as many of the younger Sons of the Nobility and Gentry for Naval Commands as are sober, and inclinable to it, and otherwise qualified. And, since it is lawful to be taught even by an Enemy, I think the *French King's* Practice, in that Matter, very commendable, and the Care he takes to have young Gentlemen of his best Families instructed in Naval Affairs, very well worth our Imitation.

3. We took special Care to have *Chaplains* aboard our Men of War, who were *pious* and *diligent*, whose Conversation, as well as Doctrine, impressed the Seamen with Thoughts, that there was more in Religion than a mere Form; and who took Care to see them read their *Bibles* and *practical* Pieces, especially those that were most adapted to a Seafaring Life, which the Government took Care to have them provided with. And, that it might not be thought the Design was to make them only *Precisians*, they were likewise provided with *Books of Navigation*, and the *Histories* of the brave Achievements of our own Countrymen, and others, by Sea and Land; and with Accounts of remarkable Deliverances from Dangers at Sea, which were diverting, as well as instructive, and kept them from mispending their Time in Debauches, and other criminal Exercises, which are too common amongst our Seamen of late. This created an honest Emulation among them to exceed one another in Improvements of that Sort, and shamed the Illiterate into a Necessity of learning to read and write, that they might be capable of conversing with their Fellows, and of Preferment, when it offered.

4. When Offenders were *punished*, the Of-

ficers ordered it in such a Manner, that the poor Wretches might be convinced, that the *Punishments* were inflicted for their *Good*, and not to *gratify the Revenge* or *Passion* of any Commander. And, to keep the Officers to their Duty in this Matter, the Government demanded an exact Account of the Behaviour of their Commanders in those Respects; and such as took no Care of their own Behaviour, or of that of their Ship's Company, were turned out, and made incapable of Employment: So that a few Examples of this Nature quickly reformed the Fleet.

5. There was particular Care taken to have our *Provisions good*, and in *Plenty*: We had few Complaints in those Days of *stinking* Meat, or *bad* Drink, on board our Fleet. Those concerned in the Victualling, &c. were not allowed to raise themselves Estates, by pinching the Seamen's Bellies, or buying the worst Sort of Provisions, and making the Government pay for the best. Nor did we hear then of any superior Officers going Shares with Inferiors to connive at them, in defrauding the Government, and cheating the Seamen, &c. of their Provisions, or Pay. We were also very careful to keep them sweet and clean; and such as were sick, or wounded, had every Thing necessary provided for them, and were carefully looked after. This created such a Love and Esteem in the Seamen to their Officers, that they were willing, on all Occasions, to sacrifice their Lives, rather than suffer their Commanders, or Country, to fall under any Disgrace, by Non-performance on their Part. I cannot omit, on this Occasion, to tell you what I have frequently heard our great and good Admiral, *Blake*, say amidst his Ships-Company, *That the meanest of them were Free-born Englishmen, as well as himself, and that Officers and Mariners were all Fellow-servants to the Government of their Country*. This prudent and tender Behaviour towards the Seamen, made them look upon themselves as indispensably obliged to respect their Officers as their Parents; and when any of them fell under due Chastisement, there was nothing like Mutiny, or Discontent, at it among their Fellows: So that the Obstinate suffered without Pity; and, for others, they were more ashamed of their Crime, than of their Punishment.

6. There was due Care taken of their *Pay*, which was the Life of the Cause; for as soon as any Ship came to be laid up, or refit, the Books were made up, and Money ready at the Port
to

to pay off the Men as soon as the Ship was moored (for the Stores were then taken out by hired Men that belonged to the Yards) the Seamen's short Allowance was paid at the same Time to a Farthing; whereas now they have a double Trouble to get their short Allowance Money at the *Vicqualling-Office*, which was formerly paid them at the same Time with their other Wages. Nor had they any Difficulty in receiving their *Tun* and *Gun-Money* (the same now with *Prize-Money*) and, if they had been upon any extraordinary Service, there was a *Crown* or *Ten Shillings* a Man given them to drink the Government's Health; and their Plunder was *honestly* shared among them, *without* any Embezzlement by the Officers. I cannot express the Satisfaction I have had to see with what chearful and lively Countenances our Men would come to the Pay-Table; and, as they swept the Money into their Hats, they would pray for the Prosperity of the Government, and for the Health of their noble Captains, and other Officers; so that they parted with mutual Love and Respect: And when their Commanders told them, that they hoped they would be ready to serve the Government again, upon the first Notice given them, they would promise it with great Chearfulness, and be as good as their Word.

I must likewise tell you, that our Men, being thus accustomed to good Discipline, and a regular Way of living, they did not spend their Money as our Seamen frequently do *now*, before they received it, but carried Home considerable Sums to their Families, or other Friends. And the first Thing they did, was to put good *Clothes* on their Backs; and coming Home better clad than their Companions they left a-shore, and having more Money in their Pockets, after being a Year at Sea, than their Fellow-Labourers and Servants could scrape together in seven Years, it raised an Emulation among young Men of the like Condition, to serve the Government on board the Fleet, since they knew not how to dispose of themselves to so much Advantage elsewhere.

7. The Government took special Care to pay off the Quarters of the Sick and Wounded every Week in the Ports where they were; this made them be carefully looked after, and the People were fond of having them in their Houses, because they knew their Money was good, and ready whenever they wanted it: And their Doc-

tors and Surgeons knowing this, would not suffer them to be in any House, but where they were carefully attended. This saved Abundance of their Lives, and speedily effected their Cure; and the Government, knowing the Importance of this, and that it not only saved their Men, but their Money, whatever Straits they were under, they never suffered Money to be wanting for these weekly Payments. But, to say the Truth of them, those at the Helm then managed Affairs so, that *they scarce wanted Money* for any Thing, *tho' they had not two Thirds* in Proportion to what we *now pay to the Charge of the Navy*.

These, Sir, were the Methods we then took, and to which, under God, we owed most of our Success by Sea: For it is incredible to think what *Virtue*, joined with *British Gallantry*, is capable of performing.

We are not then to wonder, since *those* Methods fell into *Disuse*, that our Success has fallen so much short of what it then was; but I persuade myself, that, if your House* would seriously take these Things into Consideration, and lay them before her Majesty, she is a Princess of that Piety and Wisdom, that she would soon be induced to take proper Measures for retrieving that commendable, but antiquated Practice.

This, I hope, will deserve more than ordinary Application from yourself, and other good Patriots, especially when you consider, that the great Decay of our Naval Glory has been chiefly occasioned by the Neglect of those Measures since the Restoration, of which I shall take Leave to give you a brief and melancholy View.

1. You know that in the Parliament Times, Men were advanced for their *Merit*, and that furnished us with Commanders, who raised themselves by their *Courage* and *Conduct*. I shall instance only in three, of the County of *Dorset*, viz. *Cuttins*, *Steyner*, and *Martin*, who, originally, used the *Newfoundland* Fishery, but were all advanced for their good Service, and are very well known to such as have read the Naval Accounts of those Times. *Martin*, you know, was made Captain of a fourth Rate, in which alone, at *Solbay*, he fought four Dutch Men of War, and made them run; and, at *Portland* Fight, being Captain, or, as we now say, *Commodore*, of ten Men of War, he came in from *Portsmouth* just after the Fleets were engaged, and did

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such

* Of Commons.

such Wonders, that the Government resolved to have given him a Flag, as the just Reward of his Gallantry; but his Death prevented it. In *those* Days, Valour was equally rewarded in a *Merchantman*, as in a Ship of the *State*; nor was *Seniority* the readiest Step to Preferment, then, without a Proportion of Merit. But, soon after the Restoration, that Method was altered, and *Men were made Captains for their standing*, as *Dunces are made Doctors in the Universities*. And, instead of the good Morals and harmless Conversation of our Seamen in the Parliament Times, there was nothing but Curfing, Swearing, Damning, Sinking, and obscene nasty Discourse to be heard on board our Fleet; so that it looked more like the *Suburbs of Hell*, than a *Christian Navy*. On this Occasion, I cannot but take Notice of an early Instance we had of the dissolute Practices and Profaneness of that Reign; which was thus: Some of our Seamen, who brought over King *Charles the Second* in the *Naseby*, told me, that the first Time they ever heard *Common Prayer* and *God damn ye* was on board that Ship, as she came Home with his Majesty. Not that I would reflect upon the *Established Form*; for, be it *Common*, or *Extemporary Prayer*, it is certainly more than *Heathenish* to hear People say, *Lord, have Mercy upon us*, and cry, *God damn us*, with one and the same Breath. One great Cause of the Increase of this Profaneness was the raising of Men, to be Officers and Commanders, from *Letter-Men*, as they call them; a Practice introduced by King *Charles the Second*, on Pretence of recommending, by his Letters, the Sons of the Nobility and Gentry to be bred up for Command on board the Fleet; which at last were obtained for *Coachmen*, *Footmen*, and the *Relations and Friends*, and sometimes *Stallions and Bastards of lewd Women*, who had Interest at Court; or other mean and dissolute Persons procured such Letters for Money; which quickly filled our Fleet with the worst of Men for Officers, and their contagious Example soon infected the Seamen, and made our Fleet a Sink of all Wickedness. By this Means, the old and true Method of breeding Sea-Commanders was neglected; and those *Upstarts*, valuing themselves upon their Letters of Recommendation, and the Interest of vicious Courtiers and debauched Ladies, became insupportably proud, carried it towards their inferior Officers with Contempt (which deprived them of all Authority) and treated their

Seamen like Dogs; so that there was neither Virtue, good Understanding, or Courage, to be seen in any of our Ships of War, except where the Commanders were Men of Sobriety and Merit, which, God knows, was much the least Number: Whereas, in the Parliament-Times, as I told you before, our Commanders were not only civil to their Seamen, but, sometimes, familiar with them; which procured them their Love, and abated nothing of their due Respect. We had, then, no double Lieutenants to the *Nation's Charge*, but one on board a Ship, and he was the *Captain's Companion*; the *Warrant-Officers* were the *Lieutenant's Companions*, but especially the *Master*, who had, then, the sole Power of sailing and working the Ship, without depending, as now, on the Lieutenant's Orders. Our *Masters*, their *Mates*, *Boatswains*, *Gunners*, and *Carpenters* had, then, as much Command over the Seamen, and were better obeyed, than the *Lieutenants* are now; and, indeed, they deserved it. For most of our *Warrant-Officers*, then, were fit to command, and very often did it with great Reputation, when their superior Officers were killed, or disabled in Fight. I will give you an Instance of this, in the Parliament Times: When *twenty-two Dutch Ships* engaged *five* of ours off of *Leghorn*, most of our Captains and Lieutenants were killed and disabled in that *unequal Conflict*; yet the Fight was so well managed by the *Warrant-Officers*, that, after a long and bloody Contest, the *Dutch* could take but one of our Ships, and that too, after the Men were most of them killed or wounded.

I shall give you another Instance of Sir *John Leake's* Father, who, being *Gunner* of the *Princess*, in the first *Dutch War*, under King *Charles the Second*, had the Fortune, in two several Engagements, to command her, after her superior Officers were killed or disabled, and brought her off safe both Times: The first was in an Engagement with the *Dutch*, and the other was in the *Baltick*, with three *Danish* Men of War. He expected to be made Captain of her, as he well deserved, but was disappointed, another Person being made Captain, before he came Home. Mr. *Leake* was afterwards *Gunner* of the *Prince*, in the next *Dutch War*, when, Sir *Edward Spragge* being Admiral, she carried the Flag, and was so disabled, that Sir *Edward* was obliged to leave her. She had near Four-hundred of her Men killed

killed and disabled; her Rigging was cut in Pieces, and most of her upper Tire of Guns dismounted. As she lay by thus like a Wreck for some Time, a great *Dutch* Man of War came down upon her, with two Fire-ships, either to burn, or carry her off; and the *Captain-Lieutenant*, thinking it impossible to defend her, ordered the Men to save their Lives, and the Colours to be struck. Gunner *Leake*, hearing this, forbade it, ordered the *Captain-Lieutenant* off the Quarter-deck, took the Command upon himself, and gave the *Dutch* so warm a Reception, that he obliged them to shear off, and brought the Ship safe into Harbour: For which good Service he was deservedly advanced to be *Master-Gunner* of *England*; an Office he discharged with great Reputation till the Day of his Death, which was in King *William's* Reign. To convince you fully of the mischievous Practice of depriving the Master, and other War-rant-Officers, on board our Men of War, of their former Authority, and particularly that of taking from the Master the Power of navigating the Ship, and conferring it on the Lieutenants; if you please to enquire into the Number of Ships lost and damaged at Sea, for want of due Care, within these Hundred Years last, you will find our Loss of Men of War, since the Lieutenants assumed the Power of navigating to themselves, to be three Times greater than when it was intrusted with the Masters, who were then the ablest Seamen in the Nation, and made Navigation their constant Business; whereas too many of our Lieutenants spend most of their Time in a riotous Manner on Shore, and cannot forbear their customary Excesses when they go on board.

A second Defect in the Management of our Naval Affairs, was the Neglect of raising the Seamen's Wages to twenty-one and twenty-nine Shillings *per* Month, as it ought to have been, in Proportion to the Advance of the Wages of Labourers and Servants on Shore. In King *Charles the First's* Time, we raised their Wages according to that Proportion, from nine and fourteen Shillings, which was the Establishment in King *Henry the Eighth's* Time, to fourteen and eighteen Shillings *per* Month; which King *Charles* was obliged to do, to prevent the deserting of his Seamen, when we had War with *France*; and the Parliament, when the *Dutch* fell upon twenty-one of our Men of War off of

Dover, with forty-two of theirs, who were soundly beaten, did, for the Encouragement of our Seamen, advance their Pay to eighteen and twenty-four Shillings *per* Month. So that, according to this Proportion above-mentioned, of Servants and Labourers Wages, King *Charles the Second* ought to have raised the Seamen's Pay to twenty-one and twenty-nine Shillings *per* Month; but, instead of that, Six-pence *per* Month has been deducted from them to build an *Hospital**; which is like taking from the Poor to build *Alms-houses*.

Sir, You and our other good Patriots ought to consider these Things, and take Care not to have our Seamen imposed upon by *French* Projects, such as that for registering Seamen, which can never have any Effect so long as the encouraging Part of it is not put in Practice, especially since those Things, wherein the *French* Naval Management is worthy our imitating, are altogether neglected; such as, his taking Care to have his Seamen paid at the End of every Voyage, or, at least, at the End of every Year; and his particular Care to hinder their spending their Money while they are in Harbour, before they are paid off, or when they come in to refit: Concerning which, his † Orders are, That, if any Publick House trust them above the Value of a *Groat*, the People not only lose what they so trust, but are also fined, and made incapable of keeping a Publick House ever after. This is so much the more reasonable, that he takes Care they shall want for nothing on board, and therefore he will have them spend their Money at Home, with their Friends and Relations.

A third Abuse, introduced into our Navy since the Restoration, is, That some of their Officers have assumed a sovereign Power, by making such Laws concerning the Seamen, as are contrary to *Magna Charta*, and other good Laws made to preserve the Rights of *Englishmen*; such as, forcing them to the Service without a Law for it, and making them lose their Pay, under Pretence of *Queries* and *Runs*, without due Course of Law, or by the Verdict of a Jury. We are not to wonder, that such Practices were connived at, in Reigns when Parliaments were influenced by Places and Pensions; but, if any such Thing be continued, in a Reign like this, when the Queen values herself upon nothing so much, as being a com-

* For Seamen, at *Greenwich*.

† The King of *France's*.

mon Mother to *all* her Subjects, it must proceed from our own Neglect to lay such Grievances before her in a regular Way, so as to have them redressed and prevented. In order to this, I humbly think, it were proper that your House should make an Inquiry, how many Thousands of our poor Seamen have lost their Pay, by the *illegal* Methods above-mentioned, without any Hopes of Recovery; for, as long as that wicked Practice passes unpunished, it is enough, alone, to prevent our Fleet's being well manned, though you give all the Money of the Nation towards it.

There is another Abuse, relating to their Pay, which ought to be carefully avoided; and that is, the paying them when they *go to Sea*, and not when they *come Home*. The Prejudice that this does to the Nation in general, and to the Seamen's Families, Relations, and Creditors in particular, is not easy to be expressed. The Prejudice it does the Nation is demonstrable thus: That it carries great Sums out of the Kingdom, which the Seamen spend Abroad, and, by Consequence, never return to circulate here again: I make no doubt but, upon Inquiry, it would appear, that *many Hundred Thousand Pounds* have, by this Means, been carried out of the Kingdom. The Damage it does their Families is every whit as evident; for they starve at Home, while the Seamen squander away their Money Abroad; and so their Wives and Children become a Burden to their respective Parishes, and many of them think themselves excused, by their Straits, to take lewd and other unlawful Courses for a Livelihood. And, for such of them as are honest enough to give any Part of what they receive, at the Port where they are paid, to their Wives, other Friends, or Creditors, it puts their Wives, &c. to an intolerable Charge to go for it; and the poor Sailors themselves are forced to pay double Rates, in those Ports, for what Clothes and other Things they want, because they had not Money to buy them elsewhere at the best Hand. The Damage it does their Creditors is as plain as the other; for, when the Seamen spend their Money Abroad, they have nothing left to pay their Debts at Home; and thus their Landladies, who trusted them for Victuals and Drink, and Shopkeepers, who trusted them for Clothes and other Necessaries, are likewise defrauded of their Money. I will give you one plain Instance of this: Our Seamen were never known to have more Money among them on

board, than when they sailed from *Portsmouth* upon the Descent; yet they would not pay their Landladies or Creditors one Farthing; but, laying hold on that Clause of the Act of Parliament for manning the Fleet, That no Seaman should be detained in Custody for any Debt under twenty Pounds, they told their Creditors, with horrid Oaths, that the Parliament had given them their Money, and they would not pay them a Groat: But their Landladies, to be even with them, would not, after this, give them Credit for one Farthing, till the Seamen first gave them a Bond for twenty-two Pounds; and thus that Act was eluded. By this you may see, Sir, that all the preposterous Methods, which have been taken, for manning our Fleet, these forty Years past, have signified nothing; that the Difficulties in manning it still grow upon us, and that nothing will prevent it, but our following the *old* and *laudable* Methods above-mentioned.

Another Abuse, relating to their Pay, is, the robbing many Seamen of it, by *Queries* and *Runs* formerly mentioned; by this Means, and the Tricks of *Calls* and *Recalls*, many of those poor Fellows have been kept out of their Pay, for ten or twelve Years; and thus their Creditors, who *advanced* Money on their *Tickets*, to keep their Wives and Children from starving, have been cheated of their Money, by putting a *Run* upon the Seamen, after those Tickets were given out, when they have been turned over to another Ship.

Another horrid Practice, that has crept into the Management of the Fleet, is, the Difficulty of getting the Pay of Seamen, who *die* in the Service; for the Pay of such is generally put off to the last, and many Times never paid at all; by which the Families, Relations, or Creditors of the deceased Seamen have sustained great Loss. You may easily imagine, this is a great Hinderance to the Manning our Fleet, and creates a great Aversion in the Seamen themselves, as well as in their Wives, and other Relations, to the Service of the Government; for we may readily conceive, that it is a sensible Argument, when Wives, Children, and other Relations tell a Seaman, that he had better stay at Home, and work at Day-labour, for the Maintenance of himself and Family, than go into the Fleet; where, in Case of his Death, to the Danger of which he is so often exposed, they not only lose him for ever, but have no Hopes of recovering

vering his Money, by which they are brought to Sorrow and Want at once: Whereas, were this, and the other inhuman Customs above-mentioned, prevented, the Seamen, and their Relations, would be more willing to serve the Government, than to serve Merchants; for, though the latter give more Money, yet, the same being paid Abroad, at the respective Ports of Delivery, it is generally spent there, and very little of it brought Home for the Use of their Families.

It has likewise been the Practice of late to keep Seamen on board our Men of War for *several Years together*, by turning them from one Ship to another. This has been a great Discouragement to the poor Men; for, besides the Injury it does to their Health, it deprives them of the Comfort of enjoying their Families and Relations; and by this, and the other Hardships above-mentioned, many of them have deserted the Service, and turned *Pirates*, or have gone into the Service of *Foreign Countries*.

The *Whipping* and *Pickling* of Seamen, a barbarous Practice, which has been much used of late, has likewise been a great Hinderance to the Manning of our Fleet, and tends so much to debase the Spirits of our Seamen, and is so inconsistent with that good Nature, which has always been observed to be peculiar to our Nation, that one would wonder how such a Practice came to be introduced, or so long suffered, without being declared contrary to *English Liberty*, and the Authors and Inflicters of it made infamous by the publick Justice of the Country.

These, Sir, are a *few* of the many *ill Customs* that have been brought into the Management of our Navy since the *Restoration*, and have occasioned a *Decay* of our Seamen, and, by Consequence, of our *Naval Glory*; and, among the other Consequences of it, this is none of the least, that it discourages young Seamen from Marrying; and you know very well, that the Hinderance of Propagation is a Loss to the Nation's Capital Stock. So that, except those Abuses be redressed, and the War brought to a speedy Conclusion, the Numbers of our People must needs diminish; and we shall not only want Seamen, but Land-Soldiers, and other useful Hands that might have been employed in Manufactories, Husbandry, Planting, and other Ways for the Defence of our Country, and Increase of our Common-wealth.

The growing Complaints of our great Want

of Seamen upon every Occasion to set out our Fleet, and the Difficulty to recruit our Land-Forces, is an undeniable Proof of what I assert, and therefore deserves the most serious Thoughts, and utmost Application of your House, to prevent the ill Treatment and Decay of so useful a Part of our People, as our Seamen must always be, to us who live in an Island.

To this End it is my humble Opinion, that your House should order an Inquiry to be made into those Things, and particularly into the Abuses relating to their Pay; and that this should not be wholly intrusted to a Committee, but be made the Business of the whole House; and that those Grievances may be fully and freely debated there, for avoiding such Practices as have been too frequent in managing Committees, so as to have Complaints of publick Grievances rather stifled than duly inquired into and redressed.

For my Part, I should think it proper, that the Commissioners of the Navy be ordered to bring in an exact Account of all the Money remaining due to the Seamen since 1688, with the Names of those Seamen, the Ships they belonged to, and the Time of their Service, and where one Man has been in several Ships; that the Money due to him in every such Ship be set down against his Name, with the Reasons why he has not been paid. This would help you to unravel the Mystery of Iniquity, and put you upon a certain Method of preventing such Practices in Time to come: For to whom should those poor Men make Application for Help, but to the Commons of *England*, to whom they are so useful? There they might expect a fair Hearing, and impartial Justice, without being brow-beaten, hector'd, and tricked out of their Rights, which they so often complain is their hard Lot elsewhere.

This would quickly retrieve the Loss of our Trade and Honour, and humble *France* effectually; which I am afraid we shall scarce be able to do, notwithstanding our glorious Successes by Land, until we have utterly destroyed, or at least broke, their *Naval Power*; which, in all Probability, had been *long e're now*, and the *War brought to a happy Conclusion*, but for our *Naval Mismanagements* above-mentioned, and others of the like Nature.

I should think, Sir, that nothing can better deserve the Inquiry of the Commons of *England*, than how it comes to pass, that we and *Holland*, the two greatest Maritime Powers of the World,

World, have been so long in Confederacy, yet so many of our *American* Settlements have been ruined by the *French*; and the rest of our valuable Plantations there are exposed to continual Danger, by that same Enemy, whom for several Years we have run down by Land, and to whom we are so much superior at Sea? It is really a Surprise to every thinking Man, that we have not been able hitherto to prevent the *French* King's being Master of the Treasures of the *West-Indies*, and to stop his bringing Home their Plate continually to his own Country; while we ourselves are in such Want of Bullion, that we are forced to melt down vast Quantities of our Current Money.

Had any Man pretended to foretel twenty Years ago, that *England* and *Holland* should be in War with *France* and *Spain*, and not be able in a Course of fifteen or sixteen Years War to prevent such Losses as both of us have had by Sea, and in our Plantations, by the Naval Power of *France*, nor to make ourselves so much Masters at Sea, as to hinder their continual Supplies of Money from the *West-Indies*, while we ourselves are in such Want of it: I say, any Man, that should have pretended to foretel this, would have been looked upon as a false Prophet, and brainsick Enthusiast, void of all Reason; nor would he have been less ridiculed and despised, who should have ventured to say, That two such wise and warlike Nations could have failed of effectual Measures, to prevent such a bloody, lasting, and expensive War by Land, when it was in their Power to have brought it to a short Conclusion, by a vigorous War at Sea: For had we once seized the *French* King's Purse in the *West-Indies*, which one would think we might easily have done by our own Native Strength there, seconded by a strong Squadron of Men of War, and a competent Number of brisk Cruisers upon his Trade, he must soon have dropped his Sword; for in that Case *Spain*, instead of being an Advantage to him, must have proved such a Burden as would have broke his Back. I am the more confirmed in this Opinion, because I have very good Information, that had we but a few Years ago sent a competent Squadron, well manned, to the *West-Indies*, we might have easily been Masters of *Canada*, the *French* Plantations there being in so great Want, till they were supplied

by a Convoy of about sixty Sail, that they could not have avoided Submitting to us; and by that Means we should have effectually secured our own Plantations in Northern *America*; whereas now, from Memorials and other Papers that I have seen by Men who are concerned to understand the State of that Country, it appears that we are still in Danger of greater Losses in those Parts, than any we have yet sustained.

There is one Thing more I cannot but take Notice of, as the Result of our Want of Seamen, occasioned by the Mismanagements above-mentioned; and that is, that many Times our Losses, by Storms at Sea, proceed from *Want of Convoys in due Time*: And thus it happens that our *Virginia* and *Barbadoes* Fleets, which, in Time of Peace, used to come regularly Home in *July*, *August*, or *September*, now, for Want of Convoys in due Time, do often make it *September* or *October* before they set out from thence, and are by Consequence exposed to the Tempests of the Season: Many Times our Merchant Fleets outward-bound, also, lose their Seasons and Markets for Want of Convoys; which is not only a great Loss to our Merchants and Tradesmen, but also to the Government, who lose in Proportion of their Customs, what the Merchants lose in Trade.

Though Merchants and other private Adventurers may be under Difficulties, and insuperable Discouragements, in representing those Things to such Persons as they think capable to give them Ease and Redress; the Commons of *England* can never be under such Circumstances, as to make it inconvenient or unsafe for them to make due Inquiries into the Causes of such Misfortunes, and to advise to such Methods, as may prevent the like in Time to come.

Whatever Views others may have in *prolonging a War*, it is the Interest of the People of *England*, whose Representatives you are, to bring it to a *speedy and honourable Conclusion*. And I think it is plain, that the Reducing of the *Spanish West-Indies* to the Obedience of King *Charles**, would be the speediest, as well as the most effectual Way of doing it. This would give us, at the same Time, an Opportunity of enlarging our Trade in those Parts, and of getting some convenient Ports to secure it, which, by the Articles of the Treaty†, we are allowed to retain, if we take them out of

* The late Emperor, who laid Claim to the Crown of *Spain*; see above, Page 198.

† With the said King *Charles* the Fifth.

the Hands of the *French*; and this is the least the *Spaniards* ought to grant us, in Consideration of the Blood and Treasure we have spent on their Account. Nor is there any Reason why we should not rather be intrusted to convey and bring Home their Plate, to be made Use of for our mutual Wealth and Defence, than that it should be suffered to come under the *French* King's Management, to be made Use of against us both. I know it is objected by some, that this would give Umbrage to the *Spaniards*, and increase the Averfion of that Country against the House of *Austria*. But this can have no Weight with any Man of Thought, for to suffer the Treasures of the *West-Indies* to continue in the *French* King's Power, is the most effectual Disservice that can be done, not only to the House of *Austria*, but to all *Europe*; nor is there any more Reason that the *Spaniards* of King *Charles's* Party should conceive Umbrage at having their *West-Indies* under the Management and Protection of us and the *Dutch*, during the War, than those of the Duke of *Anjou's* * Party do at the *French* King's having the Management and Protection of it at present; or, if both of them be jealous at it, there is no Cause to be given why we should regard the one, more than he does the other.

The Case being thus, Sir, I hope that you and our other Patriots will take it into Consideration; and since we have already contributed so much towards the Security of the *United Provinces*, by procuring them a good Frontier, and have likewise done so much for the Empire; it would seem but reasonable that we should think of doing something that may be of Advantage to ourselves, with Relation to our Trade, lest it take another Channel, and so we, who have done most of any of the Allies, should also come to suffer more than any of them by this long and expensive War.

This is the more reasonable, because our Allies the *Dutch* are very careful of their Trade, and maintain an advantageous Commerce with the *French*, notwithstanding the War; and likewise with the *Spanish West-Indies* by Way of *Curassaw*; so that they have brought Home double the Plate from thence since the War, that they did in Time of Peace, whereas we have brought Home far less. And, on this Occasion, I cannot but think the *Spaniards* of King

Charles's Party might easily be induced to grant us and the *Dutch* the same Conditions of Trade to the *Spanish* Dominions, exclusive of all others, that the Marquis *de Bergamano* offered us in King *Charles the Second's* Reign, as has been mentioned already.

I am not of Capacity to judge, whether it be absolutely necessary, in Order to carry on the War in *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, that we should diminish the Number of our Forces in the *Netherlands*: But, according to my poor Way of Reasoning, I should think, if the Emperor would redress the Grievances of the *Hungarians*, and persuade the other *Popish* Princes of the Empire to redress the Grievances of the *German* Protestants; our Allies in *Germany* and the *Netherlands* might find the *French* Employment enough on that Side, and leave us and the *Dutch* with Part of our Fleet and Forces to manage the War in *Spain*, and the *West-Indies*. And, since both of them require a Naval Force, we should have the Money for their Provisions and Pay circulate among ourselves; whereas vast Sums of our Money are now spent by our Army beyond Sea, to the Inriching of our Allies, while we ourselves are impoverished.

We should also, by this Means, recover the Plantations we have lost, secure those that are in Danger, deprive the *French* of theirs, and retrieve our *Newfoundland* Fishery, which would be a constant Nursery for Seamen, and recover our Trade to the *Streights*, &c. that depended upon it.

This, Sir, in my humble Opinion, would be a speedy and effectual Way to retrieve our Naval Glory and Trade, and to humble *France*, so as to put it out of their Power to impose the *St. Germans* Family †, upon us, and enslave *Europe*, which is the chief Design of the War.

But I am afraid we shall be far from obtaining it by a Land War only, while the *French* King is Master of the *Spanish West-Indies*, of such a Naval Force, of so good a Trade, of such large Dominions, secured by strong Frontier Garrisons, and of such an absolute Power over his Subjects.

I shall conclude with this Observation, that, since we are in an Island, it ought to be our principal Care to be always in a Condition to man our Fleet well, and betimes, as it ought to

* Now Philip King of Spain.

† Those that claim the Crown of Great-Britain, by Hereditary Right, from King James the Second, who resided at St. Germans.

be that of Governments on the Continent to be always in a Condition to man and provide well their Frontier Towns; because the Neglect of the one may be as fatal to us, as the Neglect of the other to them: And, since our Situation is so happy as to make us need no standing Army, in Time of Peace, it would seem to be our Interest to enlarge and advance our Trade, so as we may always have a competent Number of Seamen in Readiness to man our Fleet, whenever Occasion requires it.

This is what I have to suggest about Retrieving our Naval Glory; and, if it may be of any Use to the Publick, it is wholly due to you who imposed this Task upon me; only, I beg your Pardon, that I could not send it Time enough for you to make Use of last Year, but, I hope, it may do as well this. I am,

S I R,

Jan. 4, 1706.

Your humble Servant.

P O S T S C R I P T.

S I R,

I Have been longer than I intended, but hope you will excuse me, because you know when once I am engaged in this Subject, I cannot tell how to leave it. But to make the Thing as easy as possible to yourself, and others to whom you may impart this, I shall make a brief Recapitulation of the Whole, that you may have the Substance of what I have said at one View:

1. Take Care to reform the Morals of your Officers and Seamen, according to the Methods above-mentioned, lest otherwise Heaven as well as the common Enemy be engaged against you; and, though there was Nothing in this, you see there are Political Reasons, why our Officers and Seamen ought to be sober and regular in their Conversation.

2. Be sure that the Punishments on Board the Fleet be such as may convince the Seamen, of the Odiousness of their Crimes, and not such as may debase their Spirits, or make them think that the Officers seek to gratify their own brutish Revenge, condemn their Fellow-Creatures and Subjects, usurp a Legislative Power, or invade *Magna Charta*, and the Birth-right of *Englishmen*.

3. Take Care, their Provisions be good and plentiful; that there be no Connivance at Frauds to the Prejudice of the Seamen; and let them be kept sweet and clean, carefully looked after, when sick, and in all other Respects used kindly.

4. Let them be duly paid, when they come Home, that they may have some comfortable Enjoyment of themselves, with their Wives, Relations, and Friends; and that the Money, we pay them, may circulate among ourselves.

Let their short Allowance, and Prize-money, be duly paid, at the same Time with their Wages, and their Plunder be duly shared among them.

5. Let the Quarters of the Sick and Wounded be duly paid, and let their Doctors and Surgeons on Board, or a-shore, be skilful and careful, and furnished with good Medicines.

6. Take Care that Men be advanced, according to their Merit; and let not Seniority, without other Qualifications, or Letters of Recommendation, and Money or Interest, be the ordinary Steps to Advancement. And to this End, let a List of all those, who behave themselves well on any Occasion, be carefully kept, and at the End of every Expedition laid before the Prince and Parliament.

7. Let Seamen's Wages be raised according to the present Proportion of the Wages of Servants and Labourers, as was the old commendable Practice: For it is a Disgrace to the Government, that private Persons should pay and reward better than they.

8. Let there be Money always at the Pay-Office to satisfy the Executors of those who die in the Service, or those who have lawful Powers to receive the Pay of such as have been turned over into other Ships, before the Ships, they belonged to, were paid: And let an End for ever be put to that mischievous Practice of Calls and Recalls, in attending upon which, many have spent the greatest Part of their Pay, before they received it.

9. In a Word, let all those Abuses introduced into the Management of our Fleet, since the Restoration, be inquired into and redressed; and let Commissions be given to such as have been bred to Navigation, and have a good Repute, among the Mariners: For such Officers will be able

able to raise most of their Men by their own Reputation.

These Methods will save many Thousands of Pounds to the Nation, that are spent by Press-Gangs, Press-Ketches, and in Provisions and Wages to keep Men on board Ships, that are laid up, during the Winter, to prevent their Running away.

Had these Things been put in Practice at the Beginning of this War, there had been no Complaint for Want of Seamen; the Decay that has since happened in our Trade and Manufactories (the natural Consequences of War) would have brought more into the Service, than we should have needed; and when the War had been over, and Trade restored, those Tradesmen would have returned from the Fleet to their former Employments, which would have prevented our being overstocked with Seamen, for the rest must have been employed by Merchantmen.

Before I conclude, I must put you in Mind, of what you and I discoursed before the present War was proclaimed, when you asked my Thoughts about the great Naval Expedition, we had then in Hand.

You may remember, I told you, that, if it was designed for *Spain*, my Opinion was, that we should, in the first Place, seize the Isle of *Minorca*, and, by Consequence, possess ourselves of the noble Port of *Mahon**, erect a Magazine of Naval Stores there, and send thither our Hulks to careen as we did in King *Charles the Second's* Time, when we had a War with the *Algerines*, and as we did during the last War at *Cales*.

By having a good Fleet, or at least a strong Squadron, there all the Year, we should have been Masters of the *Mediterranean*, and have prevented the *French* from sending Recruits to *Italy* and *Spain*: And as the plain Result of this the Duke of *Savoy* had not been reduced to such Straights, nor the Confederacy obliged to so much Expence and Danger in sending him Relief; nor had *Barcelona*, and all the Advantages which King *Charles* gained in *Spain*, been in so much Danger of being lost by the Opportunity which the *French* had to attack *Barcelona* by Sea and Land, in Retaking of which they were visibly disappointed by the immediate Hand of Heaven. Nor should the *French*, after such a

Blow as they received there, have been in a Condition to march their Troops round, to regain *Castile*, dispossess our Allies of *Madrid*, retake *Carthage* on the *Spanish* Coast, and *Alcantara* on the Frontiers of *Portugal*, to the evident Hazard of driving King *Charles* again out of all those *Spanish* Dominions, the Reducing of which has cost *England* so much Blood and Money.

Nor should we have been under any Necessity of courting the expensive, and hitherto almost useless, Alliance of the *Portuguese*; but, having such a good Harbour and Place of Arms as *Port-Mahon*, we should quickly have been Masters of *Majorca*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicily*, have reduced *Naples* to the Obedience of King *Charles*, and obliged the *Italian* Potentates, the Pope not excepted, either to come into the Alliance, or to pay Contributions: Which would have prevented his visible Partiality in Favour of the House of *Bourbon*, that has kept the War so long on Foot, and has so much endangered the Liberty of *Europe*, and the *Protestant* Religion, and given the *French* King so fair a Chance to destroy our own Liberty and Religion, by imposing, with the Assistance of our Malecontents at Home, the *St. Germain's* Pretender upon us, and making him real as well as titular King of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*.

I shall only add, that had we, according to the Maxims of all wise Invaders, first secured ourselves of a Port and Place of Arms upon the Skirts of their Dominions, as we might easily have done by Seizing *Port-Mahon*, we should have prevented the fatal Mismanagement of the War, in *Italy* and *Spain*, where sometimes the *French*, and sometimes the Allies, have had the Advantage of one another, by a sudden Run, as happens in a Game at Football; and had we kept that Port after the War was over, which could not well have been denied us, we might have made it a Magazine and Station for Ships, to command the *Mediterranean*, and protect our *Streights* Trade, and should thereby have been in Condition, by a Naval Power (without incurring any Danger from Standing-Armies) to hold the Balance of *Europe* in our Hands; which, as it is our natural Province, is *England's* great Security and Glory.

From all this, Sir, I hope, that you and the rest of our good Patriots will take Care to propose due Methods for retrieving our Naval

* This was done afterwards.

Glory, and to see that the War be so carried on, as it may be brought to a speedy and honourable Conclusion; which, in my humble Opinion, can never be done, except by our *Naval Force* we deprive the *French King* of the continual Supplies of Money he has from the *West-Indies*, or carry the War into his own Country. And, I think, Sir, it is but reasona-

ble, that having done so much already for the House of *Austria*, and our other Allies the *Dutch*, we should now begin to think of doing something for ourselves, that others may not run away with the greatest Part of the Profit, while we have borne the *greatest Proportion* of the Charge of the War.

Adieu.

A Description of the famous Kingdom of *Macaria*; shewing its excellent Government, wherein the Inhabitants live in great Prosperity, Health, and Happiness; the King obeyed, the Nobles honoured, and all good Men respected; Vice punished, and Virtue rewarded. An Example to other Nations: In a Dialogue between a Scholar and a Traveller. [From a *Quarto*, containing fifteen Pages, printed at *London* for *Francis Constable*, Anno 1641.]

To the high and honourable Court of Parliament. *

Whereas I am confident, that this honourable Court will lay the Corner-stone of the World's Happiness, before the final Recess thereof, I have adventured to cast in my Widow's Mite into the Treasury; not as an Instructor, or Counsellor, to this honourable Assembly, but have delivered my Conceptions in a Fiction, as a more mannerly Way, having for my Pattern Sir Thomas Moore, and Sir Francis Bacon, once Lord Chancellor of England; and humbly desire that this honourable Assembly will be pleased to make Use of any Thing therein contained, if it may stand with their Pleasures, and to laugh at the rest, as a Solace to my Mind, being inclined to do Good to the Publick. So humbly craving Leave, that I may take my Leave, I rest, this Twenty-fifth of October, 1641.

* This was the Parliament which met at *Westminster*, on the Third of *November*, 1640, and, having chosen Mr. *Lentball* their Speaker, fell immediately upon their Grievances, as Ship-money, Innovations in Religion, &c. To accuse Mr. Secretary *Windebank*, of being a great Promoter of Popery; to vote Archbishop *Laud* a Traitor, and the Author of all the Troubles in *Scotland*; to impeach the Lord *Strafford* of high Treason, and to declare the Lord Keeper *Finch* to be a Traitor. And instead of driving out the *Scots*, who had invaded *England*, with a powerful Army, and offered to put themselves under the Protection of the *French King*, suffered them to remain in a Body, in the North of *England*, advanced them three-hundred thousand Pounds, and obliged the King to disband his Army, and to leave himself and Kingdom to the Mercy of those Rebels. Hence we may gather the Intention of this little Treatise, which, composed by Way of Novel, was designed to intimate a new Model of Government therein specified, as the properest Means to reconcile the destructive Breach, that then was beginning to appear between the King and his Parliament.

Traveller.

Traveller.

WELL met, Sir, your Habit professes Scholarship; Are you a Graduate?
Scholar.

Yes, Sir, I am a Master of Arts.

Trav. But, what do you hear in the *Exchange*? I conceive you trade in Knowledge; and here is no Place to traffick for it; neither in the Book of Rates is there any Imposition upon such Commodities: So that you have no great Business either here, or at the *Custom-House*. Come, let us go into the Fields; I am a Traveller, and can tell you strange News, and much Knowledge; and I have brought it over the Sea, without paying any Custom, though it be worth all the Merchandise in the Kingdom.

Schol. We Scholars love to hear News, and to learn Knowledge; I will wait upon you, go whither you will.

Trav. Well, we will go into *Moor-fields*, and take a Turn or two; there we shall be out of this Noise, and Throng of People.

Schol. Agreed; but, as we go, What good News do you hear of the Parliament?

Trav. I hear that they are generally bent to make a good Reformation; but that they have some Stops and Hinderances, so that they cannot make such quick Dispatch as they would; and if any Experience, which I have learned in my long Travels, may stand them in Stead, I would willingly impart it for the publick Good.

Schol. I like that well; I pray you declare some good Experience, that I may say that I have gained something by the Company of Travellers.

Trav. In a Kingdom called *Macaria*, the King and the Governors do live in great Honour and Riches, and the People do live in great Plenty, Prosperity, Health, Peace, and Happiness, and have not half so much Trouble as they have in these *European* Countries.

Schol. That seemeth to me impossible: You Travellers must take Heed of two Things principally in your Relations; *first*, That you say nothing that is generally deemed impossible; *secondly*, That your Relation hath no Contradiction in it, or else all Men will think that you make Use of the Traveller's Privilege, to wit, *to lye by Authority*.

Trav. If I could change all the Minds in *England*, as easily as, I suppose, I shall change

yours, this Kingdom would be presently like to it: When you hear the Manner of their Government, you will deem it to be very possible, and, withal, very easy.

Schol. I pray you, Sir, declare the Manner of their Government, for I think long till I hear it.

Trav. As for Brevity in Discourse, I shall answer your Desire. They have a *great Council*, like to the *Parliament of England*; but it sitteth once a Year for a short Space, and they hear no Complaints against any but Ministers of State, Judges, and Officers; those they trounce soundly, if there be Cause: Besides, they have five under Councils; to wit,

A Council of *Husbandry*.

A Council of *Fishing*.

A Council of *Trade by Land*.

A Council of *Trade by Sea*.

A Council for *new Plantations*.

These sit once a Year, for a short Space, and have Power to hear and determine, and to punish Malefactors severely, and to reward Benefactors honourably, and to make new Laws, not repugnant to the Laws of the great Council, for the whole Kingdom, like as Courts-Leets and Corporations have, within their own Precincts and Liberties, in *England*.

Schol. I pray you, Sir, declare some of the principal Laws made by those Councils.

Trav. The Council of *Husbandry* hath ordered, that the twentieth Part of every Man's Goods, that dieth, shall be employed about the improving of Lands, and making High-ways fair, and Bridges over Rivers; by which Means the whole Kingdom is become like to a fruitful Garden, the Highways are paved, and are as fair as the Streets of a City; and, as for Bridges over Rivers, they are so high, that none are ever drowned in their Travels.

Also, they have established a Law, That, if any Man holdeth more Land than he is able to improve to the utmost, he shall be admonished, *first*, of the great Hinderance which it doth to the Commonwealth; *secondly*, of the Prejudice to himself; and if he do not amend his Husbandry, within a Year's Space, there is a Penalty set upon him, which is yearly doubled, till his Lands be forfeited, and he banished out of the Kingdom, as an Enemy to the Commonwealth.

In

In the Council of *Fishing*, there are Laws established, whereby immense Riches are yearly drawn out of the Ocean.

In the Council of *Trade by Land*, there are established Laws, so that there are not too many Tradesmen, nor too few, by enjoining longer or shorter Times of Apprentisships.

In the Council of *Trade by Sea*, there is established a Law, that all Traffick is lawful, which may enrich the Kingdom.

In the Council for *new Plantations*, there is established a Law, that every Year a certain Number shall be sent out, strongly fortified, and provided for at the publick Charge, till such Times as they may subsist by their own Endeavours: And this Number is set down by the said Council, wherein they take diligent Notice of the Surplusage of People that may be spared.

Schol. But you spoke of Peace to be permanent in that Kingdom, How can that be?

Trav. Very easily; for they have a Law, that, if any Prince shall attempt any Invasion, his Kingdom shall be a lawful Prize: And the Inhabitants of this happy Country are so numerous, strong, and rich, that they have destroyed some, without any considerable Resistance; and the rest take Warning.

Schol. But you spoke of Health, How can that be procured by a better Way, than we have here in *England*?

Trav. Yes, very easily; for they have an House, or College of Experience, where they deliver out, yearly, such Medicines as they find out by Experience; and all such as shall be able to demonstrate any Experiment, for the Health or Wealth of Men, are honourably rewarded at the publick Charge, by which their Skill in Husbandry, Physick, and Surgery, is most excellent.

Schol. But this is against Physicians.

Trav. In *Macaria*, the Parson of every Parish is a good Physician, and doth execute both Functions; to wit, *cura animarum*, & *cura corporum* *; and they think it as absurd for a Divine to be without the Skill of Physick, as it is to put new Wine into old Bottles; and the Physicians, being true Naturalists, may as well become good Divines, as the Divines do become good Physicians.

Schol. But you spoke of the great Facility that

these Men have in their Functions, How can that be?

Trav. Very easily; for the Divines, by Reason that the Society of Experiments is liable to an Action, if they shall deliver out any false Receipt, are not troubled to try Conclusions, or Experiments, but only to consider of the Diversity of Natures, Complexions, and Constitutions, which they are to know, for the Cure of Souls, as well as of Bodies.

Schol. I know divers Divines in *England* that are Physicians, and therefore I hold well with this Report; and I would that all were such, for they have great Estimation with the People, and can rule them at their Pleasure.

But how cometh the Facility of becoming good Divines?

Trav. They are all of approved Ability in human Learning, before they take in Hand that Function; and then they have such Rules, that they need no considerable Study to accomplish all Knowledge fit for Divines, by Reason that there is no Diversity of Opinions amongst them.

Schol. How can that be?

Trav. Very easily; for they have a Law, that, if any Divine shall publish a new Opinion to the common People, he shall be accounted a Disturber of the publick Peace, and shall suffer Death for it.

Schol. But that is the Way to keep them in Error perpetually, if they be once in it.

Trav. You are deceived; for, if any one hath conceived a new Opinion, he is allowed every Year freely to dispute it before the great Council; if he overcome his Adversaries, or such as are appointed to be Opponents, then it is generally received for Truth; if he be overcome, then it is declared to be false.

Schol. It seemeth that they are *Christians* by your Relation of the Parochial Ministers, but whether are they *Protestants* or *Papists*?

Trav. Their Religion consists not in taking Notice of several Opinions and Sects, but is made up of infallible Tenets, which may be proved by invincible Arguments, and such as will abide the grand Test of extreme Dispute; by which Means none have Power to stir up Schisms and Heresies; neither are any of their Opinions ridiculous to those who are of contrary Minds.

* The Care both of Souls and Bodies.

Schol. But you spoke of great Honour, which the Governors have in the Kingdom of *Macaria*.

Trav. They must needs receive great Honour of the People, by Reason that there is no Injustice done, or very seldom, perhaps once in an Age.

Schol. But how come they by their great Riches which you speak of?

Trav. It is holden a principal Policy in State, to allow to the Ministers of State, Judges, and chief Officers, great Revenues; for that, in Case they do not their Duty, in looking to the Kingdom's Safety, for Conscience-sake, yet they may do it for Fear of losing their own great Estates.

Schol. But how can the King of *Macaria* be so rich as you speak of?

Trav. He taketh a strict Course that all his Crown Lands be improved to the utmost, as Forests, Parks, Chaces, &c. by which Means his Revenues are so great, that he seldom needeth to put Impositions upon his Subjects, by Reason he hath seldom any Wars; and, if there be Cause, the Subjects are as ready to give, as he to demand; for they hold it to be a principal Policy in State, to keep the King's Coffers full, and so full, that it is an Astonishment to all Invaders.

Schol. But, how cometh the King's great Honour which you speak of?

Trav. Who can but love and honour such a Prince, who, in his tender and parental Care of the publick Good of his loving Subjects, useth no Pretences for Realities, like to some Princes, in their Acts of State, Edicts, and Proclamations?

Schol. But you Travellers must take Heed of Contradictions in your Relations; you have affirmed, that the Governors in *Macaria* have not half so much Trouble, as they have in these *European* Kingdoms, and yet by your Report they have a great Council, like to our Parliament in *England*, which sits once a Year; besides that, they have five Under-councils, which sit once a Year; then how cometh this Facility in Government?

Trav. The great Council heareth no Complaints, but against Ministers of State, Judges, and chief Officers; these, being sure to be trounced once a Year, do never, or very seldom, offend: So that their Meeting is rather a Festivity, than a Trouble. And, as for the Judges and

chief Officers, there is no Hopes that any Man can prevail in his Suit by Bribery, Favour, or corrupt Dealing; so that they have few Causes to be troubled withal.

Schol. I have read over Sir *Thomas Moore's Utopia*, and my Lord *Bacon's New Atalantis*, which he called so in Imitation of *Plato's* old one; but none of them giveth me Satisfaction, how the Kingdom of *England* may be happy, so much as this Discourse, which is brief and pithy, and easy to be effected, if all Men be willing.

Trav. You Divines have the Sway of Men's Minds, you may as easily persuade them to Good as to Bad, to Truth as well as to Falshood.

Schol. Well, in my next Sermon I will make it manifest, that those, that are against this honourable Design, are, *first*, Enemies to God and Goodness; *secondly*, Enemies to the Commonwealth; *thirdly*, Enemies to themselves and their Posterity.

Trav. And you may put in, that they are Enemies to the King and his Posterity, and so, consequently, Traitors; for he that would not have the King's Honour and Riches to be advanced, and his Kingdom to be permanent to him, and to his Heirs, is a Traitor, or else I know not what a Traitor meaneth.

Schol. Well, I see that the Cause is not in God, but in Men's Fooleries, that the People live in Misery in this World, when they may so easily be relieved; I will join my Forces with you, and we will try a Conclusion, to make ourselves and Posterity to be happy.

Trav. Well, what will you do towards the Work.

Schol. I have told you before, I will publish it in my next Sermon, and I will use Means that, in all Visitations and Meetings of Divines, they may be exhorted to do the like.

Trav. This would do the Feat, but that the Divines in *England*, having not the Skill of Physick, are not so highly esteemed, nor bear so great a Sway as they do in *Macaria*.

Schol. Well, what will you do towards the Work?

Trav. I will propound a Book of Husbandry * to the high Court of Parliament, whereby the Kingdom may maintain double the Number of People, which it doth now, and in more Plenty and Prosperity than now they enjoy.

* This alludes to *Hartlib's* Book of Husbandry, which was offered with such Proposals.

Schol. That is excellent; I cannot conceive, but that, if a Kingdom may be improved to maintain twice as many People as it did before, it is as good as the Conquest of another Kingdom, as great, if not better.

Trav. Nay, it is certainly better; for, when the Towns are thin and far distant, and the People scarce and poor, the King cannot raise Men and Money upon any sudden Occasion, without great Difficulty.

Schol. Have you a Copy of that Book of Husbandry about you, which is to be propounded to the Parliament?

Trav. Yes, here is a Copy, peruse it, whilst I go about a little Business. — Well, have you perused my Book?

Schol. Yes, Sir, and find that you shew the Transmutation of sublunary Bodies, in such a Manner, that any Man may be rich that will be industrious; you shew also, how great Cities, which formerly devoured the Fatness of the Kingdom, may yearly make a considerable Re-tribution without any Man's Prejudice, and your Demonstrations are infallible; this Book will certainly be highly accepted by the High Court of Parliament.

Trav. Yes, I doubt it not, for I have shewed it to divers Parliament-men, who have all promised me fair, as soon as a seasonable Time cometh for such Occasions.

Schol. Were I a Parliament-man, I would labour to have this Book to be dispatched, the next Thing that is done; for, with all my seven liberal Arts I cannot discover, how any Business can be of more Weight than this, wherein the publick Good is so greatly furthered; which to further, we are all bound by the Law of God and Nature.

Trav. If this Conference be seriously considered of, it is no Laughing-matter; for you hear of the Combustions in *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and other *Christian* Countries; you know that *a House divided against itself cannot stand*; this may give the *Turk* an Advantage, so that *England* may fear to have him a nearer Neighbour than they desire. Why should not all the Inhabitants of *England* join, with one Consent, to make this Country to be like to *Macaria*, that is numerous in People, rich in Treasure and Ammunition, that so they may be invincible?

Schol. None but Fools or Madmen will be a-

gainst it; you have changed my Mind, according to your former Prediction, and I will change as many Minds as I can, by the Ways formerly mentioned, and I pray you, that, for a further Means, this Conference may be printed.

Trav. Well, it shall be done forthwith.

Schol. But one Thing troubleth me, that many Divines are of Opinion, that no such Reformation, as we would have, shall come before the Day of Judgment.

Trav. Indeed, there are many Divines of that Opinion; but I can shew an hundred Texts of Scripture, which do plainly prove, that such a Reformation shall come before the Day of Judgment.

Schol. Yea, I have read many plain Texts of Scripture to that Purpose; but, when I searched the Expositors, I found that they did generally expound them mystically.

Trav. That is true; but worthy *St. Jerom*, considering that those Places of Scripture would not bear an allegorical Exposition, said thus, *Possumus, sicut & multi, alii omnia haec spiritualiter exponere, sed vereor, ne hujusmodi expositionem prudentes lectores nequaquam recipiant* *.

Schol. I am of *St. Jerom's* Mind, and therefore with Alacrity let us pursue our good Intentions, and be good Instruments in this Work of Reformation.

Trav. There be natural Causes also to further it; for the *Art of Printing* will so spread Knowledge, that the common People, knowing their own Rights and Liberties, will not be governed by Way of Oppression; and so, by little and little, all Kingdoms will be like *Macaria*.

Schol. That will be a good Change, when as well Superiors as Inferiors shall be more happy; Well, I am imparadised in my Mind, in thinking that *England* may be happy, with such Expedition and Facility.

Trav. Well, do you know any Man that hath any Secrets or good Experiments? I will give him Gold for them, or others as good in Exchange; that is all the Trade I have driven a long Time; those Riches are free from Customs and Impositions, and I have travelled thro' many Kingdoms, and paid neither Freight nor Custom for my Wares, though I valued them above all the Riches in the Kingdom.

Schol. I know a Gentleman that is greatly addicted to try Experiments, but how he hath pro-

* We, as many others, can expound all those Things in a spiritual Sense; but, I fear, that the prudent Reader will, by no Means, receive such an Exposition.

spered I am not certain; I will bring you acquainted with him, perhaps you may do one another Good.

Trav. Well, I have appointed a Meeting at Two of the Clock this Day; I love to discourse with Scholars, yet we must part; if you meet me here the next *Monday* at the *Exchange*, I will declare to you some more of the Laws, Customs, and Manners of the Inhabitants of *Macaria*.

Schol. I will not fail to meet you for any worldly Respect; and, if I should be sick, I would

come in a Sedan; I never received such Satisfaction and Contentment by any Discourse in my Life; I doubt not but we shall obtain our Desires, to make *England* to be like to *Macaria*; for which our Posterity, which are yet unborn, will fare the better; and, though our neighbour Countries are pleased to call the *English* a dull Nation, yet the major Part are sensible of their own Good, and the Good of their Posterity, and those will sway the rest; so we and our Posterity shall be all happy.

A Philosophical and Medicinal Essay of the Waters of *Tunbridge*.
Written to a Person of Honour; by *Pat. Madan*, M. D.

*Temporibus Medicina juvat; data tempore prodest,
Et data non apto tempore Lympha nocet.*

[From a *Quarto*, containing 26 Pages, printed at *London*, for the Author, in 1687.]

My Lord,

I was your Honour's Pleasure to ask my Judgment, concerning *Tunbridge-waters*, because I often recommend my Patients to them; which, in my Opinion, are not inferior in Medicinal Vertues to any *Spaw* of that Kind; for, by their Effects, which is an * After-demonstration, they are impregnated with a chalcantous or vitriolate Juice; which, with its sulphureous Particles, irritates and moves the Belly to a blackish Excretion, and, by frequent Drinking thereof, blackeneth the Tongue, because this Member, being of a spongy Substance, imbibes some sooty sulphureous Minims into its Porosity, occasioning this Tincture.

Thro' its more subtle piercing chalcantous Spirits, it provokes Urine in a plentiful Manner.

To these is admixed some ferrugineous Juice, that contains a great deal of the volatile Salt, which is it that is dissolved in the chalybeate Wine, now so much in Vogue amongst Physicians.

His Aquis ferrum inesse videtur in principiis solutis, unde earum vis chalybeata intimius sanguine permiscetur, & potentius morbos expugnat, quam ferrum quocunque demum artificio nobilitatum.

' These Waters seem to contain Iron in its unconcrete and seminal Principles, whereupon their chalybeate Vertue is more entirely mixed with the Blood, and more powerfully attacks Diseases, than Iron prepared to the best Advantage can.'

Dr. Sydenham.

' *Mars* in itself consists chiefly of Salt, Sulphur, and Earth. It has very little of Spirit and Water, and Particles of the former Elements, especially the sulphureous and saline in the mixt are combined together with Earth, remain wholly fixed; but being loosed and divided from each other (as in these Waters) have a very efficacious Energy.'

Dr. Willis de Chalybeatis.

* Demonstrativo a posteriori.

In them Galls shaven or Oak-leaves added; or, by pouring to them some Infusion of Tea made in Water, they will become of an atropurpureous Colour; to which instilling some Drops of Spirit of Vitriol, or pouring thereunto some Sherry, they become clear again and redintegrate their pristine Colour. On the Surface of these Waters there is a grey Film in the Morning; they have a Roughness in the Mouth; with them no arsenical Vapours are intermixed, but, void of all noxious Quality, are limpid and salutiferous; many do daily receive Benefit by the Use of them; wherefore, by * the Concurrence of these Appearances, they have the Characteristick of a good and wholesome *Spaw*.

As for their Vertues and Properties in Physick, I believe, if there be any such Remedy in Being as a *Panpharmakon*, or Universal Remedy, it is here; for even as Soap, put to foul Linnen with Water, purgeth and cleanseth all Filth, and maketh them to become white again; so these Waters with their saponary and deterfive Quality clean all the whole Microcosm or Body of Man from all Feculency and Impurities. *Vid.* the first Region, by Stool; the Second, by Urine; the Third, by Transpiration, sending forth from the Center to the Circumference many footy and fetid Effluvioms, which, in some, colour their Shirts blackish; † an observable Quantity of this liquid Substance, gliding through the inner Passages of the Bowels, brushes off the peccant Humours that stagnate in their proper Channels, and roots out the Cause and Origin of Diseases. The *Acidulae* also dissolve tartarous and viscous Matter, and correct the hot Indisposition of the Liver and Kidnies. See the Author *Fridericus Lossius* in *Conciliis Medicis*.

Wherefore the Use of these Waters have deservedly gained a great Esteem and Reputation in curing many chronick and rebellious Diseases,

• Syndrome Phainomenon.

† Harum enim substantia liquida notanda quantitas, per intimos viscerum recessus præterfluens, peccantes & in propriis cuniculis stagnantes succos egregie everrit morborumque causam averruncat, materiam tartaream & viscosam dissolvit; hepatis quoque & renum calidam intemperiem corrigit.

‡ Quia vita priori posse frui est bis vivere.

§ Non est vivere, sed bene valere, Vita. *Martial*.

¶ Ad has aquas medici, postquam ægros magno & sumptuoso medicamentorum apparatu longo tempore defatigarunt, cum vident res sibi ex voto non succedere, miseros relegant, tanquam ad sacram anchoram; sunt enim efficacissimum & potentissimum remedium ad profligandos gravissimos morbos a Deo concessum, si dextra manu porrigantur, quod Poeta exprimit his Versibus.

** Etenim massæ sanguineæ effusæ & languescenti volatile quoddam fermentum, seu calcaria, subdit, a quo excitantur & quasi eriguntur spiritus antea jacentes & suo pondere pressi: sanguinem vigorat ejusque vim redintegrat: nam, quoties Chalybeata in chlorosi seu febre alba vel amatoria propinantur, pulsus derepente major fit & celerior: exteriora corporis incalescunt, facies non amplius pallida & morti concolor, sed vivida cernitur & sanguine purpurata. *Fridericus Lossius*.

which are accounted the Shame of Physicians; for they cure, even to a Miracle, such as are quite given over by Doctors; they may well be named *Aqua Vita*, or Waters of Life, because they restore Men to Life, and make them live twice; † to enjoy their former Health is to live again, for Sickness, and Neutrality of Health, as the *Greeks* say, is but *Βίος ἀβίαιος*, *To live without Life*; wherefore || Life is not only to live and breathe, but also to have perfect Health; and that is got here by Drinking.

§ Physicians, when they have tired their miserable afflicted Patients with tedious and chargeable Courses of Physick (finding all Ways else unsuccessful) at last send them to these Waters, which they lay Hold of, as a sacred Anchor, for they are the most efficacious and powerful Remedy against the greatest and most inveterate Diseases, by the Appointment of Almighty God, provided they are made Use of in a due and right Manner; which the Poet expresses in these Words:

*Publica morborum requies, commune medentum
Auxilium, præsens numen, inemptaque salus,
Amissum reparant lymphis impune vigorem,
Patiturque ægro luxuriantem dolor.*

• Diseases publick Ease; a common Heal,
• A free-cost Health; a God does never fail,
• Vigour to Men restore with Ease, avail,
• All Pain in wanton Patients does assail.

¶ But if you take them in the left Hand, or by the wrong Handle, they cause Thousands of Diseases, and hasten even Death itself.
Fridericus Lossius in *Conciliis de Morbis Hypochondriacis*.

** Chalybeates cure not so much by opening

Obstructions of the *Viscera*, as by depressing the Exaltations of Sulphur and fixed Salts, and by volatilising the Blood much depauperated and made effete as in Cachectick Bodies; for they communicate a volatile Sort of Ferment, as a Spur to the effete and languid Mass of Blood, by which the Spirits, that before lay gasping as it were, and pressed down with their own Weight, are excited and made more lively, by invigorating the Blood, and renewing the Ferment; for, as soon as chalybeate Medicines are made Use of in the Green-sickness, the Pulse becomes suddenly greater and quicker; the external Parts of the Body grow hot; the Face is no longer pale and dead-coloured, but fresh and purpled with Blood itself.

Betwixt the Ferment of the Stomach and Chalybeates, there is a mutual Conflict, as appears by the nidorolent Belches and Eructations after Taking them, as if one had eaten hard fried Eggs; in this Re-action Chalybeates undergo a Dissolution within the *Viscera* of Concoction, and the active Particles, both sulphureous and saline, display themselves, and mixing with the nutritive Juice, are carried into the Blood which they inactivate.

Chalybeate Waters, by their many and divers seminary Principles with which they are embryonated, are very powerful and efficacious in curing of many and divers Diseases, though they be of a contrary Nature and Disposition; for they serve not only as a Bridle, but also as a Spur; yet, I would not advise them to be drank indifferently by all Constitutions and Sexes, without the Advice of a Physician, who by his prudent Conduct and Management, weighing all * Indications, Contra-indications, and Co-indications according to Discretion, may obviate all Symptoms that may arise, and thereby render them more useful and effectual; the Potation of Waters, thus circumstantiated, may deserve to be called the most powerful Hand of God; and keep their Reputation untainted; but, without this Caution, they may prove a Sword in a Madman's Hand, and not at all auxiliary, but pernicious and hurtful; hence comes the Saying, † 'That Steel is the worst Instrument of Death, and best of Life;' Wherefore our learned and well-experienced Doctors now-a-days abbreviate the tedious and various

therapeutick Method of Physick, and in Lieu of it prescribe their Patients only a Chalybeate Course, to satisfy all Intentions, judging it to be *instar omnium*, or equivalent to all other Prescriptions ‡, and, as a learned Physician was wont to say: *As true as Steel*.

The sanative Vertues and Energies of those Waters are beyond any *Polypharmacon* Prescription imaginable, being very prevalent against frequent Giddiness and *Scotomia*, Passions of the Heart, and Fainting of Spirits, with a Fear and Dread, as it were, of present Death. In hypochondriacal and hysterick Fits, by suppressing the *Anathymiasis* of ill Vapours, and hindering Damps to exhale to the Head and Heart, no Remedy more effectual. In Scurvy, which is an endemick Disease, it is an appropriated and specifick Remedy, by correcting the depraved Ferments, and dulcifying the Blood. In Hemorrhages, taken with Advice, it is of great Strength and Force; in both Obstructions and Overflowing of the Terms also, an excellent Remedy. It is good against all Obstructions of the Liver, Spleen, and Mesentery; *Leucophlegmatia*, *Febris Alba*, seu *Amatoria*, or Green-sickness, Stone, and Gravel; nay, it cures *Hydrophobia*, or the Disease, called *The Fear of Water*, commonly contracted by the Bite of a mad Dog, methodically drank.

Moreover, these Waters are endowed with an admirable and powerful Faculty, in rendering those who drink of them fruitful and prolific; by Reason of their spirituous Ferment, they enliven, invigorate, and actuate the whole Mass of Blood, the nobler Parts of the Body and Spirits thereof: Likewise reduce them from a saline or sulphureous Dyscrasy, and sometimes from both, to a sweet balsamick, spirituous, and sanguineous Temperament, || which naturally incites and inspires Men and Women to amorous Emotions and Titillations, being previous Dispositions, enabling them to Procreation; This may be the Aitiology of this Product in some Sense.

Venus comes from the salt Sea, through many Crannies, Interstices, Pores of the Earth, and dangerous Precipices, foaming to meet her beloved *Mars* in the Bowels of the Earth; whom she no sooner embraces, but she is impregnated and big with a valiant Hero, in the Bed of

* *Kar' ἀγχοισιν.*

† *Pessimum mortis sed optimum vitæ instrumentum.*

‡ *Ut hujus veluti panaceæ usus cætera possit excusare medicamenta.*

|| *Actiones sequuntur temperamentum corporis.*

Honour, with no insipid Delight: From thence? soon after this Digression, she rises triumphing in our Hemisphere at *Tunbridge*, generously imparting, and distributing this impregnative Faculty to her *Votaries* in order to preserve and perpetuate Mankind *.

To her, *Mars*, in a Poetical Rhapsody, speaks:

*Tu Dea! tu rerum naturam sola gubernas,
Nec sine te quidquam, dias in luminis oras,
Exoritur: nec fit lætum nec amabile quicquam.*

- Thou Goddess! turnest Nature's Wheel,
- To thee all Beings do appeal;
- Without thee, neither Joy nor Love we feel.

So passionate was he for a married *Venus*; to these Lines I may annex a Poetical Hypothesis, *de Aquis Chalybeatis*, or *Chalybeate Waters*, made by a learned and ingenious Man, alluding to the preceding Discourse:

*Quid valet obdura placide dissolvere Martem?
Ecce Venus madidans mollit amore Deum.
Spuma maris transit telluris sedula rimas,
Quemq; ardet juvenem; quærit ubiq; furens.
Non erit ergo novum si nostris emicet undis,
Hic Martem exultans convenit illa suum.
Salsis in Terræ thalamo complexibus hument,
Surgit & explosus colliquefactus Amor.
Hinc tantis dignæ ferratæ laudibus undæ:
Mars præbet robur: Dat Venus alma decus.
Huc queis forma perit: huc, huc, properate puellæ,
Vos pulchras reddit candida lymphæ Deas.
Huc properate senes, curvans quos deprimit ætas;
Ecce Dei vires exhibet unda sui.
Ventriculos implete mares: implete puellæ,
Quos bibitis fontes rivus Amoris erunt.
Posthac de Baccho sileant proverbialia: friget
Non sine Lenæo, sed sine Marte Venus.*

- What Thing can reach *Mars* his hard Heart?
- 'Tis *Venus* only has the Dart.
- The foaming Sea finds *Terra*'s Chinks,
- And mad with Love into 'em sinks.
- 'Tis nothing strange if *Venus* rise,
- And both in Joy, here, sympathise.
- Moistened in salt Embraces Bed,
- She melted, rising rears her Head.
- Hence Waters Fame of iron Race,
- *Mars* give the Strength, *Venus* the Grace;

- Come hither, Dames, whose Beauties fade,
- A Goddess in a Trice is made.
- Come hither, Old, whom Age has bent,
- God's Power is omnipotent.
- Drink, Men and Women, drink and swell,
- You can't drink dry kind *Cupid*'s Well.
- Drink, Sirs and Ladies; He, She Dove,
- What here you drink, increases Love.
- No more of *Bacchus*; *Venus* chill
- Appears, when *Mars* has no Good-will.
- Nay, only then, to say I'm bold,
- *Venus* is so, when *Mars* is cold.

Notwithstanding all these Encomiums of the *Waters*, yet some are of Opinion, they are not proper in some Kind of Maladies: As in a Rheumatism, nor in Heetick Fevers, or Consumptions: *First*, by Reason of the ill Success they are wont to have in using these *Waters*. *Secondly*, Because in them the Parts are much weakened, and Nature cannot throw off the Glut of *Waters* sent into the Blood: In rheumatick Persons the nervous Juice degenerates from its *Crafsis*, and inclines to a sharpish Nature, and is wont to be perverted by the fluid Salts of the *Spaw-Waters*: As Dr. *Willis* well observes, *As for Heeticks, they are commonly of a fine Texture of Body, much distempered with Heat, Dryness, and Costiveness; all which Symptoms are rather increased by Chalybeates, than abated*: Wherefore the learned Dr. *Willis*, in his Chapter of *Chalybeates*, says, *That Steel is not very proper in very hot and spirituous Blood, nor where the Bowels are of a hot Temperament*: Neither are these *Waters* good, but rather hurtful to those who are in perfect Health, according to *Hippocrates*'s Sentiments, who says, *Medicamenta non conveniunt sanis*: Medicaments are not convenient for sound and healthy Persons. Moreover, they are judged not proper for Women with Child; because whatever provokes Urine, as these *Waters* do, provokes also the Terms; and whatever provokes them in Women, causes Miscarriage; therefore not fit for them in this Circumstance.

Old and ancient Persons are not to be too bold in drinking these *Waters*, because their Ferments, and natural Faculties, are much debilitated by Decay of Nature, and not sufficient to exert their Function, in distributing these *Waters*, which, if remaining in the Body, and not carried off, suffocate the vital Flames of the Heart and Arteries: Wine therefore for

them is most convenient. * For God has given Wine as a Physick-help against the morose Austerity of Age, that, by the moderate Use thereof, old Men may, in a Manner, renew their Lives, and forget their Achs; even the Habit of the Mind, from a hardened Condition, is become soft, as Iron, by the Help of Fire, is made more tractable; whereupon Wine is called *Lac senum*, the old Man's Milk.

The Method, which is to be observed in drinking these Waters, is as followeth: *First*, To drink for three or four Days every Morning *Epsom* or *North-Hall* Waters, to purge the Body, and prepare it in order to *Tunbridge*; for, unless the first Passages are cleansed, Medicines, designed for any Use, will be depraved by the Filth residing in them. These purging Waters may be drank to three or four Pints, either raw or boiled, and altered with Milk. This being done, drink of *Tunbridge*, walking gently to the Fountain-head. † For Waters are more pleasant and profitable, taken at the Fountain-head: When once removed, they lose their *vivifick* Spirits, in which all Vertue does reside: which afterwards no Diligence can recover.

For, being impregnated with spirituous and volatile Exhalations, they easily lose their Vertue by the Avolation of fugitive Parts being carried at a Distance: That they are embodied with such subtle Parts, you may experience it sensibly, by putting a Bottle half full of them, about Sun-rising, to your Eyes; and from thence you will perceive such Emanations of Effluvia to come *analogous* to those of Orange-peel when squeezed, as will stimulate and irritate the tender *Tunicles* of your Eyes. This I have by Tradition from a Physician, who for many Years frequented *Tunbridge*, and made great Scrutiny into the Nature and *Idiosyncrasia* of these Waters; yet this I know, that *Chalybeate Waters* in long Deportation, or being some Space of Time out of the Fountain, will not tinge with Galls or oaken Leaves, at least not so intensely as before; whence I deduce that, in

Carriage to some Distance, or being long out of the Fountain, they are divested of their Martial, and consequently Medicinal Power ‡.

They are to be drank gradually, and with Leisure, not in great Draughts, with little or no Intermission, because they are chiefly prescribed to purify and keep in its due *Crisis* the Blood and nervous Juice, to open Obstructions, and strengthen the Tone of the *Nervous Plexus*: Now this they effect, by insinuating subtle and active Particles, of a different State and Origin, into the *Morbifick Minera*, conquering and subduing *saline* and *irritative Particles* residing in the Blood, and carrying some forth as Prisoners, by Urine. This mutual || Contest, betwixt the Combatants of *Chalybeates* and their Antagonist, cannot be expected to be at an End in Haste, or in a short Space of Time; but after many Attacks and several Collisions, and, as I may say, broken Pates: But precipitate Drinking destroys all these Intentions, and leaves no Time for Alteration, Assimilation, or Mortification of Particles of a different Nature and Figure; wherefore it is better to ** hasten slowly, and drink them leisurely, with due Intervals.

Moreover, great Draughts are generally held pernicious, destructive, and rather oppressing than alleviating Nature; and, considering these Waters are not vertuated so much by their Quantity as Quality inherent in them, the Body participates more of the latter, frequently drinking a little, than by pouring in a vast and stupendous Quantity at one Time, like *Tricongius Mediolanensis*, who drank three Gallons at one Draught, and from thence took his Name.

The Compass of Time, wherein the Waters are usually drank, is an Hour, or an Hour and a Half, walking betwixt Whiles moderately ††, till you look red, but not sweat, lest you divert them from the Urinary Passage to the Periphery of the Body, for the same Matter goeth by Sweat as by Urine, and cause too great an Effervescency in the Blood.

* *Deus enim Vinum hominibus quasi auxilium adversus senectutis austeritatem pharmacum largitus est, ut reviviscere videantur, & mœstitiæ oblivio capiat: atq; ipse animi habitus, mollis e duro factus ut ferrum igni impositum, tractabilior fiat, unde Vinum a nonnullis lac senum nominatur. Loffius.*

† Nam dulcius & utilius ex Fonte bibuntur: delatæ enim ex propriis Fontibus fieri non potest quin amittant vivificos illos Spiritus in quoq; omnis vivamenti vis consistit, quos nullo postea labore restitui potest. *Bacchius* de Thermis.

‡ Unumquodq; quo magis elongatur a principio eo magis languescit.

|| *συμμαχία* ** *σπεύδει βραδίως*. Festina lente *Hippes*, omne nimium Naturæ inimicum, quod vero paulatim fit, tutum est, præsertim si ab uno ad aliud progrediatur.

†† Ad Ruborem sed non ad Sydorem.

The Measure of Time to continue the Drinking of these Waters, for good Effect, is commonly a Month, or six Weeks: But, by the Authority of *Claudinus*, and many other Doctors, we may continue a Steel Course for the Space of a Year: Why not a *Fortiori*, or much more, the Use of these Waters with as much Safety and Benefit, they being the most perfect Course of Steel; because here the Elements of Steel are in unconcrete and seminal Principles, and display themselves, as I before mentioned out of Dr. *Sydenham*: Supposing, in this Administration, there be Respect had to the Patient's Strength, Disease, Euphory, or Well-bearing, Temperament of the Air, and other Circumstances.

They are to be taken, gradually increasing and lessening the Dose at the Beginning, and before the End of the whole Space of Time appointed for the Taking of them. In Reference to the Number of Glasses, in my Judgment, you may make it either odd, or even: Tho' some *Philosophers*, who are of Opinion, that all Things are composed of Number, prefer the odd before the other, and attribute it to a great Efficacy and Perfection, especially in Matters of *Physick*: Wherefore it is that many Doctors prescribe always an odd *Pill*, an odd *Draught*, or *Drop*, to be taken by their Patients. For the Perfection thereof, they alledge these following Numbers. As *Seven Planets*, *Seven Wonders of the World*, *Nine Muses*, *God is Three and One**; with many other Examples, which, for Brevity, I supersede, and let them abound in their own Sense.

If there fall Rain, then the *Waters* are not seasonable, because they will be too much diluted and weakened; but a little Wet does no Harm, but rather Good, because it washes the Salt in the † Crannies and Interstices of the Earth into the Fountain, and more intensely impregnates them.

To correct the *Crudities* and *Rawness* of the *Waters*, and to accelerate their Passing, *Carraway Confects*, and such like candied Seeds masticated, are very good, and much commended, taken betwixt Whiles: Likewise a Glass of small *White-wine* is a proper *Vehicle*; and for all those who are inured to *Tobacco* ‡ nothing better than a Pipe of it for this Effect, taken betwixt Whiles.

Those, to whom it is offensive, taken alone, may add thereunto some *Tea Leaves*, or *Catechu*, to qualify the Ingratefulness thereof, and render it inoffensive, taken Pipe-wise. This warms the Stomach without mixing any *heterogeneous* Body with the *Waters*, that may obstruct their Distribution or Passing, for it rarefies the *Pores* and *Meatus* in Order thereunto.

It is observed, that, in some, the *Waters*, being drunk at the Fountain-head, either by the Inclemency of the Weather, or Indisposition of Patient, will not easily pass, but remain too long in the Body, to their great Prejudice and Detriment. To these Persons my Advice is, to drink them in their warm Bed, without Sleeping (which hinders all Evacuation) for, as I said before, the gentle Heat of Bed dilates the Passage, and consequently the Distribution of the *Waters* is much facilitated.

The Regimen, which is observed in eating and drinking at those Waters, is as followeth: *First*, Eschew all gross and obstructive Meats, as, Pork, Beef, Duck, Pudding, Sausages; all fried Victuals, as, Eggs, Collops of Bacon, most Sorts of Fish and Salads; all soured and pickled Meats, as, Anchovies, Cucumbers, &c. refrain from Milk, and all Milk-meats; eat no Roots, or any Sort of Fruit; let your Meat be of easy Digestion, and nutritive, as the *Greeks* say, *εύχρηστοι καὶ πολύτροφοι*. Keep no Days of Fast or Abstinence, during this Time, if I may advise you as a Physician, and not as a Casuist, lest I incroach upon another's Province, *tractent fabrilis fabri*, every one in his own Sphere.

Fast three or four Hours after the Waters, and, if at Dinner you have an esurine Appetite, take Care not to eat too much, because the Quantity of Waters, you drank, has relaxed and distended your Stomach; therefore little Eating is best, according to the *Latin Proverb*, *Qui multum edere optat parum comedat*: He, that desires to each much, must eat little. Avoid Variety of Meats; but, if you indulge yourself to several Sorts, let the easier of Digestion precede the grosser, and not be postponed, as the *Greeks* advise us, *εὐπρεπὴ ἀσπεπτοῖς*.

Let your Drink be clear, well fermented, not stale, nor sowre, not thick, nor muddy, not heating, nor cooling, but temperate; all Ale is prohibited, because thick and muddy.—

* Numero Deus impare gaudet.

† Virtus unita fortior se ipsa disperfa.

‡ Nulla salutifero præstantior herba Tabaco.

Interpone tuis interdum pocula fumis.

*Nihil spiffius illa dum ingeritur; nihil clarius
eodem egeritur: Ergo in corpore relinquit multas faeces.*

• It goes in thick, and comes out thin,
• And therefore leaves its Dregs within.

Begin your Meals with a Glass of White-Wine *; I recommend Anjou Wine beyond others, because it is small, clear, light, very diuretick, and of a singular Vertue against the Stone, or Gravel, and all Obstructions of the Mesentery: Yet, tho' you begin with Liquids, nevertheless, be advised to conclude with Solids: By this Means you first wash and fortify your Stomach, and at last close the Orifice thereof, that no Fumes or Vapours arise to disturb your Head. The French, who are esteemed a wise Nation, are always observed, *boucher la Bottle*, to stop the Bottle, lest nothing exhale; so likewise they close their Stomach with some *Desair*, or Sweet-Meat, after Eating, for the same Intent.

All Excesses and Debauchery, with late Sitting up at Nights, is pernicious and destructive, during this Time, for many Reasons, which I here omit, because every one may experience it easily in himself, after such Nocturnal Lucubration; therefore, *Bibas ut vivas, sed non vivas ut bibas*: Drink to live, but not live to drink.

To change your Linnen often will be convenient, if not necessary, while you drink these Waters, because many footy, fetid, sulphureous Steams come from them, which render your Shirt black, and some other Particles obstruct the Pores of your Body, and make them impervious, and hinder insensible Transpiration; which is an Evacuation far greater, and more considerable, than any manifest or sensible one, either by Stool, or Urine, according to *Sanctorius de Sanctorio*, in his *Medicina Statica*.

During the Time you drink these Waters, it is necessary to take some gentle Medicine every fourth or fifth Night going to Bed, or in a Morning early, drinking these Waters thereupon, after the Physick hath begun to work. — Here Aloetick Medicine is held offensive, by reason it consists of acrimonious and fixivial Parts, apt to heat and corrode the Viscera: But this is easily resolved, if to the Aloetick Physick you mix some resinous, or balsamick Sub-

stance, which may lenify, mitigate, hebetate, and obtund the fiery Alkalies of Aloes: And with this Correction, or Preparation, it is not only rendered less hurtful, but particularly an appropriated Medicine to be taken with these Waters: My usual Pill is *a Massa Pilul. Ruffi* ʒ i. *resinae Jalap* gr. iij. *Balsam Peru* q. s. f. *Pilula* iij. *Jumenda hora somni, superbibendo mane aquas praedictas ad lb iij. plus minusve*. Many Doctors give *Diacassia cum Manna* to an Ounce over Night, which is a good Eccoprotick, fit for all Ages and Constitutions, and leaves no ill *Diathefis* in the Viscera. Another rare Eccoprotick and Ecphractick Remedy is highly commended with these Waters, which is *Tinctura Cathartica*, an Ounce of which, or an Ounce and a Half, given in the first Glass, purgeth cito, tuto, jucunde, soon, safe, and pleasantly: For no violent Catharticks are proper with these Waters, for Fear of agitating and irritating Nature too much, and making an ill Impression on the Blood and Viscera: I know some, who, in Lieu of Physick, will take in the first Glass, to purge them, a Spoonful of common Salt, with very good Success; but this Remedy is not proper for all Constitutions.

Those who are obnoxious to Stone or Gravel, and frequent these Waters, my Advice is, that, the Night preceding Drinking them, they take an emollient Clyster; and in the Morning, an Hour or two before the Waters, to swallow four or five Pills of Venice, or *Chios Turpentine*.

Likewise, in the first Glass, to take an Ounce of Syrup of Marsh-Mallows; or let them take the Bigness of a Bean of *Lusatellus Balsam*, or Turpentine Pills, especially if there be any Excoriation in the Kidnies, or Bladder, every Night going to Bed, with an Ounce of the said Syrup in the first Glass every Morning, and an emollient Clyster every third or fourth Night; because, by these Means, the Passages are lubricated, and the Distribution of the Waters rendered more easy.

Hypochondriacal Persons may take, in the first Glass, a Spoonful or two of the Syrup of Steel, or a Dram of Cremor Tartar in Powder; and so likewise in all other Distempers, to mix Specifics with Chalybeates, is the Opinion of Dr. Willis, *de Morbis Hypochondriacis*, and many other learned Physicians; for, in so doing, they associate their Operation against the Malady.

* Incipe cum liquido: sicco finire memento. Schola Salernitana.
Ut vites pœnam, de potibus incipe carnem.

cally Drinking the Waters. — Many learned Divines and spiritual Guides are not here wanting, whom you may freely consult, and make Choice of, according to your Inclination, in order to the Good and Safety of your Soul.

Here are Women, whom they call Dippers, ready to fill you Glasses of Water.

*Confestim advolitat, quæ pocula porrigat ultro
Plena perennis aquæ, quam fons sine munere donat;*

*Qualem nec Latium novit, nec Græcia jactat:
Illa beat siccos fecunda stirpe parentes;
Deciduumque facit, post funera, vivere nomen:
Illa domat febres; & si male calculus hærens
Renibus, aut peni, languentia viscera torquet,
Illa fugat; pellit curas; & nubila menti
Discutiens, aptat Doctis, sacratque Camænis.*

- ‘ With winged Speed, one to you Glasses
‘ brings,
- ‘ With Water fill’d, free as the living
‘ Springs;
- ‘ Whose Fame, far above Rome’s, or Greece’s,
‘ rings:
- ‘ This blesteth Parents with a fruitful Race,
‘ That even Death itself cannot deface:
- ‘ This Water, Fevers and the Stone ca-
‘ shiers,
- ‘ That vex’d the Shaft and Kidnies many
‘ Years:
- ‘ This chaceth Sorrow; clears a cloudy
‘ Mind;
- ‘ Fits it for Learning; which, with Muses
‘ join’d,
- ‘ All here a Seat, and Temple too, do find.

The Air, than which, to the Preservation of Man’s Life, nothing is more necessary, as all Philosophers agree (and the Derivation of the very Word *Air*, from the Greek Word *ἀω, spiro*, denotes the same, being composed of two Vowels, *Alpha* and *Omega*, as *principium* & *finis vitæ*, which is the Beginning and End of Man’s Life) is here clear, serene, lucid, void of any stinking *Mephitis*, or Damps arising from Bogs or Fens, which may occasion epidemical Distempers in the Blood; but, on the contrary, the whole Ambient of the Horizon is

filled with an inexhaustible Series of odoriferous and fragrant Effluvia, incessantly exhaling from sweet-scented Herbs and Plants, that grow in these Parts. The Air, thus embodied, we perpetually inspire, which raises, and, analogically speaking, spiritualises our Minds far beyond all exotick, either natural or artificial, Perfumes.

Moreover, at *Tunbridge*, you find Conference with eminent and famous Wits, which is the most fruitful and natural Exercise of the Mind; the Use of which is more sweet, than any other Action of our Life. The Study of Books is a languishing and feeble Motion, in Respect of it; for what is delivered *viva voce*, with a lively Voice, makes a deeper Impression on the Mind, and, consequently, is more advantageous than Reading. Much more may be said of the various and manifold Benefits and Comforts you may receive at *Tunbridge**, which I now supersede, hoping these, I have mentioned, are Allurements strong enough to invite, if not a Magnetism to draw Men thither.

It is rare to write any Thing to that Perfection, as to rescind the Occasion of all Objections from Cavillers; wherefore, what I have said of the Vertues of these Waters would not be sufficient, if I do not obviate also such Objections, as may raise Scruples in the Minds of those who make Use of them.

The *first* Objection is, That many, soon after Drinking of these Waters, died; and that others, by the Use of them, receive no Benefit: Whence they infer these Waters to be improper, noxious, lethiferous, and not fit to be drank by Men.

*Vina bibant homines, animantia cætera fontes;
Absit ab humano pectore potus aquæ.*

- ‘ Let none but Cattle Water drink,
- ‘ That fit for Men no Men can think.’

As for the *first* Objection, I confess, one may die soon after Taking Waters; and so he may after Taking any Thing else: Not that the Waters, duly prescribed, are the Occasion of Death, but, through Irregularity, Disorder, or Neglect of something, that was to be done in order to the Taking of them, Death

* Sic variis animum studiis *Tunbrigia* mulcet,
Ut vix absentes possis lugere Penates.

may ensue: Nay, Men may die immediately, or soon after Taking Things indifferent in themselves, and void of any medicinal, or alterative Quality; as, for Example, after Eating Bread and Butter, or Drinking a Glass of Wine; it doth not therefore follow, that this last Thing, they eat, or drank, caused their Bane, and that no Man ought to eat or drink any more of this Kind of Food.

Secondly, Some of those, who drink Waters, may have a Malady of a *Cacoethes*-Nature, or of such a Contumacy, and so far radicated, that it illudes all Energy of Chalybeates, or any Sort of Physick. * It does not follow therefore, that this Martial Remedy is ineffectual, in itself, in order to cure other Maladies of a different Nature, by Reason of the impregnable Habit and Rooting of some incurable Distempers: *Non defamanda præsidia, quæ aliis profuere.* Celsus. Remedies, which have done others Good, are not to be undervalued; † they exert their Operation according to the Disposition of the Subject, on which they work: The Sun, for Example, with the same Heat, melts the Wax, and hardens the Clay:

*Limus ut hic durescit, & hæc ut cera liquefit
Uno eodemque igni.* — Virgilius.

And, by this Reason, that, which is one Man's Meat, may prove another's Poison. So, likewise, these Waters, if used with a Physician's Advice, and due Consideration, prove effectual and salubrious; but, taken without it, and by an indisposed, or unprepared Body, may be noxious, and sometimes mortiferous: Wherefore, since all Things do not agree with all Persons; nay, nor the same Thing always, or a long Time, with the same Person; therefore the careful Observation, and daily Advice, of a prudent Physician is here necessary, that, by Indications taken from Things that do Good, or Hurt, the Method of Cure may be rightly ordered, and now and then changed. *Willis, Capite de Colico.*

These Waters kill and expel all Manner of Worms, ingendered either in the Stomach, Intestines, Matrix, or any other Part of the Body. — *Ryetius*, in his Observations of the Spaw-Waters, makes Mention of a Woman, who laboured a long Time with a chronick Distemper under the Doctor's Hands, without

receiving any Benefit by all their Prescriptions and Physick that she had taken, but was, at last, advised to chalybeate Waters, and, by Drinking of them with Method and Continuance, avoided several Worms of divers Shapes, Figure, and Longitude, and was perfectly cured.

They are a polychrest Remedy, serving for many Uses and Intentions; they both loosen and bind; cool and make hot; dry and moisten: Cure Distempers of divers States and Origins, nay, of contrary Natures and Dispositions, as I said before. Certainly, a perfect Knowledge of their *Idiosyncrasia* and Properties would reduce Physick to a narrower Compass, and to prescribe well the *Stadium Chalybeatum*, or chalybeate Course, would make the Studying of so many Volumes of the Parts of Physick unnecessary; for, by the Help of these Waters, we prolong Man's Life by a more facile and easier Means, than has hitherto been known, *Veritas ex puteo exatlanda*: Truth must be drawn out of a Well.

*Provocat hæc leniter Tunbrigia menstrua pridem,
Suppressa, & nimium sistit ubi illa fluunt.
Nostraque suppressos ut provocat ipsa vicissim,
Immodicos Fluxus sic quoque sistit Aqua:
Stringunt quippe suâ vi lymphæ sive relaxant,
Frigore tum corpus sive calore juvant.
Et quis idem Medicamen eodem in corpore credat,
Adversa inter se pellere posse mala!*

- ‘ These Waters Vertue have to ope and close,
- ‘ What may be call'd the Females Monthly
‘ Rose.
- ‘ These Waters loosen, and as firmly bind,
- ‘ As in all Fluxes any one may find.
- ‘ By their own Vertue strengthen and relax,
- ‘ Both heat and cool, dry Clay, and harden
‘ Wax.
- ‘ 'Tis strange, that, in one Body, the same
‘ Thing
- ‘ Shou'd cross-grain'd Maladies to Cure bring.

Ecce quam sint Naturæ Omnipotentis Dei, prudentia & potestate ductæ, admiranda opera quæ Aquæ istius limpidæ ac puræ beneficio tot tamque inter se contrarios morbos curat, id quod ars Medica sine Corporis noxâ præstare nequit. — *Ryetius*, in his Observations de Aquis Spadanis.

* Non est in medico semper, relevetur ut æger;
Nam doctâ interdum plus valet arte malum.

Ovidius.

† Actiones activorum sunt in subjecto dispositæ.

‘ Behold

Behold the wonderful Works of Nature,
guided by the Prudence and Power of the Al-
mighty God, that, by the Help of a limpid
and clear Water, she cures manifold, nay,
contrary and opposite Maladies, which the
Art of Physick, without great Detriment to
the Body, cannot do.

To accelerate and promote the Passing of
these Waters by Urine, *Ryetius* advises some
Drops of Spirit of Vitriol to be instilled into
their Glasses of Water, for Acids, being endow-
ed with a diuretick and penetrative Faculty, de-
pose the Serum, and convey it to the Reins, to
be sent forth by the *Ureters*.

To promote Evacuation by Stool, he adviseth
to mix some common Salt in Powder with
the Waters, and a Dram to every Pint, more
or less, proportioning the Quantity to the
Bearing of the Patient. This gently expels the
loose Matter contained in the Ventricle and In-
testines, and purgeth viscous Phlegm adhering to
their Tunics and bilious Humours from the
pancreatick Passages: But it is not to be taken
indifferently by all Persons.

*Dum juga montis aper, dum flumen piscis habebit,
Anchora fons agris, hic sacra semper erit;
Ut bibat accurret (rumpantur ut ilia Codris)
Germanus, Scotus, Belga, Britannus, Iber.*

*Hinc Populus floret, crescet Tunbrigia, quicquid
Bellum destruxit, mox reparabit Aqua.*

Whilst Boars on Mountains shall abide,
Or Fishes in the River glide;
So long, both sure and uncontroll'd,
Will last this Health-firm Anchor-hold.
This Drink (let *Codrus* burst with Rage)
Will *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish* Sage,
With *German*, *French*, and *Dutch* engage.
Hence People's Glory, *Tunbridge* praise,
What *War* throws down, *Water* will raise.

Thus much for *Chalybeates*, to comply with
your Honour's Solicitations, hoping this rude
Essay, upon a barren Subject, may be cultivated
by other Philosophers and Physicians, better
qualified, to the Benefit and Advantage of Man-
kind, especially to your Honour's Satisfaction
and Welfare; whom Almighty God, the ever-
lasting Fountain and Source of living Waters,
preserve with long Life and Health in this World,
and grant immarcescible Laurels in that which
is to come; which is the earnest and unfeigned
Desire of,

My Lord,

Your Honour's most humble
and obedient Servant,

P. M. M. D.

A Descent from France: Or, the French Invasion of England, considered and discoursed.

[From Half a Sheet, *Folio*, printed at London, 1692.]

THAT there is, or at least has been,
an intended Invasion from *France*,
headed by King *James*, is too ap-
parent; and that the greatest En-
couragement to such an Undertak-
ing must be the expected, if not promised Suc-
cours ready to join him upon the Descent, is as
plainly evident. Now that there can be such a
Party of *Englishmen*, and those professing them-
selves Protestants too (for the *Romanists* are no
Part of our Wonder) whose Reason and Sense
can be so lost and depraved, as to conspire with

such a Design, is not a little stupendious.

The Business of this Paper, therefore, is to
examine, what Consequences they can expect,
from the Success of such an Invasion; and what
Patriots they shall make themselves, in assisting
the Return of King *James*?

In the first Place, do they flatter themselves,
because, forsooth, the greatest Part of our In-
vaders, for the more plausible Pretext, are com-
posed of *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, Natives and
Subjects to the Crowns of *England*, that there-
fore King *James*'s Service (so poor a Mask) is

all the Business of this Expedition? Have we forgot since so lately, in *Ireland*, the *French* King could hardly hold the Vizard on till the Conquest of that Kingdom, where the very *Irish* themselves began to be jealous (and with too much Cause) of their pretended Friends, but intended Lords, the *French*? And that no *Anguis in Herba*, no *French* Reserve, lies at the Bottom of this Invasion.

Secondly, Do they think this Succour to King *James*, though in so important a Service as Resettling him upon this Throne, can deserve any grateful Return; and upon that Encouragement they found the Safety of their Religion and Liberties, in any Promises of Security from that Obligation? Alas! is it so late since woful Experience convinced them, that Acknowledgment or Gratitude are no Part of a Popish King's Principle; witness the unkind Return he made to that very *Church of England*, that, more than once, were so exemplarily zealous for securing the Crown upon his Head, in their strenuous Opposition against both the *Bill of Exclusion*, and *Monmouth's Insurrection*. And if both these deserving Services, those accumulated Obligations, were such feeble Cobweb-Lawn; shall any Thing, done in his Service now, make a stronger Tie upon him? No, quite to the contrary. For Example, the *Church of England* had then twice obliged him, and never once offended him; besides, there was not only a Coronation-Oath, but his first voluntary Declaration, as his Assumption of the Government; one would reasonably think enough to bind him to Performance. But how little all those Bonds signify, when the Cancelling Hand of *Rome* came into Play; we have but too much Reason to remember. And if all those Ties, I say, could not hold then; what can we hope for, when there neither is, nor can be any Tie at all to hold him now? For Example, suppose the blind and mistaken Frenzy of some of our Protestant Zealots (if that Name can be proper for them) could remount him to his Throne; what shall they deserve for it, any more than the Title of *unprofitable Servants*? Their Turning him out from the Throne, together with the Remembrance of the dear *Irish* Blood shed by them, and the rest of our Faults, are such capital Transgressions, that the Restoring him into it, again will not be half our Expiation. And supposing he publishes the most mollifying Declaration upon his Landing, that all the Eloquence of *Rome*

can put together; shall that oblige him? No, so far from it, that it neither is, nor can be any more than a Scroll of waste Paper. For supposing the Contents of it should run in these flattering Insinuations, viz. What wonderful Clemency he would shew us upon our Return to our Allegiance, and with what Moderation he would reign over us, upon our Re-admitting of him to his Throne, with all the most solemn Protestations, and what not. Now as it is unlikely, that King *James* should ever return without Opposition, and undoubtedly a very strenuous one; it being impossible we should be all drawn in, with the specious Bait of sweet Words, and fair Promises; and consequently, he must have a Blow for it. Supposing, nevertheless, I say, his Party so strong, and his Success so great, as to recover his Kingdoms: Upon such a Recovery, whatever he promises, in his Declaration, is, from that Moment, null and void. For the Consideration is not performed, and consequently the Obligation cancelled. For Instance, he comes not in by our Submission, and Return to our Allegiance, but by Force and Conquest. And as such, not only his Declarations, but his very Coronation-Oath, without the Stretch of a mental Reservation, are all actually absolved. And if Law, nor Oaths, Service, nor Fidelity, as before-mentioned, were able to keep his *Romish* Zeal in any Bounds or Limits before; what shall the Loosening of them all expect now? And consequently what driving *Jehu* must we look for, when that black Day comes (which Heaven of its Mercy keep far from us.) And whatever private Gratuities or Favours some particular eminent Protestant Hands may possibly receive for their signal Services in this Revolution, nothing of Sense but must conclude us the miserablest Nation and People in the World.

Besides, could we look for Miracles, and expect a Reign of Clemency from him, our Religion and Civil Rights secured, what a Crew of *Irish* Dear-Joys, that come over with him, are here to be rewarded, all Preferment and Honours, nay, the Fat of the Land to be canted out amongst them: And consequently the Power in these confiding Hands, the whole Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of *England*, must lie under the Check and Awe of Tories and Rapparees, and submit to all the Insults of Miscreants and Vagrants; and well we compound so cheap,

Nay, though some People fancy we shall at least

least enjoy this Blessing of being eased from Taxes by his Return; it is so much a Mistake, that, in the other Extream, that very Shadow vanishes too. For what must this Expedition cost the *French* King, and what must all his *Irish* Arrears, and other infinite unaccountable Sums, amount to, which must all lie upon this ruined Nation to satisfy, with a very courteous Compliment into the Bargain, if the *French* King will graciously and mercifully please to demand no more. Nay, perhaps, the whole Charge of his several Years Naval Preparation; (for had King *James* continued on his Throne, most of all that Expence had been saved) must lie at our Door, a Score too terrible, even to think of; and, take it altogether, a very grateful Payment out of the Protestant Pockets, to so prodigious a Champion of the Protestant Religion, as King *Lewis*.

But for once (though contrary to common Sense) granting we should allow all in his Favour, that the most zealous *Jacobite* can pretend, viz. That King *James*, upon his Return to the Throne, shall to a Tittle perform every particular Article in his very Declaration, as plausible soever as it may be penned, viz. We will suppose, that the *French* King shall disclaim, directly or indirectly, all Pretensions whatever to *England*; that the Restoration of his Friend King *James* is his only Part and Design in this Expedition; and King *James*, on the other Side, shall abjure all Manner of Violation to the Laws, shall support the Protestant Religion, and (making a Sea-mark of his former Wreck) shall peaceably keep up to the full Observance of so generous a Profession; granting all this, I say, and whatever other imaginary Security, his dreaming Party can form to themselves; nevertheless, in the fairest Face, let us observe the dismal and tremendous Effects of his Restoration. It is known to the whole World to what the *French* Ambition tends, viz. Universal Monarchy. And it is as notoriously famous, what Desolations and Ravages the Arms of *France* have made, and how formidable that successful Destroyer is, even to the whole united Powers of *Europe*. And as his present Majesty King *William* is, possibly (without Vanity) the Leading Champion of the whole Confederacy, and all little enough to make Head against *France*; upon King *James*'s Return to the Throne, here is not only so potent an Arm as the Alliance of *Britain* lopped off from the Confederacy, but added to the Strength of *France*. For though,

in his Reign before, he only stood Neuter, with little, or no other Assistance, to his idolised grand *Lewis*, than his heartiest Vows and Prayers for the Success and Prosperity of that in-croaching Enslaver of Mankind: Yet now he will lie under a more pressing Obligation; and the least Return even of common Gratitude, for his Remounting him on the Throne, will be to list under that Tyrant's Standard, and joining the Arms of *England*, to the Finishing and Crowning the whole Designs of that universal Aspirer. And as the whole Confederacy, already, is little enough to match him; upon this Revolution in *England*, it is impossible to expect less than that the whole Cause of *Christendom* must sink, and all *Europe* truckle beneath him. And whilst the *English* Hands must bear so great a Part in this fatal Turn (to give it no harder Name) what is it but a making ourselves the Monsters of Mankind, the inevitable Instruments and Tools to that grand Cut-throat of *Christendom*? And what has some little Palliation on his Side, as having the Pretence of Renown and Honour, in the Quest of Laurels and Enlargement of Empire, &c. will on our Part amount only to Butchery and Desolation, for meer Butchery and Desolation's Sake. The Glory, if any, will be *Lewis*'s, and the Infamy *England*'s. Infamy indeed (if we meet with no worse Reward) when we consider what a barbarous Part we must act in the Yoking and Shackling of *Europe*. But suppose it ends there, and that will be the only Brand in the *English* Escutcheon: And that *Lewis*, in his Grasp of universal Empire, shall exclude *England* from any Part of his Feudatories, and Tributaries, viz. he shall made golden Promises to King *James*, and once in his Life (his first Virtue of that Kind) keep Faith, and no worse follow (a very unlikely Flattery) yet what an eternal Shame to the old *English* Honour, the sleeping Dust of our Third *Edward*, and Fifth *Henry*, and indeed the whole *British* Chronicles, is our Portion, in aggrandising of *France*, to that prodigious Bulk and Growth, and dwindling ourselves to that diminutive and despicable State and Condition, as are, and must be, the unavoidable Consequences of King *James*'s Restoration.

Granting the *Jacobites*, therefore, all their own Delusions can shape, that King *James* shall forget and forgive; shall rule by Law, and turn a Saint upon the Throne: And that the disinterested *Lewis* shall have no other Designs upon *England*, but purely King *James*'s Assistance;

tance; yet still the most, they can look for, is, perhaps, to enjoy a little *English Liberty* (upon their own Supposition) during the short Remnant of King *James's* Days, whilst his gray Hairs, perhaps, shall fill the Seat: But I wonder any reasonable Man, that pretends but to common Sense, can think it possible, that *France* should ingross the Dominion of *Europe*, and *England* ever hope to continue the only Exempt from the universal Yoke; is there that Frenzy, so mad as to fancy it? No, all our best Hopes will be to be swallowed last, and the an-

nexing of *Britain*, a Province to *France*; and consequently to groan under all the Slavery and Vassalage of a *French* Government, is the undoubted Fate of *England*; and hereby the Restoration of King *James*, in its favourablest Aspect, brings no less Fatality along with it, than Entailing of Misery upon us, to the End of the World; and all the Honour, our Protestant Restorers will reap, is to be the Ruin and Curse of their whole Posterity, their very Names and Memories loathed and abhorred to all succeeding Generations.

The Danger of Mercenary Parliaments*.

I. **S**everal Treatises have been formerly written, and more (I doubt not) will be in this Juncture published, with Directions and Informations to the People of *England* for chusing fit and proper Representatives for the ensuing Parliament, wherein sufficient Notice will be taken of the Failures and Defects of several who have already been entrusted in that Service, and the due Qualifications of such, who are now to be elected. I shall, therefore, confine my present Thoughts only to one particular Head, which yet, in my Opinion, seems to involve in it the inevitable Fate of *England*, which wholly depends upon the Choice of Members for the next Session of Parliament: I mean the *Choosing or Refusing of such Persons, who are now possessed of any Places and Preferments, depending upon the Gift and Pleasure of the Court*. If herein my Endeavours prove unsuccessful, I shall have Nothing left, but the Satisfaction of my own Conscience to support me under the deplorable Consequents and Effects, which must necessarily attend the Choice of a House of Commons filled with Officers and Court Pensioners. This is the last Struggle and Effort the People of *England* have left them for their Properties; and, should we now miscarry in this, we may sit down and idly shew our Affections for our Country, and fruitlessly bewail the Loss of our Liberties, but shall never meet with another Opportunity of exerting ourselves in its Service. That I may

therefore set the Minds of People right in this Particular, before it be too late, I think it will be only necessary to shew the Danger of chusing Members that are in Places, from two Considerations:

First, From the Nature of such a Parliament, considered in itself: And,

Secondly, From what has already been done by Parliaments so qualified.

In both which, I shall be very brief, and content myself with much fewer Arguments than might be urged upon this Subject: For I should almost despair of being survived by the Liberties of *England*, if I could imagine there was a Necessity of saying much, in a Case not only of such irresistible Evidence and Demonstration, but also of the utmost Concern and Importance to us.

2. *First*, then, we shall best be able to understand the Nature of such an ill-chosen Parliament, by comparing it with a true one, and with the original Design of Parliaments in their Institution. I hope it need not be told, that they were, at first, intended for a Support to the King's just Prerogative, and a Protection to the Subjects, in their as just Rights and Privileges: For maintaining all due Honour to the Executive Power, and all suitable Respect and Encouragement to those, who are intrusted with

the Administration of the Laws: For a Poise and Balance between the two extreme contending Powers of absolute Monarchy and Anarchy: For a Check and Curb to insolent and licentious Ministers, and a Terror to ambitious and overgrown Statesmen: For giving their Advice to his Majesty in all Matters of Importance: For making necessary Laws, to preserve or improve our Constitution, and abrogating such as were found burthensome and obsolete: For giving the King Money for defraying the Charges and Expences of the Government, or maintaining a necessary War against Foreign and Domestick Enemies: For examining and inspecting the publick Accounts, to know if their Money be applied to its true Use and Purposes: In short, for the best Security imaginable to his Majesty's Honour and Royal Dignities, and the Subjects Liberties, Estates, and Lives.

3. This being the Nature and true Design of a Parliament, let us now see whether a House of Commons, full of Officers and Court-Pensioners, will answer those noble and laudable Ends of their Constitution: And here, indeed, I begin already to be ashamed of my Undertaking; the Proof of the Negative is so ridiculous, that it looks too much like a Jest, to ask any one in his Wits, Whether a Parliament, filled with Delinquents, will ever call themselves to an Account, or what Account would be given, if they should? Whether an Assembly of publick Robbers will sentence one another to be punished, or to make Restitution? Whether it is possible, our Grievances can be redressed, that are committed by Persons, from whom there is no higher Power to appeal? Whether there is any Hope of Justice, where the Malefactors are the Judges? Whether his Majesty can be rightly informed in Affairs relating to himself or the Publick, when they are represented to him, only by such Persons, who design to abuse him? Whether the publick Accounts will be faithfully inspected by those, who embezzle our Money to their own Use? Whether the King's Prerogative can be lawfully maintained by such, who only pervert it to their own sinister Ends and Purposes? Whether a Parliament can be a true Balance, where all the Weight lies only in one Scale? Or, lastly, Whether a House of Commons can vote freely, who are either prepossessed with the Hopes and Promises of enjoying Places, or the slavish Fears of losing them? Methinks it is offering too much Violence to human Nature, to

ask such Questions as these; I shall therefore leave this invidious Point.

4. Yet, lest still any should remain unsatisfied, or lulled into a fond Opinion, that these Mischiefs will not ensue upon the Elections they shall make, I shall further endeavour to convince those, who are most moved by the Force of Examples, by coming to my second Particular, and shewing how Parliaments, so qualified, have all along behaved themselves. And here I must confess there are not many Instances to be given, the Project of corrupting Parliaments being but of a late Date, a Practice first set on Foot within the Compass of our own Memories, as the last and most dangerous Stratagem that ever was invented by an incroaching Tyrant to possess himself of the Rights of a free-born People; I mean King *Charles the Second*, who, well remembering, with how little Success, both he and his Father had made Use of open Arms and downright Violence to storm and batter down the Bulwarks of our excellent Constitution, had Recourse at last to those mean Arts, and underhand Practices, of Bribing and Corrupting, with Money, those who were intrusted with the Conservation of our Laws, and the Guardianship of our Liberties. And herein he so well succeeded, that the Mischiefs and Calamities, occasioned by that Mercenary Parliament, did not terminate with his Life and Reign; but the Effects of them are handed and continued down, and very sensibly felt by the Nation, to this very Hour. For it is to that House of Commons the formidable Greatness of *France* was owing, and to their Account, therefore, ought we to set down the prodigious Expences of the late War: It was by those infamous Members that Money was given to make a feigned and collusive War with *France*, which, at the same Time, was employed either in Subduing the Subjects at Home, or Oppressing our *Protestant* Neighbours Abroad: It was this Venal Parliament in Effect that furnished the King of *France* with Timber and skilful Workmen for building Ships, as well as expert Mariners, and a prodigious Quantity of Brass and Iron Cannon, Mortar-pieces, and Bullets from the *Tower*; by the Help of which, our own treacherous King was able to boast publicly, and thank God, that he had at last made his Brother of *France* a Seaman: By this Means the Honour of *England* was prostituted, and our Natural and Naval Strength betrayed, with which, like *Sampson*, we should easily

easily have broken all the Cords that *Europe*, as the whole World, could have made to bind and enslave us, had not this Parliament made a Sacrifice of all to the Charms of a *French Dalilah*. To this profligate and villainous Reign, we are to ascribe the Loss of all the considerable Characters of *England*, the Deaths of our best Patriots, the Encouragement and almost Establishment of *Popery**, the Decay of Trade, the Growth of Arbitrary Power, the ill Effects of dishonourable

* Which will better appear, from the following Letter, published in the Year 1679, on Half a Sheet of Paper, *Folio*.

A Copy of a Letter, written by a Jesuit to the Father-Rector at Brussels, discovering their Designs upon England; and their Judgment of the Temper thereof: With a Conjecture of the Success of the Parliament.

Father Rector!

LET not the Damp of Astonishment seize upon your ardent and zealous Soul, in Apprehending the sudden and unexpected Calling of a Parliament: We have not opposed, but rather furthered it; so that we hope as much in this Parliament, as ever we feared in Queen *Elisabeth's* Days.

You must know the Council is engaged to assist the King, by Way of Prerogative, in Case the Parliamentary Way should fail. You shall see this Parliament will resemble the Pelican, which takes a Pleasure to dig out, with her Beak, her own Bowels.

The Election of Knights and Burgesses have been in such Confusion of apparent Faction, as that, which we were wont to procure heretofore, with much Art and Industry (when the *Spanish Match* was in Treaty) now breaks out naturally, as a Botch or Bile, and spits and spews out its own Rancour and Venom.

You remember how that famous and immortal Statesman, the Count of *Gondomar*, fed King *James's* Fancy, and rocked him asleep with the soft sweet Sound of Peace, to keep up the *Spanish Treaty*. Likewise, we were much bound to some Statesmen of our own Country, for gaining Time, by procuring those most advantageous Cessations of Arms in the *Palatinate*, and advancing the Honour and Integrity of the *Spanish* Nation, vilifying the *Hollanders*; remonstrating to King *James*, that that State was most ungrateful, both to his Predecessor Queen *Elisabeth*, and his Sacred Majesty: That the States were more obnoxious than the *Turk*, and perpetually injured his Majesty's loving Subjects in the *East-Indies*, and likewise, they have usurped from his Majesty the Regality, and invaluable Profit of the Narrow Seas, in Fishing upon the *English Coast*, &c.

This great Statesman had but one principal Means to further that great and good Design, which was to set on King *James*, that none but the *Puritan* Faction, which plotted Nothing but Anarchy, and his Confusion, were averse to this most happy Union. We steered on the same Course, and have made great Use of this Anarchical Election, and have prejudicated and anticipated the Great One, that none but the King's Enemies, and his, are chosen for this Parliament, &c.

We have now many Strings to our Bow, and have strongly fortified our Faction, and have added two Bulwarks more: For when King *James* lived (you know) he was very violent against *Arminianism*, and interrupted (with his pestilent Wit and deep Learning) our strong Designs in *Holland*, and was a great Friend to that old Rebel and Heretick, the Prince of *Orange*.

Now we have planted that Sovereign Drug, *Arminianism*; which, we hope, will purge the *Protestants* from their *Heresy*; and it flourishes, and bears Fruit in due Season.

The Materials, which build up our Bulwark, are the Projectors, and Beggars of all Ranks and Qualities: Howsoever, both these Factions co-operate and destroy the Parliament, and to introduce a new Species and Form of Government, which is Oligarchy:

These serve as direct Mediums and Instruments to our End, which is the Universal Catholick Monarchy. Our Foundations must be a Mutation; a Mutation will cause a Relaxation, which will serve as so many violent Diseases, as the Stone, Gout, &c. to the speedy Destruction of our perpetual and insufferable Anguish of Body, which is worse than Death itself.

We proceed now by Council and mature Deliberation, how, and when, to work upon the Duke's Jealousy and Revenge, and, in this, we give the Honour to those which merit it, which are the *Church Catholics*.

There is another Matter of Consequence, which we take much into our Consideration, and tender Care, which is to stave off the *Puritans*, that they hang not in the Duke's Ears; they are impudent and subtle People, and it is to be feared, lest they should negotiate a Reconciliation between the Duke and the Parliament; it is certain, the Duke would gladly have reconciled himself to the Parliament at *Oxford* and *Westminster*;

ble Leagues, the Shutting up of the Exchequer, the Progress of all Sorts of Debauchery, the servile Compliances at Court of a rampant *Hierarchy* in the Kingdom, the insolent Deportment of the inferior *Clergy* both in the Universities and elsewhere, their slavish Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance; in short, a general Depravation of Manners, and almost utter Extirpation of Virtue and moral Honesty. These and all the other Mischiefs of that Reign are justly chargeable to the Account of that pensioned Parliament, who either were the immediate Authors, or the undoubted Causers of them: Who, though they sat long and often, and could not be ignorant of our deplorable Condition, yet having their Eyes blinded with the Dust of Gold, and their Tongues locked up with silver Keys, they durst not cry out for the Rescue of their Country, thus inhumanly ravished in their very Presence. It will not consist with my designed Brevity, nor is it here necessary to give the Reasons that induced the Court to dissolve that Parliament; nor shall I take any further Notice of their great and fortunate Oversight in doing it, nor of their un-

feigned Repentance afterwards for it; I shall only observe, that, if the Nation had been so senselessly stupid to have chosen the same Members a second Time, who were Pensioners in the foregoing Parliament, we had long ago suffered the dismal Consequences of our Folly and Madness in such a Choice; nor should we now have had this Liberty to warn one another against Splitting upon the like Rocks, and Falling into the same Precipices. But they were wiser in those Times, and the Consideration of the dreadful Shipwreck, they had so lately escaped, made them chuse Pilots of a quite contrary Disposition, who, as far as in them lay, and as long as they were permitted to sit at the Helm, repaired the shattered Vessel of the Commonwealth, restored its Honour, revived its drooping Genius, gave Force to its Laws, Countenance to its Religion, and, in a great Measure, reduced our banished Liberties, and exposed the Persons, who sold them, to the universal Hatred and Reproach of their Fellow-Subjects; a Punishment indeed infinitely less, than they deserved for the highest Crime, a Member of Parliament is capable of committing.

Westminster; but now we assure ourselves we have so handled the Matter that both Duke and Parliament are irreconcilable.

For the better Prevention of the *Puritans*, the *Arminians* have already locked up the Duke's Ears, and we have those of our own Religion, which stand continually at the Duke's Chamber, to see who goes in and out: We cannot be too circumspect, and fearful, in this Regard.

I cannot chuse but laugh, to see how some of our own Coat have accoutred themselves; you would scarce know them, if you saw them: And it is admirable, how in Speech and Gesture they act the *Puritans*. The *Cambridge* Scholars, to their woful Experience, shall see we can act the *Puritans* a little better than they have done the *Jesuits*: They have abused our Sacred Patron St. *Ignatius* in Jest, but we will make them smart for it in Earnest. I hope, you will excuse my merry Digression; for, I confess unto you, I am at this Time transported with Joy to see how happily all Instruments and Means, as well great as less, co-operate unto our Purposes.

But to return unto the main Fabrick; our Foundation is *Arminianism*; the *Arminians*, and Projectors, as it appears in the Premises, affect Mutation; this we second, and infer by probable Arguments. In the first Place, we take into Consideration the King's Honour, and present Necessity; and we shew how the King may free himself of his Ward, as *Lewis the Eleventh* did. And, for his great Splendor and Lustre, he may raise a vast Revenue, and not be beholden to his Subjects; which is, by Way of Imposition of Excise. Then our *Church-Catholicks* proceed to shew the Means how to settle this Excise, which must be by a mercenary Army of Horse and Foot. For the Horse, we have made that sure; they shall be *Foreigners* and *Germans*, who will eat up the King's Revenues, and spoil the Country wheresoever they come, though they should be well paid; what Havock will they make there, when they get no Pay, or are not duly paid? They will do more Mischief, than we hope the Army will do.

We are provident and careful that this mercenary Army of Two-thousand Horse, and Twenty-thousand Foot, shall be taken on, and in Pay, before the Excise be settled. In forming the Excise, the Country is most likely to rise; if the mercenary Army subjugate the Country, then the Soldiers and Projectors shall be paid out of the Confiscations; if the Country be too hard for the Soldiers, then they must consequently mutiny, which is equally advantageous unto us. Our superlative Design is, to work the *Protestants*, as well as the *Catholicks*, to welcome in a Conqueror, and that is by this Means: We hope instantly to dissolve Trade, and hinder the Building of Shipping, in devising probable Designs, and putting on the State upon Expeditions, as that of *Cadiz* was, in taking away the Merchant Ships, so that they may not easily catch and light upon the *West-India* Fleet.

5. As for King *James's* Reign, though it was notoriously guilty of the Breach and Violation of most of our fundamental Laws, which sufficiently justifies our Carriage towards him, yet, cannot we say that his Management is to be ascribed to the Corruption of any Parliament sitting in his Time. It is true, indeed, he reaped too much Advantage from the Conduct of the bribed Parliament in his Brother's Reign, and used all possible Endeavours to procure such another for himself, well knowing it to be the most effectual Means for carrying on his ruinous and destructive Projects; yet, either from the unshaken Constancy of the People, or Want of Dexterity in his Ministers, he was altogether defeated in his Expectation.

6. This miserable Disappointment of King *James's* Hopes made Way for our late glorious Revolution, which was brought about by the hearty Endeavours, and accompanied with the most unfeigned Vows and Wishes of all true Lovers of their Country, who, from hence, expected a full Deliverance from their present Miseries, and a sure Remedy from their future Fears: For what Happiness might not the People well hope for under the Government of the best of Kings, supported by the best of Titles, viz. The general Consent and Election of his People? We were filled with golden Dreams, not only of a bare Security for our Estates and Lives, but an inexhausted Affluence of all Manner of Blessings a Nation is capable of enjoying. But, though we have dreamt the Dreams, yet have we not seen the Visions. And though the Nation is, by this Time, sadly sensible, how wretchedly they have fallen short of their expected Happiness, yet are they not all acquainted with the true Spring and Fountain from whence all their Misfortunes flow; which is, indeed, no other, than that bare-faced and openly avowed Corruption, which, like an universal Leprosy, has so notoriously infected and overspread both our Court and Parliament. It is, from hence, are plainly derived all the Calamities and Distractions under which the whole Nation at present groans: It is this that has changed the very Natures of *Englishmen*, and, of valiant, made them Cowards; of eloquent, dumb; and, of honest Men, Villains: It is this can make a whole House of Commons eat their own Words, and counter-vote what they had just before resolved on: It is this could summon the mercenary Members from all Quarters of the Town in an Instant, to vote their Fellow-

Criminals innocent: It is this that can make a Parliament throw away the People's Money with the utmost Profusion, without enquiring into the Management of it: It is this that put a Stop to the Examination of that scandalous Escape of the *Thoulon* Fleet into *Brest*: It is this that has encouraged the Mismanagements of the Admiralty, in Relation to the Loss of so vast a Number of Men of War, and Merchant Ships, as well as other Miscarriages, which were by all Men judged to proceed, not from their Want of Understanding in Sea-Affairs: It is this that has hindered the Passing a Bill so often brought into the House for incapacitating Members to bear Offices: It is this that could not only indemnify, but honour a leading Member, for his audacious procuring and accepting a Grant of Lands, which, by the Parliament, had been set a-part for the publick Service; a Vote that shall stand recorded in their own Journals, to the never-dying Infamy of that mercenary Assembly: It is this could make the same Persons most confidently affirm, that he was sure the Majority of the House would agree to what he was going to propose: It is this that could make Men of peaceable Dispositions, and considerable Estates, vote for a standing Army: It is this that could bring Admirals to confess, that our Fleets, under their Command, was no Security to us: It is this could make wise Men act against their own apparent Interest: In short, it is this that has infatuated our Prudence, staggered our Constancy, sullied our Reputation, and introduced a total Defection from all true *English* Principles. Bribery is, indeed, so sure and unavoidable a Way to destroy any Nation, that we may all sit down and wonder, that so much as the very Name of a free Government is yet continued to us. And, if, by our wary Choice of Members, we should happen to recover our ancient Constitution, we shall, with Horror and Amazement, look back, and reflect upon the dreadful Precipice we so narrowly escaped.

7. Fatal Experience has now, more than enough, convinced us, that Courts have been the same in all Ages, and that few Persons have been found of such approved Constancy and Resolution, as to withstand the powerful Allurements and Temptations which from thence have been continually dispensed, for the Corrupting of Men's Minds, and Debauching their honest Principles. Such Instances of the Frailty of human Nature may be given, within these few
Years

Years past, as might make a Man even ashamed of his own Species, and which, were they not so open and notorious, ought, out of Pity to Mankind, to be buried in perpetual Silence. Who can enough lament the wretched Degeneracy of the Age we live in? To see Persons, who were formerly noted for the most vigorous Assertors of their Country's Liberty, who, from their Infancy, had imbibed no other Notions, than what conduced to the publick Safety, whose Principles were further improved and confirmed by the Advantages of a suitable Conversation, and who were so far possessed with this Spirit of Liberty, that it sometimes transported them beyond the Bounds of Moderation, even to unwarrantable Excesses: To see these Men, I say, so infamously fall in with the arbitrary Measures of the Court, and appear the most active Instruments for enslaving their Country; and that, without any formal Steps or Degrees, but, all in an Instant, is so violent and surprising a Transition, from one Extream to another, without passing the Mean, as would have confounded the Imaginations of *Euclid* or *Pyrrho*. All the stated Maxims, in Relation to the Nature of Mankind, which have been long ago settled and established by Philosophers, and observing Men, are now baffled and exploded; and we have nothing left us to contemplate, but the wild Extravagancies of romantick Fables, the sudden Conveyances of nimble-fingered Jugglers, the inimitable Dispatches of transubstantiating Priests, or the now more credible Metamorphoses of Men into Beasts.

8. The Necessity we have lain under of frequent Meetings of Parliament, during the War, has taught our Managers so much Dexterity and Address in their Applications to the Members of that Assembly, that they are now become consummate Masters in that most detestable Art of corrupting our Representatives, by Hopes and Fears of attaining or losing Offices and Preferments. And though I here name Offices, yet those Offices are downright Bribes and Pensions, since they are held precariously from the Court, and constantly taken away upon Non-compliance with the Court-measures; though I am not ignorant, that several considerable Pensions were also paid out of the *Exchequer* to Members of both Houses: For Places could not be had for all, though they have tried all imaginable Arts, for dividing among themselves the considerable Posts of the Kingdom: For, either by splitting of Offices among several Persons which

were formerly executed by one, or by reviving such as were sunk, or by creating others which were altogether useless and unnecessary, or by Promises of Preferment to those who could not presently be provided for, they had made above two-hundred Members absolutely dependent upon them. And what Points may not such a Number carry in the House, who are always ready, and constantly attending, with more Diligence to destroy our Constitution, than the rest were to preserve it? Who represented not their Country, but themselves, and always kept together in a close and undivided *Phalanx*, impenetrable either by Shame or Honour, voting always the same Way, and saying always the same Things, as if they were no longer voluntary Agents, but so many Engines, merely turned about by a mechanick Motion, like an Organ, where the great humming Bases, as well as the little squeaking Trebles, are filled but with one Blast of Wind from the same Sound-board. Yet a few of them may, in some Measure, be distinguished from those *pointblank* Voters, whom neither their Country's Safety, nor their own more dear and valued Interest, nor the Persuasion of their once intimate Friends, nor Fear of Reproach, nor Love of Reputation, could ever prevail to join in an honest Point, or dissent from a Question that carried in it the Violation of the Rights and Properties of the Subject. These are the Men who have persuaded his Majesty, or rather assumed to themselves, not to fill up any vacant Offices, whilst the Parliament is sitting; but to keep all Pretenders in a Dependence till the End of the Session, and bind them up to their ill Behaviour, which will then be their best Pretence to demand their Wages of Unrighteousness: Witness the Commission of Excise the last Session, which was sued for by, and promised to above thirty Competitors, who all did their utmost to signalize their several Merits for an Office, which, doubtless, will be at last divided amongst those who have deserved worst of their Country. By these Means, they have their Numbers and Interest in the House so great, that no Miscarriage in the Government could ever be redressed, nor the meanest Tool, belonging to them, be punished: Some of which they did, indeed, take into their own Hands, which raised in the People a high Expectation that some extraordinary Penalties would be inflicted upon them; when their Design, at the same Time, was nothing else but

to protect and screen them from the ordinary Course of Justice: Such is now the Difference, in Point of Corruption, between a common Jury, and the Grand Jury of the Nation! such a mutual Assistance and Support have they been to one another, in the several Mismanagements of their Trusts; so favourable have they been to their own Creatures, and so implacable to those who have any Way opposed their unjust Proceedings, witness their scandalous Partiality in the Case of *Duncomb*, which I hope to see printed at large, for the Satisfaction of the Publick. If it were truly represented, I am sure, there needs nothing more to excite in the People an universal Detestation of their Arrogance and Injustice. And yet do these Apostates pretend to value themselves upon their Merit, in contriving that most destructive Project of *Exchequer Bills*, by which all impartial Men must either think they notoriously dissemble with us, or that they have indeed lost their Senses, when they speak of publick Service; the Word is so unbecoming in their Mouths, and so awkwardly pronounced, that they seem not to breathe in their own Element, when they usurp the Name. These are the Men who have endeavoured to render our Condition hopeless, even beyond the Power of the King himself to relieve us: For though his Majesty be deservedly loved and honoured by his People, for his Readiness to do them Justice, and ease their Oppressions, yet can we not expect it from him, whilst he is thus beset and surrounded, and his Palaces invested by these Conspirators against his own Honour, and the Welfare of his Kingdoms. The only Remedy, therefore, that remains is, to chuse such a Parliament who lie under no Temptations, and are acted by no other Motives, but the real and true Interest of his Majesty and his Dominions; a Parliament that will fall unanimously upon publick Business, and be free from those petty Factions, and personal Piques, which in the late Session so shamefully obstructed and delayed the most important Service of the Commonwealth.

9. If it should be pretended, That the Nation is yet unsettled, and the Fear of King *James* has forced them upon these extraordinary Methods for their own Preservation; I answer, That no Cause whatsoever can be justly alledged in Vindication of such vile Arts, and pernicious Practices. But, I would farther ask them, what Necessity there is, upon that Account, for their gaining such prodigious Estates to themselves, in so short a Time, and in so

merciless a Way, when the Nation was racked to the utmost by Taxes in a long and expensive War? Is it the Fear of King *James*, that has brought such a Reproach upon our Revolution, as if it needed to be supported by such mean and unjustifiable Practices? Is it the Fear of King *James*, that makes us content he should live so near us, or that he should be maintained at our own Charge of Fifty-thousand Pounds *per Annum*? Or has not rather King *James* been made the Pretence for the unwarrantable Proceedings of our Conspirators, during the War, and since the Conclusion of the Peace? It is very strange, that King *James*, who is but their Jest in private, should be thus made their publick Bugbear, to frighten us out of our Senses, like Children; so that King *James* must be at last our Ruin Abroad, who could not compass it by all his Power and Interest at Home. And, in this Sense, I am of their Opinion, That we are not yet quite delivered from the Fear of King *James*, who must be made the Instrument of our Slavery, by those very Persons who pretend their greatest Merit to consist in delivering us from him. But what is this, but making the old abdicated Tyrant a Footstool to ascend the Throne of absolute Power, and a Scaffold for erecting that proud and stately Edifice, from whence we have so justly tumbled him down headlong? But, it is to be hoped, the Nation will be no longer imposed on by such stale Pretences as these, and that a well chosen Parliament will not fail to pass their severest Censures upon those who would thus jest us out of all that is dear and valuable amongst us: That they will no longer resemble a Flock of Sheep (as *Cato* said of the *Romans* in his Time) that follow the Bell-wether, and are contented, when all together, to be led by the Noses of such whose Counsels not a Man of them would make Use of in a private Cause of his own: That they will at last vindicate the Honour of *England*, and imitate their wise Ancestors, in Hunting down these Beasts of Prey, these noxious Vermin to the Commonwealth, rather than suffer themselves to be led in Collars and Couples by one mighty *Nimrod*, who, upon the Turning up his Nose, shall expect a full Cry of sequacious Animals, who must either join Voices, or be turned out of the Pack.

10. Notwithstanding what I have said, I would not have any of them either really imagine themselves, or falsely suggest to others, that I envy them their Places and Preferments, which I am so far from doing, that I wish they rather

rather had them, for the Term of their Lives; I desire only they may be subject to the Laws, and to some Power on Earth, that may call them to Account for their Misbehaviours, that they may not be their own Judges, that our sovereign Remedy may not prove our chief Disease, and that the Kid may be seethed in something else than its Mother's Milk. Nor would I, by any Means, deny them their Seats in Parliament, provided they are in a Condition to speak and act freely, and discharged from those Temptations, which I find they have not Constancy enough to withstand; for, after all, I still believe many of them so honest, that nothing but Money, or Preferments, will corrupt them: But if nothing will satisfy them, but the downright Subversion of our Constitution; if they will be content with nothing but the utter Abolishing of all Laws, and the Rooting up of those Fences, and Securities, provided by our Ancestors, for the Preservation of all Things that are sacred and esteemed amongst Mankind; it is high Time for the Electors to look about them, and disappoint their unreasonable and exorbitant Hopes, and to spew them out as detestable Members of the Commonwealth; not only as unfit to be trusted with their Liberties, but as unworthy to breathe in the Air of a Free Government.

II. If any should say, That the Alterations in Elections will stand us in no Stead, since whoever are chosen, will still be bought off and bribed by Court-preferments: I answer, It will require a considerable Time to new model and debauch a House of Commons, nor can it be done but by displacing all those, who are already possessed, to make Room for these Comers, which will make the Trade and Mystery of Bribery more plain, and consequently more abhorred. And, since no Parliament can now sit above three Years, the Court will meet with fresh Difficulties, to interrupt them, which may possibly at last make them weary of these Practices. It is true indeed, this Consideration ought to make us more circumspect, in our Choice of Members, for though we should chuse but an inconsiderable Number of Pensioners, yet will they soon be able to work over a Majority to their Side; so true is the Saying, *A little Leaven leavens the whole Lump*. Whoever therefore out of any particular Friendship, or other Motives of Fear or private Interest, should vote for any one Person, so qualified; let him consider, that, as much as in him lies, he makes a Compliment of all the Liberties of *England* to

the unsatiable Avarice and Ambition of State-men and Court-Ministers. Since, therefore, we have so narrowly escaped our Destruction, and one Session more of the last Parliament would infallibly have ruined our Constitution, we cannot surely be so grossly overseen as to neglect the Opportunity, now put into our Hands, for avoiding the like Hazards, in Time to come; which may easily be done, if the Free-holders and Burghers in *England* will petition, and engage their Representatives to consent to a Bill which shall be brought into the House, to incapacitate all Members for holding Offices and Preferments; or, if it shall be thought too much to debar them, altogether, from the Enjoyment of Posts of Honour and Advantage, let them keep them, during good Behaviour, and not otherwise; that such Places may not be reserved in Store for those, who shall be from Time to Time elected, and thereby a continued Course of Corruption be carried on successively through the whole Nation, who will, in a few Years, insensibly find themselves so universally infected with this insinuating Vice, that we shall be thoroughly ripe for Destruction, and readily expose to Sale the Liberties of *England*, by Auction, to the fairest Bidder. If it was deservedly thought one of our most dangerous Grievances, that the Judges, who only declare the Law, should hold their Places, *ad beneplacitum*; what Condition must we be in, when our Law-makers themselves are subjected to the same Temptations? Or what Advantage have we got by having our Judges Commissions for Life, when our very Legislature itself is prostituted to Bribery and sordid Gain? The Fortune of *England* is now brought to the nicest Point, and there are critical Seasons, which, if neglected, will never again be offered; and, should we now fail in our Duty to our Country, we shall assuredly fall unpitied by the rest of the World. But if, on the other Hand, we can, by our Foresight and Diligence, prevent, for the Future, the Bribing and Corruption of Parliaments, it is not to be imagined what Security, what Happiness, and what immortal Reputation will be the never-ceasing Concomitants of such a Settlement. If the very Rump of a Parliament, even in the midst of domestick Discontents, and beset on all Sides with foreign Assaults and Invasions, were able, by that one *self-denying Act*, to maintain the publick Welfare from the Danger of inward Convulsions at Home, and violent Concussions from Abroad; if that small and broken.

broken Number, without any Head, and under so many Disadvantages, could by this only Means secure our Peace, and so widely extend the Repute and Honour of the *English* Name; what Country or what Religion could ever give Limits to the unbounded Reputation of a full and legal Parliament, so nobly qualified? What Nation could there be so powerful as to resist our Forces, or so politick as to infatuate our Counsels? There is nothing within the Compass of human Wishes, that we might not assure ourselves from the Wisdom and Virtue of such a disinterested Assembly, headed and encouraged by the most auspicious Prince that ever yet swayed the *English* Scepter. A Prince who only waits the Opportunity of our own Willingness to be happy, and is fixed with a longing Eagerness to see the Nation deserve the glorious Effects of his inimitable Conduct, and inexhausted Beneficence; who only wishes a happy Conjunction of a free and unbiassed Parliament, that he might join with them, in the Rescue of himself and us, from the Oppression of those devouring Harpies, who would tear off the yet green and flourishing Lawrels from his Majestick Brows, and ungratefully cast a Tarnish upon the Lustre of his bright and shining Achievements: That he might dissipate those inauspicious Vapours, which have hindered him from breaking out in the Height of his meridian Glories, and intercepted his benign and noble Influence upon his inferior and dependent Orbs: That he might deliver up to Justice those traitorous and insinuating Parasites, who endeavour to inspire into his sacred Breast an unworthy Jealousy of his People, as if he wanted the Assistance of a standing Army to secure and establish to himself that Throne, which he has already so firmly erected in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects: And lastly, that he

might wholly discharge himself of those wretched and perfidious Statesmen, who endeavour to fix the Brand of their own acquired Infamy upon their Master, that they may make him as hateful to one Party, for their Vices, as he is already to another, for his own Virtues, and deprive him of the glorious Title, of the World's greatest Benefactor, which he has so justly purchased to himself, by his immortal Performances.

12. I shall conclude with one Word, in Answer to such who may possibly think I have reflected too much upon the Supineness and base Neglect of the People of *England*, as if it were possible they could be such monstrous and unnatural Self-murderers, as to give away with their own Breath, and free Consent, all their Rights to their Estates and Lives. I confess I should be glad to find my Labour lost upon this Account: But I desire such to consider, that there are many honest and well meaning *Englishmen*, who do not distinguish between our present Government, and our present Way of governing; whose Distance from the Parliament, Multiplicity of Business, or other Circumstances in the World, render them less able to penetrate the Designs that are now carrying on, for the total Subversion of our most excellent Constitution. And it is plain on the other Hand, that the great and unwearied Diligence of the present Conspirators, against our Government, in order to support their future Elections, does infer their Thoughts, that the Majority of the Electors are capable of being imposed upon, in this gross and unexampled Manner. Since, therefore, those, who are making us Slaves, think it no great Difficulty to effect their Purposes, I see no Reason, why I ought to be so tender as to forbear expressing my Fears and Apprehensions of their Success.

A new Looking-Glass for the Kingdom: Wherein those, that admire the late Governments*, may have a true Prospect of Liberty and Slavery, and take their Choice. [From a Half Sheet, *Folio*, printed at *London*, for *J. C.* near *Fleet-Bridge*, 1690.]

* Of King *Charles the Second*, and King *James the Second*.

IN the twelfth Year of King *Charles the Second*, being the first of his Restoration, there was granted to him a Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage, and other Sums of Money, payable upon Merchandise imported and exported, in Consideration of the great Trust and Confidence which the Parliament reposed in his Majesty, *in and for the Guarding the Seas*, against all Persons that should attempt the Disturbance of his Subjects in the Intercourse of Trade, or by *Invasion* of the Kingdom.

The same Year came forth another Act, for the speedy Provision of Money, for Disbanding and Paying off the Forces of the Kingdom, by Land and Sea, by a Contribution of all Persons, according to their several Ranks and Degrees.

The same Year likewise, by two Acts more, were given to the King, by the one, Seventy-score-thousand Pounds, for the compleat Disbanding of the whole Army, and Paying off some Part of the Navy, by a two Months Assessment of Seventy-thousand Pounds a Month: By the other, Seventy-thousand Pounds, as a present Supply to his Majesty.

After which, followed the Act for settling certain Impositions upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for the Increase of his Majesty's Revenue, during his Life.

The same Year also, the Post-Office was erected by the Parliament, with a considerable Revenue accruing to the King. This Parliament, after these great Gifts, being dissolved, the next Year, being the Thirteenth of the King's Reign, sat a new Parliament, which in the first Place, passed an Act for the *free and voluntary Present*; and then passed an Act for granting to the King Twelve-hundred and Threescore-thousand Pounds, to be assessed and levied by an Assessment of Threescore and Ten-thousand Pounds a Month, for eighteen Months.

In the fourteenth Year of the King, the additional Revenue of *Hearth-Money* was settled upon his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors.

In the fifteenth Year of the King, were granted four intire Subsidies from the Temporality, and four from the Clergy.

In the sixteenth Year of the King, a Royal Aid was granted by the same Parliament, of Twenty-four-thousand Four-hundred Threescore and Seventeen-thousand and Five hundred Pounds, to be raised, levied, and paid, in three Years Space, for the King's extraordinary Occasions. As an Addition to which, in his seventeenth Year, Twelve-hundred and Fifty-

thousand Pounds were granted for his Majesty's farther Supply, by the Parliament at *Oxon*.

In the eighteenth Year of the King, more Money was raised by a Poll-Bill, for the Prosecution of the *Dutch War*.

In his nineteenth Year came forth another Act, for raising Three-hundred and Ten-thousand Pounds, by an Imposition on Wines, and other Liquors.

After which followed, in his Twenty-second Year, an Imposition upon all Wines and Vinegar, for eight Years, which was attended by the Imposition upon Brandy: Together with another Act, for advancing the Sale of Fee-Farm-Rents, and other Rents; both valued at One-million Thirteen-hundred and Threescore-thousand Pounds.

In the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Years of the Reign of King *Charles the Second*, was granted another Subsidy for Supply of his Occasions; twelve Pence in the Pound upon all Lands, and Money at Interest; fifteen Shillings in the Hundred for all Money owing to the Bankers, and six Shillings in the Hundred upon personal Estates.

After which, there followed an Act for additional Excise upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors; to which succeeded the Law-Bill: Which three, being summed up together, were estimated at no less than two Millions and a Half.

After this, at the Adjournment of the Parliament, upon the Sixteenth of *April*, 1677, being the Twentieth of the King, passed an Act, for Raising the Sum of Five-hundred Eighty-four-thousand Nine-hundred Seventy-eight Pounds, two Shillings, and two Pence Half-penny, for the speedy Building thirty Ships of War. Together with an additional Excise upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for three Years.

Upon the Fifteenth of *July*, 1678, being the Thirtieth of the King, passed an Act, for granting a Supply to his Majesty, of Six-hundred and Nineteen-thousand Three-hundred Eighty-eight Pounds, eleven Shillings, and nine Pence, for Disbanding the Army, and other Uses therein mentioned.

With another Act, for granting an additional Duty upon Wines for three Years.

To all which may be added (for it cannot be forgotten in Haste) the Shutting up of the *Exchequer*.

This, if it be not a perfect arithmetical Account to some Thousands of Pounds, perhaps, yet it comes pretty near the Matter, to shew, as in a Mirror, the prodigious Sums it cost the King-

Kingdom, in a few Years, to maintain the *Vanity* and *Profuseness* of the Court at that Time, and to support a *Design* carried on all along, to subvert the Religion, Laws, Liberties and Properties of the whole Nation.

It is generally imprinted in the Minds of Men, that there is nothing so dear to them, as the Preservation of their Religion, their Laws, their Liberties and Properties. Life is contemned, to preserve these four inestimable Comforts of human Being; which makes it a strange Thing to consider, that People, who were so lavish to undo themselves, should so stingily grudge a necessary, though more than ordinary Expence, to be for ever quit of future Danger.

They do not find their Money now profusely wasted upon the Excesses of prodigal Luxury, nor upon War, to extirpate the Protestant Religion; nor upon Designs, to enslave both their Souls and Bodies; but thriftily expended, by a frugal and saving Prince*, once their generous and fortunate Preserver, upon Men, Arms, and all Manner of warlike Ammunition, both by Sea and Land.

They find not now Pretences of Wars to juggle them out of their Wealth, to be as deceitfully expended either upon Pleasure, or to support the Interest of the common Foe: But a real War at the Door, maintained by the capital Enemies of the Protestant Religion, and the general Peace of Europe: And withstood with as much Vigour, as prudent Counsel and wary Conduct will permit, by a Prince no less vigilant, no less courageous and formidable, than his Adversaries are potent and malicious.

To repine at Expence, at such a Time as this, and in the Management of such princely and faithful Hands, is to be like niggardly Misers, that love the Banquet, but grumble at the Payment. The Choice is now, Whether to be Free for ever, or Slaves for ever? The Expence is necessary, therefore just; and, being necessary and just, no true *Englishmen* will murmur at the Purchase of his own, and the Preservation of his Posterity, though it cost never so dear.

Is it possible there should be Men that should so soon forget the late Ravages of *Tyranny* and *Papery*, upon their Religion and Laws? Is it possible for Fathers to forget the Murders of their Sons, or for Sons to forget the Haling of

their Parents to Execution†? Is it possible for them to forget the Contrivances of sham Plots, and the Subornation of perjured Evidence, to take away the Lives of the Innocent†? They that so fondly kiss the late King's Picture, and are so covetous of his Return, forget the Verses made upon the Cruelty of *Tiberius*, that gave them sufficient Warning of a Prince returning from Exile to Power again, by the Examples of *Marius*, *Sylla*, and *Mark Anthony*. There is nothing to be so much dreaded, as the Disposition of a Prince, *Longo exilio efferati*, i. e. Grown wild with long Exilement; and, *Ignominia accensi*, i. e. Enraged at the Ignominy he has received. They forget how infinitely the abdicated King must be beholden to his French Patron, the professed Enemy of the English Name and Freedom, if ever this Kingdom should be so unhappy as to be under his Clutches again. For, farewell, then, that noble Liberty, which has so long blessed this fortunate Land. And, therefore, the Miseries of the French Government should be enough to make these unthinking *Jacobites* tremble at the very Sound of what they so extremely wish for, the Return of their Idol. The very Picture of France is enough to kill with the Sight of it. Where the People live in Cottages of Straw, in a fat and fertile Soil, reduced to the utmost Degree of Poverty; where the miserable Peasant, after he has tilled his Land, when he comes to reap the Fruit of his Labour, has nothing to feed him but the Rye and Barley, or a few Chesnuts; nothing to drink but Water squeezed through the Lees of the pressed Grape; the Collectors of the Taxes, the Impost-Gatherers, and other ravenous Beasts of Prey, carry off the Corn, his Wine, his Oil, and other choicer Conveniences of Life; so innumerable are the Taxes, Imposts, Rights of Entrance, Peages, Aids, &c. which, if a Man should reckon up, he would seem to talk the Language of a Conjuror; and all these so tyrannically exacted, by the numberless Swarms of Ruffians, Publicans, and Harpies, as render one of the most delightful Countries in the World a Hell upon Earth. Into this Condition was England tumbling, till redeemed by their most sacred Majesties, King William and Queen Mary; and such would England be, if these unreasonable *Jacobites* might have their Will; which God forbid.

* King William the Third.

† As was done in the West by Judge Jefferies, and Col. Kirk, after Monmouth's Defeat, in the Reign of James the Second.

A modest Account of the wicked Life of that Grand Impostor, *Lodowick Muggleton*: Wherein are related all the remarkable Actions he did, and all the strange Accidents that have befallen him, ever since his first Coming to *London*, to this Twenty-fifth of *January*, 1676. Also a Particular of those Reasons, which first drew him to these damnable Principles: With several pleasant Stories concerning him, proving his Commission to be but counterfeit, and himself a Cheat, from divers Expressions which have fallen from his own Mouth.

Licensed according to Order. *Quarto*, containing six Pages, printed at *London* for B. H. in 1676.

Lodowick Muggleton was born of poor, though honest Parents, living at *Chippenham*, within fifteen Miles of *Bristol*: His Relations having but little Means, and a great Charge of Children to maintain, they were forced to send their Daughters to wait on their neighbouring Gentry, and to place their Sons to such Trades as cost little Binding them Apprentices; but, amongst all the rest of those of this worshipful Brood, they were blessed withal, they might have observed, even in his cunicular Days, in this *Lodowick Muggleton*, an obstinate, dissentious, and opposive Spirit; which made them desirous to settle him at some Distance from them, and also to bind him to such a Trade, and Master, as might curb him from that Freedom, which the Moroseness of his coarse Nature extorted from his too indulgent Parents: By which Means, as soon as he had made some small Inspection into his Accidence, without any other Accomplishment, besides a little Writing and Casting of Accompts, he was hurried up to *London*, and there bound Apprentice to one of the cross-legged Order, but of an indifferent Reputation in the Place where he lived, though by Trade a Taylor. We will pass over the Parenthesis of his Youth in Silence, there being nothing but usual Waggeries, which generally recommend to our Ex-

pectation something remarkable, when the useful Extravagancies shall be seasoned with Age.

When the Time of his Apprenticeship grew near its Expiration, so that he was admitted more Liberty, than was formerly granted him, he was observed to be a great Haunter of Conventicles; insomuch that there could not a dissenting Nonconformist diffuse his Sedition in any obscure Corner of the City, but this *Lodowick Muggleton* would have a Part of it; by which Means, continuing in the same idle Curiosity, and taking great Observation on that unknown Gain, many of that canting Tribe got by their deluded Auditors, he proposed to himself a certain and considerable Income to be got by the same Means, by which he had observed many of those great Pretenders gull both himself and others: For a rooked Conventicler, like a bankrupt Gamester, having for some Time been culled out of his Money, learns the Trick, sets up Hector, and trades for himself.

Thus did *Lodowick Muggleton*, by sliding out of one Religion into another, so dissatisfy his Judgment, and run himself from the solid Basis of his first Principles; first degenerating from the orthodox Tenets of the Church of *England*, to *Presbytery*; from thence to *Independency*; thence to *Anabaptism*; thence to *Quakerism*; and, lastly, to no Religion at all.

When Men have, thus, once fooled themselves out of Religion and a good Conscience, it is no Wonder, that their secular Interests draw them into all Sorts of Impiety and Profaneness, as it has done this *Lodowick Muggleton*; who, though, in himself, a poor, silly, despicable Creature, yet had the Confidence to think he had Parts enough to wheedle a Company of silly, credulous Profelytes out of their Souls and Estates: And, indeed, he has had such admirable Success in that wicked Enterprise, that, tho' we cannot absolutely conclude, that he has cheated them of the first; yet we can prove, if Occasion were, that he has defrauded them of the latter; as has been often told him, since the first Day of his Standing in the Pillory.

It has been told already, how this impious Impostor lays Claim to a counterfeit Commission, whereby he has infected the Truths of many honest, ignorant People, with an extraordinary Power, that was delivered to him by as infamous a Blasphemer as himself, *John Reeve*; who, as he formerly rivalled *Muggleton* in Impiety, had he been yet living, should certainly have clubbed with him in his deserved Punishment.

It is about twenty-one Years since this impudent Creature began his Impostures; who, knowing himself as defective of Reason, as of Religion, made it one of the grand Maxims of his Policy, That his Profelytes should be fully persuaded, contrary to all Sense, or Probability. Reason was that great Beast, spoken of in the *Revelation*, and, consequently, not to be consulted withal, as to the Examining of any fundamental Point in Religion; whereby he secured both himself, and his shallow Disciples, from all those frequent Disputations and Arguments, which, otherwise must necessarily have diverted them from adhering to his damnable, impious, and irrational Tenets; which I purposely omit, as being too unsufferably profane for the modest Ear of any sober, well-meaning Christian.

But we may judge a little of the Theorick by the Practick, I mean, of his Principles by his Practices, and of the Soundness of his Doctrine by those Duties he held himself, and his Followers, obliged to, in the Performance of it; which, indeed, were none at all; it being his usual Custom, when they meet on the Sabbath-day, to entertain them with a Pig of their own Sow; I mean, with Wine, strong Drink, or

Viſuals; which either they sent in before-hand, or brought along with them; allowing them to be as licentious, as they pleased, in all Things that might gratify, or indulge their Senses.

A Friend of mine was, one Sunday, walking in the Fields; and, meeting there an old Acquaintance of his, who was lately turned *Muggletonian*, with a young Baggage in his Hand, which, he did more than suspect, was light, he could not forbear Expressing his Admiration, to this *Muggletonian* himself, in these, or such-like Terms: 'I cannot but wonder to see you, my old Neighbour, who have, for these many Years, busied yourself in the Study of Religion, and was, not long since, like to have gone mad, because you knew not which Opinion to stick to. I say, I cannot but wonder to see you Abroad, on the Sabbath-day, in this brisk Posture; you are altered both in Countenance, Apparel, and Manners, so that I almost doubt, whom I speak to. Ah, answered the *Muggletonian*, you know, Friend, how I have heretofore troubled myself about Religion indeed; insomuch that it had almost cost me my Life, but all in vain, till about six Weeks since, at which Time I met with *Lodowick Muggleton*, who has put me into the easiest Way to Heaven, that ever was invented; for he gives us Liberty, provided we do but believe in his Commission, freely to launch into all those Pleasures, which others, less knowing, call Vices; and, after all, will assure us of eternal Salvation.' Behold, Reader, what a sweet Religion here is like to be.

But, as *Muggleton* was liberal in the Freedom he gave his Adherents, so he was always careful to avoid the Prohibitions of the Law; he generally appointed his Bubbles to meet in the Fields, where he also permitted them to humour their Sensualities with any Recreation, not excepting Uncleanness itself; for which Profaning the Sabbath he was, in *Oliver Cromwell's* Time, committed to *Newgate*, where he had like to have been sold withal then, that *Tyburn* had saved the Pillory this Trouble now: But that perfidious Usurper, conscious to himself, that *Muggleton* could not be a greater Impostor in the Church, than he was in the State, upon the Consideration of *Fratres in malis*, restored him to his Liberty.

Howbeit, a little before *Oliver's* Death, *Muggleton*, by continual Flatteries, had got into his Books, and, amongst other Prophecies concerning

cerning him, had declared, that *Oliver* should perform more wonderful Actions, than any he had yet atchieved, before he died. But, he happening to depart this Life, before he had done any Thing else that was remarkable, *Muggleton* was demanded, Why his Prophecy proved not true? He answered very wisely, and like himself, *viz*, That he was sure *Oliver* would have performed them, had he lived long enough.

But, since his Gracious Majesty's Return, he has driven on a much more profitable theological Cheat, having assumed the Liberty not only of infusing what Doctrine he pleased into the Minds of his ignorant deluded Followers, but writ several profane Books, which, to his great Advantage, he dispersed among them; poisoning their Minds thereby with a Hodge-podge of rotten Tenets, whereby they are become incapable of relishing the more sound, wholesome, and undoubted Principles of the Church of *England*.

I shall conclude with one Story more concerning *Muggleton*, and so leave him to the Censure of the ingenuous Reader. A timish Gentleman, accoutered with Sword and Peruke, hearing the Noise this Man caused in the Town, had a great Desire to discourse with him,

whom he found alone in his Study; and, taking Advantage of that Occasion, he urged *Muggleton* so far, that, knowing not what to say, he falls to a solemn Cursing of the Gentleman; who was so enraged thereat, that he drew his Sword, and swore he would run him through immediately, unless he recanted the Sentence of Damnation, which he had presumptuously cast upon him. *Muggleton*, perceiving, by the Gentleman's Looks, that he really intended what he threatened, did not only recant his Curse, but pitifully intreated him whom he had cursed before; by which we may understand the Invalidity both of him, and his Commission.

Thus, whoever considers the Contents of *Muggleton's* whole Life, will find it, *in toto*, nothing but a continued Cheat of above twenty-one Years long; which, in the Catastrophe, he may behold worthily rewarded with the modest Punishment of a wooden Ruff, or Pillory; his grey Hairs gilded with Dirt and rotten Eggs; and, in fine, himself brought, by Reason of his own horrid and irreligious Actions, into the greatest Scorn and Contempt imaginable, by all the Lovers of Piety, Discretion, or good Manners.

An Epitaph, or rather a short Discourse made vpon the Life and Death of Dr. *Bonner*, sometime vnworthy Bishop of *London*, whiche dyed the Fifth of *September* in the *Marshalse*.

Imprinted at *London*, at the long Shop adjoyning vnto S. *Mildreds* Church in the *Pultrie*, by *John Allde*, An. Dom. 1569. Sept. 14. Duodecimo, containing fourteen Pages.

*Quam cito de viuis extirpabuntur iniqui?
Fidentum Domino pars bona fortis erit:
Per breue tempus adhuc & non erit impius ultra,
Quæretur, nec erit quo fuit ante loco.*

HOW soon are wicked Men cut of,
From such as liue in Fame?
Yet is the Lord the Portion good,
Of those that loue his Name.

A little While as yet therefore,
And there shall not remain

One wicked Man hencefoorth to be,
Of all the wicked Train.

The wicked Man shall then be sought,
But he shall not finde Grace;
There to be found, where he before
Was knowne to haue a Place.

And therefore joy all *Englishe* Harts
That fear the Lord aright,
And haue the Loue of natie Land,
Alwayes before your Sight.

Lift vp your Harts, rejoyce in him,
For Work of his owne Hand;
For I of happy Tidings mean,
To let you vnderstand.

Whiche cheerful wil be sure to all,
Of faithful *Englishe* Blood;
Whose Harts did neuer hate the Truthe,
Nor Gospel yet withstood.

A Man there was, a *quondam* great
Of Might, of Pomp, and Praise;
Of *Englishe* Blood, though *Englishe* Loue
Were small in all his Wayes.

As did appeer by *Romish* Acts,
Proceeding from his Hight;
Whiche prooude him not an *Englishe* Man,
But sure a *Romain* right.

For neuer faithful *Englishe* Hart
Was Foe to natie Soil;
Yet hee in natie Land did seek,
Christ's faithful Flock to spoil.

And also then he wrought much Wo,
To *England's* chiefeſt Stayes;
He ſpilt their Blood, and mockt God's Woord,
Whereby his gave him Praise:

Seducing Men from ſacred Truthe,
To walke in *Romish* Trade;
Whereby this Land was ranſackt ſo,
So ſpoil'd and ſo bare made.

That many yet doo feel the Smart
Of that unhappy Time;
Though God haue clenſed now theſe Parts,
From ſuche moſte vgly Crime.

Wherwith this Land infected was,
By *Balams* Brood throughout;
Who ſought a Miſcheef huge and great,
As then to bring about.

And more then ſo, t'encreaſe, by Blood,
The great and pining Lack
Of Paſtors pure, and Pillers ſtrong,
Whiche then were brought to Wrack.

Without Remorſe, his Mates and he
Ful ſore did them torment;

By ſeeking of their Death and Loſſe,
Which lov'd Chriſtes Teſtament.

And more then ſo, of woorthy Wights,
Of whom bereft are wee;
Whiche left their Welth, their Eaſe, and Life,
That Chriſte might gayned bee.

And yet not ſo, this * *Cyrus* left
Muche humain Blood to ſpil;
And ſo ceace his devouring Rage,
And moſte blaſphemous Wil.

But more and more he ſought Outrage,
(As all his Mates were bent)
By Lies and Tales, and Popiſh Toyes,
Gods Gospel to preuent.

As one in Place by *Sathan* ſent,
Gods Inſtrument of Ire;
To daunt the Pride of *England* then,
(Which did it much require.)

And ſo no dout this † *Bonner* did,
He ſpared no Degree;
Ne Wiſe, ne Graue, ne Riche, ne Poor,
Be pitied no Man hee.

Ne Lame, ne Blinde, ſuche was his Thirſt,
Ne Fooles, ne Wiſe in Name;
Yea Nobles Blood, as Tyrant tride,
He ſought to bring to Flame.

When Paſtors Roun, and Biſhops Place,
Of *London* See he had;
As Beautie then of all his Dayes,
(A Woolf in Lamb-ſkinne clad)

His Rage defilde the Seat with Crime,
That Nations far could ſay:
A drunken Man dooth take in Hand,
To guide the Ship her Way.

Not drunk with Wine, tho' Iudgement might
Declare he loou'd it more;
Then Chriſtes Paſture Sheep, whereby
He ſhould haue ſet great Store.

But bloody drunk, ſith be not one
Did ſpare of Chriſtes Sheep;
Whiche did deſire their Conſcience pure,
By Gospel, for to keepe.

* *Cyrus* was Sonne of *Cambyses*, and King of the *Medes* and *Persians*, who making War againſt the *Scythians*, *Tomiris* the Queen, hauing by Suttletie ſlain *Cyrus* with Two Hundred Thouſand *Persians*, did cut off his Head, and caſt it into a Boll of Man's Blood, ſaying, *Satia te ſanguine quem ſitiſti*, &c. *Iuſtin.* lib. 1.

† He ſpared none, that he eyther durſt, or could, be bolde to put to Pain for Gods Truthe.

Yet he did watche, though as a Woolf,
Christes Lambes for to deuoure;
He watched not to feed their Soules,
Nor yet to preache one Houre.

For sure, though he had Bishops Rowm,
Paul faith, he was vnfit *;
In such a Place of Christes Flock,
At any Time to sit.

Whose Iudgment was so small and weak,
In Christes Testament;
And Learning lesse to teache the Flock,
With that so slowe Intent.

Should he obtain of Grace Deuine,
Now for to haue a Praise?
Whose retchless Rage, and swinish Life,
Shall liue in all Mens Dayes.

His Knoweledge was to base, no Doubt,
To sit in Bishops Seat;
Though he, perhaps, in Popes Decrees,
Through Travail might be great.

And Ciuile Law right prompt he knew,
Though all for private Gain;
And Cannons too, for therin was
His only studeous Pain.

And all but to upholde the Pride
Of Rome, which was to ill;
Or els to finde a Way how he
Gods Childrens Blood might spil.

But who can boste in Gods Decrees,
Of Bonners Knowledge now,
In Scriptures Force his Answers shewd
Him learned as a Cow.

Or as an Asse, whiche Iudgement lacks,
In Sence of Holy Writ;
Though he obtaind, a bitter Space,
In Bishops Seat to sit.

† Sus taught *Mineruam* there to long,
Whiche held usurped Place;

'Till Christe, by Force, of Gospel Truthe,
This † *Bufo* did displace:

‖ And took the Asse from his Repast,
Of playing on the Harp;
Whose horned Pawes, in Harmony,
Made neither flat nor sharp.

But spilt the Sound so long a Time,
When Mischeef reignd at Wil;
'Til § *Pallas* came who took the Asse
Down from *Parnassus* Hil.

And tied him vp at Maunger yet,
Whiche once did there remain;
Though there he felt not his Deserts,
Nor halfe deserued Pain.

To lodge on Boords, as he had made
Some other lodge before;
With Hands and Feet, to starue in Stocks,
With Giues to be ful fore.

No, no, in Stall, his Torments were
None such, nor half so vile;
He Pris'ner hath been sure, but yet
Not tasted, all this While,

Of Pris'ners Thrall; of Hungers bit,
In Dungeon deep to grone;
Yet he of Captiues Life, ful oft,
To many made his Mone.

Not fute for Pain, whiche he did feel,
But for the greatest Greef:
That he could not be fed as yet,
(In Slaughter who was cheef)

With Blood of Saints, and Christian Fleshe,
Wherwith his Lust was fed;
That he could not exalt the Pope,
Stil heer as supreme Hed.

That he could not his Holy Lambes,
And Leaden Bulles bestowe;
His Pardons and his Obsequies,
Mens Souls to ouerthrowe;

• 1 Tim. iii.

† *Sus* *Mineruam*, the Sow teacheth *Minerua*. What a Sow is by Nature, needeth no Ezpressing: *Minerua* was Daughter of *Iupiter*, and called by the Poets *Goddeſs of Wiſdome* and all good Arts; now this is Talking a Prouerb, where one unlearned teacheth him of Wiſdom he might better be taught.

† *Bufo* is a *Tod*, so applied to *Bonner*, because of his venomous Minde.

‖ *Aſnus ad Liram*. This is a Prouerb of those that haue neither Goodnes, nor Wils to submit to Discipline.

§ *Pallas*, the Neck-name of *Minerua*, so named from a Mountain of *Theſſalia* or *Aonia*, with a twisted Top, where the Muses called *Parnaffides*, or *Aonides*, did remain.

That

That Truthe had ouerthrowen with Power
His brutishe vile Intent ;
Whiche thought, by Fire and Fagots Force,
Gods Gospel to preuent.

This wrought his onely Greef and Wo,
As wel it did appeer ;
For other Cause sure there was none,
That euer I could hear.

He lay ful soft and had inough
Of Beer, and Chaunge of Wine ;
Bothe Fleshe and Fishe, bothe Fruits and Foul,
Moste delicate and fine.

His Table neuer wanted Sutes,
At Wil it to maintain
He lacked neuer Catons he,
His Ayds took always Pain.

To keep their God, their Hope, their Trust,
Their Staffe of *Roomishe* Stay ;
Because with him they wisht a Chaunge,
Stil looking for a Day.

And not with him, but with the rest,
Of all their hellishe Rable ;
Whiche are in their blinde Errors stil,
Moste hard and wilful Stable.

Who Pris'ners are as Foes to Chrifte,
To Christian Queen and Land ;
But cheef this *Quondom*, which made bofte,
If he might haue in Hand

His former Poure and Time again,
To blesse and curse at Wil ;
Where one he burnt, on Thousands then
He would his Lust fulfil.

This was his Boste and bloody Thirst,
Wherin his Ayds did trust ;
That once again the *Roomish* Whore
Might haue her filthy Lust.

Although since he, by due Desert,
Hath been in Holde for Sin ;
Suche Mercy hath been shew'd him there,
As he shew'd none I win,

To suche as were his Betters far,
In Knoweledge, Birth, and Fame ;

Yea, and in Life Apostolique,
Of muche more godly Name.

For sure his Manners were moste vile,
At all Times plainly shew'd ;
Why ? wa'ft not he that fought the Tree
Of our Increase t'auē hew'd ?

Who shamelesly hath stood thus long,
At Royall Mercyes Grace ;
Although his Deeds and Woords ful oft,
Did craue another Place.

But what said those of *Balams* Sect,
There is no Law wherby
The Sword of Justice could him strike,
Nor Cause why he should die.

Although, when as the Dragon rulde,
Right woorthy Wights were slain :
But * one, when Cannon Law could not,
He was adiudged Pain.

Without the Cannons Councels he,
That † *Pool* might haue his Place :
By Popes Assent, and *Roomishe* Rout,
Whiche ror'd him to deface.

Yf Popes assent, when *Englishe* Lawes,
Nor Cannons could preuail :
Might giltles make so wise a Sage,
By fiery Flames to quail.

Why might not Princes lawful Poure
Haue made a iust Decree ?
That suche, deseruing open Shame,
Might recompensed be.

But onely that pure Mercy did
Keep back that Right did craue :
In recompensing him with Death,
As all the rest might haue.

Yet he tryumpht as whole and sound,
His Purpose whole to make :
Right many yet (if Time would serue)
To bring vnto the Stake.

And once again, if Fortune stood,
He might haue vp the Masse :
(But see how now the Lord of Hostes
Hath made his Foe like Grasse)

* *Tho. Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Cant.* whom, by their Cannons, they could not put to Death, til the Pope,
araying his Image at *Room*, condemned it, burnt it, and then he was burned at *Oxford*.

† Cardinal *Pool*, who could not be Archbishop by the Cannons, til the other were dead.

Who bragd and boasted in his Greace,
To washe the Tile anew:
And faind an End to his Deuise,
Whiche yet he neuer knew.

And so the rest with cheerful Sound,
At eu'ry Newes that came,
Sang, as the Prouerb olde hath been,
Laudes ante victoriam.

Sith monst'rous Corps, with Delicates,
So monst'rously was blowen:
Whose monst'rous Minde, with poy'sning
In Graue is ouerthrowen. (Woords,

But what, did he repent of all
His bloody sinful Race?
And learn by Gods Woord to amend,
His Life so voyd of Grace?

Nay sure, til Time of present Death,
He chaunged not his Minde:
But, as he liu'd a Foe to Christe,
So dyed moste wilful blinde.

Oh, yet though he had liu'd so il,
Gods Mercy is not bace:
To suche as think that Ihesus Christe
Can all their Sinnes deface.

But as this * *Eresichthon* liu'd,
In Spite and Rage to spoil:
So, in his End, of mightie Loue
He took a deadly Foil.

Not that he died, but that in Death
His Helth he did denie:
For sure *non mori turpe est,*
Sed turpiter mori.

And yet though *Eresichthons* End
Hapt not vnto this Foe:
To eat his Fleshe, sith *Bonnors* Mates
In Stie did fat him so.

Yet viler End had he, no Doubt,
Then *Eresichthons* was:
Because their Times were far vnlike,
As it did come to passe.

The one a Christian was in Name,
The other Pagan prowde:
Yet in their Acts of Maners like,
As may bee wel avou'd.

He *Ceres* sought, this *Ihesus Christe*,
And his to bring to Wrack:
He did starue, this with Grease died,
Though Grace from him went back.

Whereby all such as blinded were,
By fau'ring of his Acts,
May see what Iudgement is preparde,
To recompence their Facts.

And therefore houle all *Balams* Seed,
And weep both moste and least:
Which bear the Mark (in such a Light)
Of that ilfau'red Beast.

But *Englishe* Harts, which love Gods Word,
Our Queen and *Englishe* Land:
Reioyce, sith Hope of Foe is spoild,
By Force of Gods right Hand.

Sith filthy Flesh doth lie in Graue,
Though Soule I fear be il:
Which liu'd and dide so stout a Foe
To Christes Death and Wil.

But what though bloody Corps of his
Be forste to live ful lowe:
His bloody Facts and Deeds moste vile,
From hence, shall no Man knowe?

Shall Treason so conspir'd, shall Pride,
Shall Blasphemy lie dead?
No Fame from Earth, to vpper Skies,
His Wickednes shall spread?

His brutish tigrish Toil, in Time
Of his most high Renown:
T' extoll the Power and Pomp of him,
That weres the triple Crown.

His Rage and currish cruel Spite,
Against his Cuntriemen:
His butcherly Deuice to waste
The Fleshe of Christians then.

* *Eresichthon* was King of *Theffalia*, who despised *Ceres*, and cut down her Woods; at last, being stricken with a meruailous Hunger, was compeld to eat his own Fleshe.

His false Surmise and murdring Spite,
 Whiche shew'd him then to be.
 A * *Poliphemus* right, whiche slue,
 In three Yeeres, Hundreds three.

Not of *Vlisses* Souldiours sure,
 But Christians truly tride,
 Whiche were deuoured, while he had
 The Ruther for to guide.

Shall now † *Philonides* lie dead,
 Shall serpentinishe Rage
 So sleep? Nay sure his Wickednes
 Shall liue the Worlde's Age.

His Stoutnes shall remain now shewd,
 In Time of his Conflict:
 Who as a Subject did deny,
 To haue his Hart adiēt.

And as a Foe to Chrifte (his Woord)
 And to our gracious Queen:
 Wisht with his Mates moste trat'rouly
 Some others Raign I ween.

Beside his Epicurish Life,
 Before and in this Cace:
 Though Corps be dead, yet Death cannot
 These Horrors quite deface.

He suffred was, full ten Yeers Space,
 By Fauour him to win:
 (As Gospels Nature is) yet he
 Could neuer once begin

For to repent (though Fauour he
 Deserued had but small
 At those, whiche now in his Distresse,
 Did shew him moste of all.)

But scost and mocked those, as yet
 Whiche gladly would him teache:
 But, cheefly in his Death, such Men
 As Gospel foundly preache.

And therefore sith, in Life of his,
 No Vertue was to praise:
 In Welth, ne Wo, no Spark of Grace,
 Whiche liu'd and spent his Days,

So like a *Cyclops* in his Den,
 Deseruing no good Fame:
 Sith God hath cut of such a † Drone,
 Can we but praise his Name?

And eke beseeche th' almighty *Ioue*,
 The Number to fulfil:
 In cutting off the rest with Speed,
 That bear the Beast good Wil.

Who sure may shame at his vile Race,
 But more at his vile End:
 And fore lament his fearful State,
 Whiche now did not amend.

Though all his Life he had been bent,
 Yet now to stand so stout:
 Denying Chrifte, at his last Breath,
 Is fearful, out of Doubt.

This may suffice, as God hath lent
 Me Grace to rule my Pen:
 In blasing forth the Deeds and Fame,
 (Before all Christian Men)

Of *Romaines* greasy God, whose Life
 And Death (so woorthy Shame)
 I haue display'd, and therefore now,
 Such shal be muche to blame,

Whiche carp at Truthe, and stomack this
 That eury Man can tel
 Throughout this Land, and others to,
 Ere this whiche knew it wel.

God saue our Queen *Elizabeth*,
 And bring her Foes to Il:
 And root out those with Speed from vs
 Whiche bear the Pope good Wil. Amen.
 T. Knell. Iu.

* *Poliphemus*, or *Cyclops*, was Son of *Neptune* and *Thoosa*, a great Monster, hauing but one Eye, which was in his Forehead: He was of the Ile of *Scicilia*, into whiche *Vlisses* being cast by Rage of Tempest, and hapning on the Caue of this *Cyclops*, lost four of his Men, who would haue deuoured the rest, if *Vlisses*, making him drunk, had not, with a Fire-brand, bored out his Eye.

† *Philonides* was a great big Lubber of *Miletæ* (now called *Malta*) altogether so foolish and unlerned, that of him grew a Prouerb, *Indolior Philonide*. Some wil say, *Bonner* was wel lerned. I graunt, yet, in Knowledge of holy Scripture, like to *Philonides*, notwithstanding his Ciuile Law.

‡ A Drone breedeth among Bees, muche like a Bee; and alwayes liues in the Hiue, neuer coming out to gather Hony, but stil deuoureth that which the Bee dooth gather, and, at last, the Bee and all.

An ALPHABETICAL INDEX

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HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

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The End of the FIRST VOLUME.



